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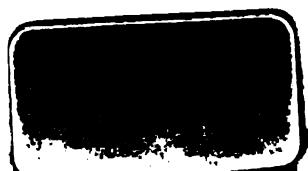
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44. 1546.













# HISTORY OF IRELAND

AND

## THE IRISH PEOPLE,

UNDER

## THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

BY

SAMUEL SMILES, M.D.



DESPITE the intermixture of races, and the settlements and transactions of every hue which the course of ages has produced, the old hatred of English government still subsists as a native passion inherent in the mass of the Irish nation. From the first day of the invasion the will of that race of men has been constantly opposed to the arbitrary will of the conquerors: it has detested what they have loved, and loved what they have detested. They, whose long misfortunes were in a great measure caused by the ambition of the popes, wedded themselves to the dogmas of Catholicism, with a sort of fury, so soon as England freed herself from the same. This unconquerable obstinacy, this faculty of preserving and nourishing, through ages of physical misery, the remembrance of their lost liberty, the disposition never to despair of a constantly vanquished cause, that has always been fatal to all such among them as have dared to espouse and defend it, is perhaps the most extraordinary and the greatest example that a people has ever given.—AUGUSTIN THIRRY's *History of the Norman Conquest*.

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## PREFACE.

THE origin of the following book may be shortly stated. Some time ago, desiring to obtain a full acquaintance with the history of Ireland subsequent to its connection with England, the author sought among the libraries and publishers for a work upon the subject. He was doomed to be disappointed; for, though he found that many books had been written about Ireland,—one (Moore's) giving its history previous to the 'Reformation'; another (Leland's) bringing it down to the Revolution of 1688; a third (Taylor's) detailing the history of the Civil Wars of Ireland, but hastily passing over the last and (to the present generation of readers) the most important of all—the Rebellion of 1798; a fourth (Barrington's) giving the history of the Irish Parliament during the short, bright period of its glory, commencing in the year 1781; a fifth (Madden's) giving the history of the United Irishmen at great length;—yet in none could he find a clear and connected account of the current of Irish events down to the present time, such as is so much needed at this day, when Irish questions engross so large a share of public attention. In short, it was found that a very large number of books—many of them very expensive ones—must be perused, before anything like a correct idea could be formed of Irish history. The author therefore conceived the design of writing a book which should in some measure supply the deficiency, and give the English reader, within a small compass, a history of Ireland and the Irish People under the government of England, down to the period at which we live. No time was lost in putting this design into execution, and the following book is the result.

The scarcity of works upon Irish history, as compared with those on the other portions of the British Empire, shows that, hitherto, but little interest has been felt by the English people in the condition of the sister country. The statement of Lord Normanby, in the House of Lords,\* that, "there exists and prevails in England the greatest possible ignorance as to the state and wants of Ireland," seems to be unfortunately but too well-founded. In fact, a large portion of the people of England are still as ignorant of the condition of Ireland as Swift alleged they were in his time,—when all they knew of Ireland was, that it was a country subject to the crown of England, full of bogs, and inhabited by "wild Irish papists," who were kept in awe only by means of English troops. But the time for the prevalence of such dangerous ignorance is now past. England *must* be informed of the real condition of Ireland, and adopt the necessary steps to raise her people from the deep degradation into which the English government stands chargeable with having sunk them. Indeed, the English people must bestir themselves to better the condition of Ireland, were it only as the means of ensuring their own preservation. Our intimate connection, and our easy communication with the Irish nation, cannot continue, without our population being ultimately dragged down to the same level with themselves. To do justice to Ireland, to elevate her people, to enlarge their resources, and to establish their liberties, is neither more nor less than doing justice to England, and increasing the well-being and happiness of the English people. And in order to do full justice to Ireland, it is necessary that Irish history should be known and studied; for we are persuaded that *there* only is the true key to its present position to be found—*there* only are the secret springs of Irish discontentment to be traced.

The student of Irish History will find that Ireland stands out from the history of the rest of Europe in striking relief. Like England, Scotland, and most European countries, the sword of Conquest has passed over Ireland; but, unlike them, the evils of that Conquest have never for a moment subsided, and they are at the present day almost as rife as they were seven hundred

\* *Debate in the House of Lords on the state of Ireland, February 13th, 1844.*

years ago. In England and Scotland, the conquering and the conquered races—Danes, Normans, Saxons, Britons, &c.—have, in a great measure, fused down into one people ; but in Ireland, the two races of the Conquest are still at war ; and after a resistance which has lasted for centuries, the struggle is almost as inveterate now as at the period of its commencement. The blame of this protracted and destructive enmity between race and race, rests with the conquering classes themselves, as well as with the English Government, which has supported them throughout in their anti-national and inhuman policy. Instead of amalgamating themselves with the nation, the Norman invaders, and afterwards the English and Scotch colonists who settled in Ireland, erected themselves into an Ascendancy of the most despotic and tyrannical kind. In course of time, they possessed themselves of almost the entire soil of Ireland, treating the natives as Helots and slaves, and with a cruelty that has never been exceeded in any age or country. Laws were passed for the express purpose of keeping the nation distinct from the settlers, and thus preventing them from merging into one people. “ Mere Irish ” were deprived of the protection of the English law, and might be killed with impunity. Statutes were even passed expressly to prevent the English settlers from conforming to Irish language, dress, and manners, on pain of forfeiture of goods, imprisonment, and being dealt with as “ Irish enemies.” And thus were the Irish people placed under the ban of proscription and exclusion by their conquerors, and a mark was set upon them to be shunned and hated by their fellow-men.

The evils of the Conquest were never allowed to subside. The Barons, who had at first monopolized so large a proportion of the soil of Ireland, at length grew so powerful and dangerous, that it became the policy of the English crown to destroy them, to confiscate their estates, and divide them anew among English and Scotch settlers. Hence the wars of extermination and confiscation of Elizabeth ; and the extensive confiscations of James I. The Civil War also, during which the native Irish clung to the cause of their legitimate sovereign, issued in extensive confiscations of Irish estates by Cromwell, which were afterwards confirmed



on the restoration of Charles II. This, however, was not the end of the confiscation of Irish lands; for, at the Revolution of 1688, in consequence of the Irish adhering to the cause of James II, after the rest of his subjects had deserted him, there was another extensive seizure of Irish estates by the English government. During the seventeenth century, the confiscations of lands on account of "rebellion," amounted to about eleven millions and a half acres,—the entire surface of Ireland amounting to only about twelve millions of acres! Thus more than eleven-twelfths of the soil of Ireland were seized by the red hand of power from the original Irish people, and conferred upon an English colony, who, owing their possessions to the sword, have ever since trusted to the same for maintaining themselves in their occupancy. "Confiscation," said the Earl of Clare, at the Union, "is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontent in sullen indignation."

All the evils springing out of the Conquest of Ireland have been immensely aggravated by *religious* causes. At the Reformation, the English colony in Ireland, like the English people, adopted the new doctrines; the native Irish, alone among the northern nations, clinging fondly to their ancient faith. They seem to have loved it the more that it had been renounced by their conquerors. From henceforward the Catholic religion became the test of Irish race; Protestantism was associated in native minds, with spoliation, confiscation, and massacre; and the Protestant Church was regarded as an abomination, the mere badge of English usurpation and conquest. The constancy of the Catholic priesthood also, to the cause of their suffering flock, in all times and circumstances, endeared the old religion—sanctified as it was by the most venerable associations—to the minds of the Irish people. Thus, the Church of the Irish became ranged in direct hostility to the Church of the English from a very early period, and continues down even to the present day, to be the great engine of opposition to British power. Hence, from an early period, it was conceived to be the true policy of the Ascendancy to crush the Catholic religion, in order to keep down the spirit of resistance among the Irish people.

"Extirpation" of the Catholics has been spoken of at various periods,—and laws of the most ferocious cruelty have been devised against the Catholic priesthood. They have been hunted like wild beasts, hanged, tortured, beheaded and quartered,—yet still Catholicism grew and flourished,—and, by these very measures against their priesthood, it was only more deeply imbedded than before in the hearts of the Irish people.

At the Rebellion of 1688, the sanguinary and cruel policy of open force was abandoned ; but a system of penal persecution was devised and enforced, which was not less oppressive and crushing in its operation. The Catholic Irishman was degraded into a mere serf and bondsman of the soil, from all proprietorship in which he was to be completely debarred. His property (if he had any) might now be seized by Protestants, the child might plunder his father, the wife her husband, the servant his master. The nation lay at the mercy of the vilest class of discoverers and informers. They had at their command, to use the words of Burke, "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance ; and, as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." It has been said that during the century of legalized oppression by means of the penal laws, "Ireland had no history,"—and Moore has observed that "with this part of his country's history an Irish chronicler has little else to do than to mourn over it and be *silent*." But in our opinion, the history of that century is one of the most eloquent in the history of Ireland ;—eloquent, not of heroism or achievement, but of suffering and endurance under the deadliest wrongs. The century of penal persecution is the most instructive of all the epochs in Irish history, and must be read before the temper, character, and social and political condition of the people at the present time, can be clearly comprehended and understood.

Almost the only bright period in Irish history is that between 1780 and 1785, when a splendid effort was made by the Irish people, headed by the Liberal Protestant party, to achieve for their unhappy country a place among nations. Catholic Relief

followed; but the course of improvement was suddenly and harshly arrested by the English government, and the Rebellion of 1798 broke out, which was ferociously crushed and shortly after followed by the Union. This measure, which might have been a great step in civilization, has hitherto proved the reverse. It was carried when the country was bristling with bayonets, and the people were placed under martial law by the government. From the first it was hated and distrusted, and would have been resisted, but that the people were pinioned down to the earth by military force. The Catholics, who might have been reconciled to the Union by benefits, were deceived by it; henceforward it became identified in their minds with violated faith; and, in course of time, opposition to it became a national movement. The number of Coercion Acts passed for Ireland since the Union, shows that during almost the whole of that period the country has been in a state of "smothered war." The government is, down to the present day, sullenly and reluctantly obeyed,—the laws being still regarded as the mere instruments of an ascendancy class for the subjugation of the rest of the nation. The hostile attitude of the Irish people has even increased of late years; and it would sometimes seem as if the prediction of Mr. Grattan were yet to be fulfilled in reference to the Union—a measure which, he said "would be fatal to England; beginning with a false compromise which they might call a Union, to end in eternal separation, through the process of two civil wars."

That the Union has been of little or no advantage to the mass of the Irish people, may be inferred from the fact that, according to the Poor Law Commissioners in 1886, of the 8,175,124 persons in Ireland, 2,885,000 are absolute paupers. With the rapid increase of population since the Union, misery of all kinds has greatly increased; agrarian revolt and outrage have also increased, until of late years, when they have been somewhat held in check by the leaders of the Irish people. The "clearing" system has recently been enforced with unwonted severity, as many as 70,000 persons having been expelled from their homes and their farms in the course of a single year. In short, according to the testimony of all travellers, English, French, and German, the Irish peasantry,

of which seven-eighths of the Irish nation consist, are the most miserable and destitute people on the face of the earth. "Was change and reformation needed in Ireland?" asks Carlyle. "Has Ireland been governed in a wise and loving manner? A government and guidance of white European men, which has issued in perennial hunger of potatoes to the third man extant, ought to drop a veil over its face, and walk out of court under conduct of proper officers; saying no word; expecting now of a surety sentence, either to change or die."

If History be regarded, as it ought to be, as the grand storehouse of Experience of the human race,—not as a mere record of tyranny and slaughter, but a general accumulation of experiments, successful and unsuccessful, all tending towards the solution of the grand problem—how mankind can be governed so as to secure for the mass the largest possible amount of happiness and liberty,—then a careful perusal of the history of Ireland cannot fail to teach a most impressive and instructive lesson. It teaches that centuries of Physical Force have utterly failed to attach the people of Ireland to the English government,—that seven hundred years of coercion—instead of producing 'Union,' affectionate allegiance, peacefulness, contentment, and prosperity,—have issued only in disunion, in 'constitutional resistance,' in national agitation and 'passive' rebellion—ready, on a moment's notice, to become 'active,' in burning discontent and deep-seated hostility to the governing classes, and in a mass of national pauperism and misery unequalled in the history of the world. What failure could be more complete? What experiment could be more conclusive as to the utter inefficiency of all the means which have heretofore been employed in the government of Ireland? And what more calculated to rouse the people of Great Britain, to demand that an entirely different course of policy should be henceforward pursued with reference to the sister country?

It were, indeed, full time that the English people made themselves acquainted with the condition of Ireland. It is in no small degree to their apathy and indifference as to her fate, that her present sufferings are to be attributed. Let them consider the expense

of governing Ireland by force ; it has cost for many years past, more than a million sterling a-year in soldiers, and half a million in police. The Union, indeed, exists merely by force. And yet no people are more easily governed than the Irish—none are more grateful for acts of justice and kindness. It has been truly said of them, by one who knew them well, that “the Irish are indeed a tractable nation, and though they have resisted chains of iron, they may easily be conducted by a kindly hand with a silken thread.” When the English people and the English government *know* Ireland, they will give up attempting to govern them by the sword—that old and used-up instrument of despots,—and betake themselves to Justice ; employing, instead of the weapons of the soldier and policeman, the more powerful instrument of Redress. That the publication of this book may hasten that period, by diffusing among the English people a knowledge of the past history and sufferings of Ireland, is the foremost hope and desire of its author. Though, in the course of the following work, considerable sympathy and partiality are expressed for the Irish people—a sympathy and partiality which are based upon the feeling that where force and fraud alone are relied upon for the maintenance of power, the nation that resists is much more likely to be right than the nation that oppresses—yet the writer has not allowed his partiality (which is not that of either an Irishman or a Catholic) to interfere with the strict and impartial statement of facts, which he has, for the most part, purposely cited from the works of Protestant writers themselves. He has consulted a very large number of authorities, and has put forward no assertion, of which he is conscious, that cannot be supported by abundance of creditable evidence.



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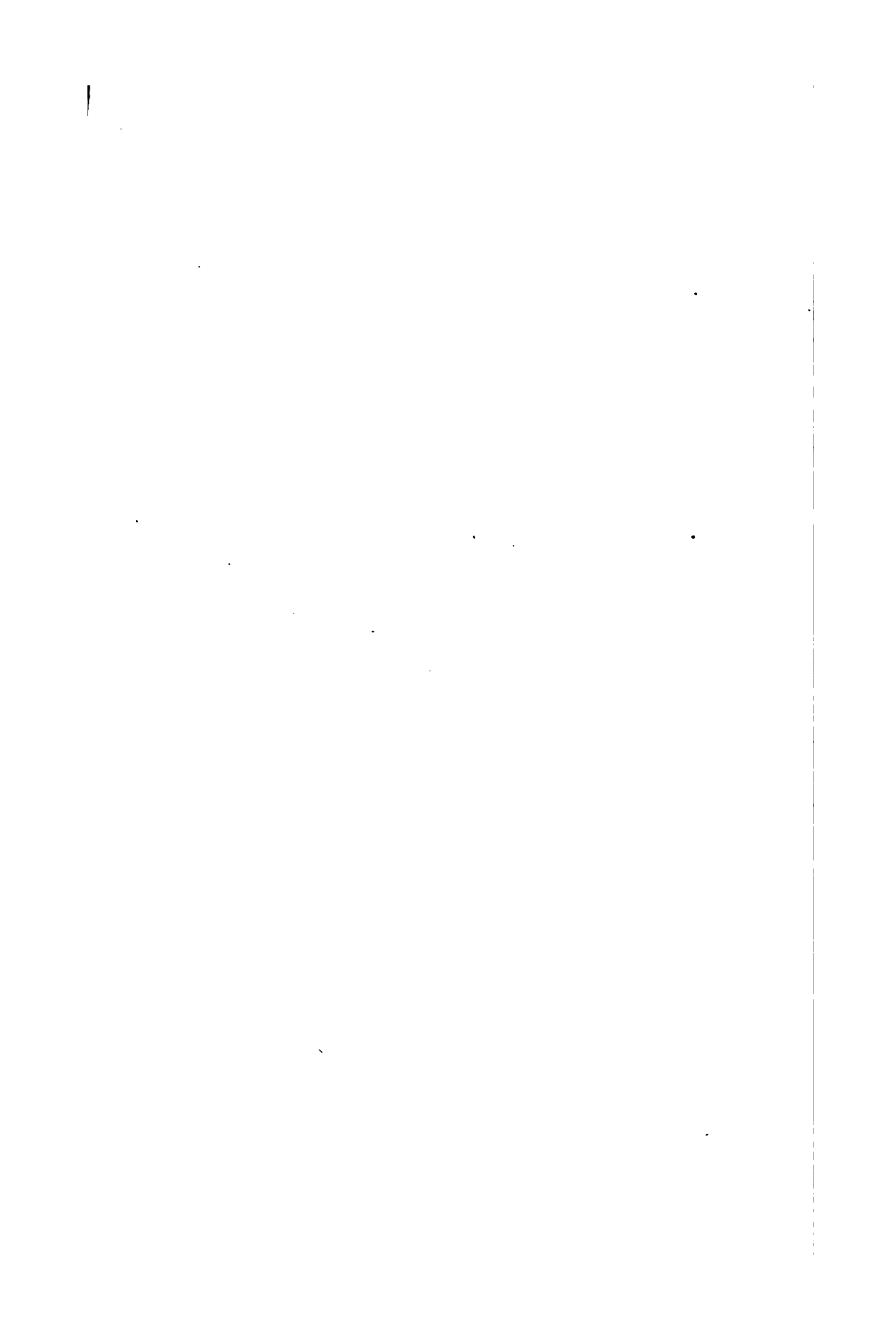
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# ERRATA.

- Page 191, line 18, for *were* read *was*.
- Page 206, 4th line from bottom, for *measures* read *meanness*.
- Page 242, line 6, for *fortunes* read *fortresses*.
- Page 243. The quotation commencing in this page ought to be acknowledged—from *Taylor's Civil Wars of Ireland*. Same page, last line but one in the note, for *armies* read *services*.
- Page 247, line 16, for *presbyterians* in *Scotland* read *presbyterians*; in *Scotland*, &c.
- Page 251, line 21, for *natural* read *national*.
- Page 252, from line 7 to the middle of line 15, should be given as a note instead of in the text—from *HURDIS's Life of O'Connell*.
- Page 252, line 20, for *noticed* read *resolved*.
- Page 253, lowest line, for *ascending* read *ascendancy*.
- Page 255, the note in this page should be acknowledged—from *Wyse's Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*.
- Page 265, line 5, for *changing* read *charging*; and line 12, *dele* upon *his face*; and line 19, for *pre-sented* read *prescribed*.
- Page 267, line 15, for *directed* read *diverted*; and line 16, for *with instruments* read *converted them into instruments*; and line 24, for *calling* read *casting*.
- Page 302, line 25, for *who* read *as*.
- Page 331, line 9, for *to* read *for*.
- Page 350, line 10 from bottom, for *being* read *been*.
- Page 354, 3rd line from the bottom, for 1791 read 1781.





# IRELAND AND THE IRISH PEOPLE

UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

## INTRODUCTION.

IRELAND is one of the most interesting of European countries ;—interesting as regards its past history, as well as its present condition,—interesting from its beauty, fertility, and great natural richness,—interesting because of the cheerfulness, the humour, the genius, and the virtues of her sons,—interesting because the Irish form more than a third part of the population of the British empire,—and interesting—deeply, painfully interesting—because of the patient endurance by the Irish people of centuries of oppression and wrong.

At the present time especially, Ireland forms the object of deep and engrossing interest to all classes of the British community. The security and integrity of the empire is now acknowledged to depend, in a great measure, upon Ireland. In her hands are virtually placed the future destinies of Britain ; our position in the scale of nations being dependant upon the course henceforward pursued by the Irish people. For, if they refuse to support the government, and to maintain the foreign conquests of England, the glory and the power of the British empire may have passed away for ever !

Ireland, has, for nearly seven centuries, been the Slave of England. Her soil has been looked upon merely as a hunting-ground for our aristocracy, with soldiers for their blood-hounds ; while her people have been branded as a kind of Helots on the land which gave them birth. They have, at most, been held of use only as giving a rental value to the lordly acres which they cultivated. When they ceased to do this, they were

at once dispossessed, and "cleared off" without mercy. Down even to the present day, their government has been one of conquest. Coercion, oppression, extortion, treachery, confiscation, plunder, and massacre, have been the principal instruments heretofore employed by the English ascendancy in the government of the Irish people,

But Ireland has now risen up, and declares she will be a Slave no longer. As Greece has ceased to be the Slave of Turkey, Norway of Sweden, and Belgium of Holland, so would Ireland now cease to be the Slave of England. She is fast outgrowing her bonds. She longs to cast off her fetters altogether. She claims to be free. She numbers already NINE MILLIONS of gallant people, and is strong enough to be a Nation. At least she says she is, and her people are determined to make the attempt. Ireland is even now on the eve of declaring her legislative, if not her national Independence.

England stands arraigned at the bar of the world's opinion, for her treatment of Ireland. It is the province of civilization to break down the barriers of race and of caste, to create a moral and intellectual brotherhood of nations, and to establish a tribunal of public opinion for all the empires, kingdoms, and republics of the world. To England, therefore, which is considered as in the vanguard of civilization, the verdict of this new tribunal cannot be an object of indifference. Already, indeed, is it delivered against her, and its consequences meet her everywhere. Do we denounce the oppression of the crushed and prostrate people of Poland? Russia answers, "Before you vituperate the wrongs of Poland, redress the *worse* wrongs of Ireland!" Is Austria charged with the barbarous treatment of her Italian subjects? Austria retorts, "We hold Italy with a milder grasp than *you* hold Ireland: we treat the Protestants of Hungary better than you treat the Catholics of your sister kingdom." Everywhere is it the same. When we denounce foreign wrong, and urge its redress, the answer of the despot is always ready, "Begin at home! *Look to Ireland!*"

But the people at home, as well as abroad, are now beginning to take a deep interest in the condition of Ireland, as forming a most important part of the "Condition-of-England question." The discussion of the policy of government towards Ireland, indeed, can no longer be confined to Committees of the House of Commons, to Cabinets, or to Parliaments. The people of England are also eagerly discussing the question, and longing for

more light upon the subject. They feel that their own welfare intimately depends on that of Ireland; and that, unless the people of that country be raised from the deep degradation into which oppression has sunk them, they themselves must speedily be brought down to the same level.

Yet, interesting though the condition of Ireland be to the people of England, comparatively little is known of the sister Island by the mass of our countrymen. To most of them Irish history is as little known as that of Kamskatka or Peru. And yet it is in Irish history that the key to the present position of Ireland is to be found: it is there that the secret springs of the present Irish discontentment are to be traced. We do not, however, wonder that the English people should wish to remain ignorant of the history of Ireland; for it is almost throughout one dark and damning record of English misrule, tyranny, and crime.

But the time has now arrived when the people of England can no longer be allowed to remain in ignorance of the condition of Ireland, and when they must bestir themselves to do her people justice, as a means of ensuring their own preservation. Not to aid in this great work, is tantamount to political suicide; for the liberties of the English and Irish people are suspended in the same scale, and are destined to rise and fall together. Now, in order to do effectual justice to Ireland, it is necessary that her past history, as well as her present condition, should be fully known: and it is with the view of disseminating knowledge upon this subject, and of thus aiding the British people in a proper appreciation of the present position of their sister country, that the present work is now undertaken. In its execution, we shall endeavour to state the facts of Irish history in connection with the government of England, in all their clearness and fulness; though we do not promise to restrain our own feelings and opinions on becoming occasions. It is indeed scarcely possible for the friend of human kind to glance over the history of Ireland without weeping tears like hot gall. Can we pass over burning ploughshares, and not be burnt? Can we write of Ireland, and not feel an ardent sympathy with her wrongs, and a deep commiseration for her sufferings?

To our mind, Ireland at present forms one of the most sublime moral spectacles under the sun, or perhaps that has ever been witnessed in the history of nations. There is a devotion, a self-sacrifice, and a self-denial among the people of Ireland, which

afford the strongest indications that the days of her regeneration are at hand. What other people in the world can boast of a national Temperance movement? Where are we to look for a unanimity, a devotedness, and an enthusiasm in favour of national deliverance and emancipation, such as now distinguish the Irish people!

Yes! the time is rapidly approaching, and is even now near at hand, when Ireland shall at last be free,—when, out of the blood of her ten thousand martyrs shall spring the glorious blessings of national liberty and independence,—and when Ireland, long the despised and the rejected of Britain, shall occupy a front rank among the nations of the world.

THE  
HISTORY OF IRELAND.

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CHAPTER I.

Early history of Ireland—Introduction of the Christian religion—Saint Patrick—State of Society in Ireland at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion—The kingdoms of Ireland—Party feuds and battles—Bravery of the Irish.

THE early history of Ireland, like the early history of all other countries, is involved in obscurity. Poetry and romance have indeed told us of the early glories of Ireland—of the wisdom and wealth of her people, and of the might and power of her kingdoms. Viewed through the magnifying lens of tradition, the “Bright Isle of the West” has thus been made to shine resplendent in ancient glory and grandeur. But alas! the vision is stript of its most gorgeous hues, when examined by the sober light of reason and judgment; and we find that the early glory of Ireland, like the boasted early glory of all other countries, exists rather in the mind of the poet, than in the veritable records of the past. But the Irishman is to be excused, who, turning from the authentic records of the misery, plunder, bloodshed, and crime, so long inflicted on his country by a foreign government, seeks to refresh his saddened mind in the regions of poetry and romance, which fond imagination has peopled with images of early power and civilization.

The early history of all European countries is very nearly the same. The great mass of the people were Pagans in their religion, the worshippers of stocks and stones. They were governed by chiefs, who were distinguished by a restless thirst for aggression and plunder, and were generally at war with each other. The sword was then the only law, and might constituted the only right to govern. This state ripened into the feudal system, during which a race of chiefs grew up partially civilized, and from them spread downwards among their followers a partial refinement and civilization. Then coalitions of chiefs took place, who recognized some one or other of their order as King. This king was generally their creature: if he refused to accede to their demands, he was at once dethroned, or assassinated.\* Feuds became perpetual between

\* In the list of 178 monarchs of the Milesian line enumerated by the Irish historians, only 47 died natural deaths 77 were slain in battle, and 60 murdered.—TAYLOR'S HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND. Vol. i. p. 19.

kingdoms. Turbulence pervaded the entire frame of society. Arms was the only noble profession ; and the most successful destroyer of his fellow-creatures was lauded as a hero, and almost worshipped as a god. A fierce and ruling animal will was the great characteristic of this period. The mass of the people remained sunk to a great depth in civilization. While the kings and chiefs of the time occupied the page of history, we find that the people who fought and bled for them passed away unnoticed. But thus has it ever been. The units have always monopolized the ear of society. While they have made the world clamorous with their deeds, their achievements, their joys, and their sufferings ; the " dumb millions," doomed to pine on in thick obscurity, have toiled, suffered, bled, and died for others, and then passed away into silent oblivion, without a record.

Such was the general condition of European society prior to the introduction of the Christian religion. This was a new element thrown into social mass, which was yet destined to germinate and bring forth abundant fruits. By degrees, the teachers of the new religion obtained an immense influence over the people ; and even chiefs and kings themselves bowed down before them in awe. Then learning was diffused, and knowledge was extended, and the arts and sciences flourished. Ireland still holds dear the memory of the Apostle who first carried the glad message of the gospel among her people. This was about the middle of the fifth century, and from this time it is that the authentic history of Ireland may be traced. Saint Patrick is said to have laboured for thirty years with immense success among the Irish, demolishing Druidism, and establishing in its place the religion which Ireland fervently cherishes down to the present day. After him, a succession of pious and faithful men arose, who, ere long, made Ireland famous for its learning throughout the civilized world. Civil communities were formed in various parts of the country by the monks, which in course of time became well-policed cities, and thither youths, not only of the island, but of the neighbouring nations came to be educated. From these seats of learning emanated the men who founded most of the celebrated monasteries and colleges of the time, in France, Switzerland, Italy, and England : many of which flourish down to the present day. And thus did the priesthood continue to exercise an increasing influence, until they became the arbiters and almost the lawgivers of the people, down to the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century.

The state of society in Ireland, at the time of the English invasion, merits some notice here, as explanatory of certain future passages in the history of the country. At an early period, Ireland was divided into the five kingdoms of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath. The four kingdoms first named were each ruled over by their independent king, and the whole were governed

by one paramount sovereign, who, while he reigned, claimed the smaller but more central and abundantly fertile kingdom of Meath as his peculiar property. These kingdoms were again subdivided into principalities, which were inhabited by district clans or septs, each ruled by its own chieftain (or carfinny.) Each chieftain was independent in his own domain, administering justice, and exercising the right of making war and peace with his neighbour, at his own pleasure. The power and government of each provincial king were thus similar to those of the monarch himself: he also received tributes from inferior chiefs, paid for their services when he wanted their aid in war, and was entertained by them in his progress throughout the country. The same system extended downwards among all the ranks of society.

The obedience of the chieftains to their provincial king, and of these again to their lord paramount sovereign, depended solely on the physical powers which the superiors possessed of enforcing their authority. And often these were of a kind so inefficient as to render the name of sovereign a mere empty sound. Occasionally the central and sovereign power was completely overthrown by the subordinate kings,—as, for instance, in the eighth century, when the ancient dynasty of Tara was overturned by the throne of Munster; and, at all times, was it in an enfeebled and inefficient condition, from the want of power to enforce obedience to its authority among the provincial governments. The king paramount was looked upon with jealousy by the inferior kings, who watched and seized upon every opportunity of weakening his power and diminishing his resources. Thus the regal system of Ireland was, from the beginning, productive of insubordination, feuds, and warlike contention.

The monarch as well as the provincial kings, were also *elective*, which was another source of confusion and weakness. The manner in which the kings were elected was another pregnant source of mischief. This was regulated by what was called the law of *Tanistry*, which confined hereditary right to certain families, but not to individuals. Thus the chiefs and kings could only be elected from royal houses; but then there was not an individual of a royal or noble family, no matter how numerous it might be, who might not become a candidate for the office of *tanist*, or chieftain-elect. The custom was to elect this tanist immediately after the accession of the chief, and to assign to him a portion of the mesmal land. When the chief died, the tanist succeeded him, and another was immediately elected in his room. This practice was found productive of the greatest mischief. The accession of a chief or a king was generally the signal for party-feuds, and often pitched battles, to determine who should be the tanist to succeed him. The chiefs also looked with suspicion on the person thus elected, who often eagerly longed for their death, to attain the rank of prince; and the tanists too often gave them room for this suspicion, by openly making war on them, or secretly assassinating them.



So distracted and torn to pieces was Ireland, from these and other causes, for a long time previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion that the country might have fallen an easy prey to any foreign invader disposed to make the experiment. It seems to have been the fate of this noble country, from the first, to be the prey of social discord, convulsion and strife. The cause of the common welfare of all, has almost throughout been sacrificed in the selfish struggles between rival factions; and while the people have been tearing each other to pieces at the bidding of their respective chiefs, the common enemy has been enabled to forge the chains of their national coercion and enslavement.

Notwithstanding, however, the fierceness of the feuds which raged among the native chiefs and kings of Ireland, it is extraordinary to observe with what spirit and unanimity they occasionally acted when attacked by foreign invaders. While England, during the period of the invasion of the Northmen or Danes, was laid completely prostrate, and her king was a fugitive in foreign lands, Ireland continued to struggle and resist to the last, pouring out her princes and her clans to oppose their progress, to the death, till they at length succeeded in striking the fatal blow at their power on the field of Clontarf. The tremendous exertions which the Irish people made on such occasions were sufficient evidence of the energies of which Ireland is capable, in a cause that rallies around it cordially the arms and hearts of her sons. We cannot avoid here quoting a passage from an old English historian, in proof of the brave and patriotic spirit of the Irish people, down to a comparatively recent period, in resisting every attempt to bring them under a foreign yoke: "It is a matter of wonder," says William of Newbridge, "that Britain, which is of larger extent, and equally an island of the ocean, should have been so often, by the chances of war, made the prey of foreign nations, and subjected to foreign rule, having been first subdued and possessed by the Romans, then by the Germans, afterwards by the Danes, and, lastly, by the Normans; while her neighbour, Hibernia, inaccessible to the Romans themselves, even when the Orkneys were in their power, has been but rarely, and then imperfectly subdued; nor even, in reality, has been brought to submit to foreign domination, till the year of our Lord 1171."

## CHAPTER II.

Causes which led to the Anglo-Norman invasion—Early independence of the Irish Church—The supremacy of the Pope acknowledged—Pope Adrian's Bull, granting the Lordship of Ireland to Henry II.—Dermot Macmurchad, the betrayer of Ireland—Dermot is dethroned, and flies to England for help—State of England at this period—Tyranny of the nobles, and slavery of the people—Dermot obtains help from Norman adventurers—They land in Ireland.

THERE have been many disputes about the causes which led to

the first invasion of Ireland by the English. The Norman kings, whose army of freebooters had overawed and conquered England, long looked with an eye of envy towards the neighbouring kingdom; and the more so, that it had always been ready to aid the Saxon people in their struggles for independence. After the defeat at Hastings, three sons of the conquered king sought refuge and succour in Ireland, and were there enabled to fit out a large fleet and army for the invasion of England. Hence, William "the Conqueror," and the first Henry, are said to have early entertained serious thoughts of adding Ireland to their dominions; and William Rufus, in one of his expeditions against the Welsh, (who were generally aided in their incursions on England by large bodies of Irish troops), is reported to have said, as he stood on the rocks at St. Davids, looking towards Ireland—"I will have the shippes of my kingdome brought hither, wherewith I will make a bridge to invade this land." It was not, however, until the reign of Henry the Second, one of the most ambitious and powerful of the Anglo-Norman monarchs, that the invasion of Ireland was seriously resolved upon. The peculiar position of the church in Ireland, at this period, auspiciously favoured his designs.

It would appear that though, at the time of which we speak, Ireland was Catholic throughout nearly its whole extent—the Druids being extinct, except in the remote districts of Ulster and Connaught—there was a degree of sturdy independence among the clergy of the Irish church, which was not to be observed in any other portion of Christendom. They zealously maintained their independence, and refused as yet to recognize the spiritual authority of Rome. Hence they were placed under the ban of the early Popes, and spoken of in terms of angry reproach and sometimes of bitter denunciation. But, as the feuds among the rival factions of Ireland increased, the strength and vigour of the national church became terribly shaken. Numerous abuses crept in; religious ordinances were neglected; seminaries for the instruction of pastors were destroyed; monasteries and churches were seized by ambitious chiefs; and religion was fast going under foot. The heads of the Irish church deplored and lamented this state of things; especially when they contrasted it with the prosperous state of the Anglo-Norman church, which had now fully acknowledged the Papal authority. Accordingly, a party soon sprung up in Ireland, and rapidly increased in numbers and influence, in favour of a recognition of the Roman see; which, on its part, was not slow to avail itself of these dispositions in its favour. At length, after various and gradual steps, the papal authority was formally recognised, and the last of the western national churches was finally united to the Roman ee.

This union, however, was far from being complete. It was with great difficulty that the inferior clergy could be induced to resign their independence, and give up their ancient usages. The native

chiefs and kings also resisted a system which tended greatly to limit and control their power; and, in spite of the new arrangement, they still continued to nominate to ecclesiastical office and dignities. Adrian IV., originally an Englishman, named Breakspear, was now Pope, and longed for the opportunity of fully establishing the supremacy of the Romish see in Ireland. He found that some ally was needed to aid him in his designs; and the ambition of the young Norman king pointed him out as a likely auxiliary. Probably, also, the Norman monarch was nothing loth to seize the opportunity of extending his power and his conquests, even under the hypocritical plea of religion. He accordingly sent an envoy to Rome, acknowledging an amount of temporal power in the Pope, such as no one had ever before thought of assuming; and Adrian, on his part, granted Henry the lordship of Ireland, with full leave to take possession of it, provided only that he would maintain the papal supremacy and its ecclesiastical constitution. In the words of the bull issued by his holiness, full permission was granted that "Henry II. should enter the kingdom of Ireland, with the pious purpose of extending the borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, correcting the manners of its inhabitants, and increasing the influence of religion; and that, in consideration for this power so vested in the English monarch, the annual pension of one penny for every house be levied and delivered over to the service of St. Peter."\* With this bull, containing the grant and stipulation, was also sent a gold ring, adorned with a valuable emerald, as a token of Henry's investiture of the right to rule over Ireland. It was many years, however, before Henry could avail himself of the warrant granted to him by the Pope. He had rebellions of his own subjects to quell, headed by his own sons; and he was also engaged in possessing himself forcibly of his brother's territories in Anjou, in France, which he had been left by his father's will,—a will which Henry himself (the pious missionary who had undertaken to "extend the borders of the church" in Ireland) had sworn faithfully to fulfil! But, in the meantime, an incident occurred, which hastened the Norman invasion, and brought over to the Irish soil a swarm of the same freebooting adventurers who had already divided among them for a spoil the national wealth and property of England.

\* Dr. TAYLOR, in his "History of the Civil Wars of Ireland," gives a circumstantial account of this convention between Adrian IV. and Henry II.; and notices that "by a very rare coincidence, the zealous Protestant and Catholic writers of Irish history have agreed in suppressing the important fact—that to establish the spiritual authority of the Pope was the avowed object of the expedition, and on the Papal gift alone did the Norman monarch rest his claim to the sovereignty of the country. The Protestants (continue he) were unwilling to acknowledge that their ascendancy, which they justly identified with English connection, was derived from the great object of their fear and hatred; while the Catholics, equally attached to their country and their religion, were disinclined to confess that their spiritual head had destroyed their national church, and given the dominion over their native land to a stranger, in order to extend his own power."—See vol. i., pp. 30-8! THOMAS MOORE also, in his "History of Ireland," takes a similar view of this transaction, which, he says, "presents in all respects a perfect instance of that sort of hypocritical prelude to wrong, that holy league for purposes of rapine, between the papal and regal powers, in which most of the usurpations, frauds, and violences of those dark and demoralized times originated."—LARDNER'S CYCLOPEDIA, HIST. OF IRELAND, vol. ii. p. 204.

The immediate cause of the invasion of Ireland was the malignant treachery of one of her own chiefs. As the name of Menteith, the betrayer of Wallace, Scotland's preserver, yet stinks in the nostrils of the people of Scotland,—so does that of Dermot Macmurchad, king of Leinster, the traitorous betrayer of Ireland, yet call forth the loathing and abhorrence of every patriotic Irishman. This Dermot was a thorough monster; but a fitting enough instrument for the freebooters whom he at length succeeded in introducing and settling upon his native soil. He had early made himself obnoxious for his cruelty, having on one occasion treacherously seized seventeen of the principal nobles of Leinster, and put the greater part of them to death; the rest he served by plucking their eyes out! Such was the fiend who introduced the Normans into Ireland! He afterwards seduced and carried off Devorgilla, wife of O'Ruarc, lord of Breffny, which led to a war, in which the adulterer was defeated with great loss. With this event, many historians have connected the expulsion of Dermot from his kingdom, and his subsequent flight into England, to solicit aid from Henry. But this did not occur for some sixteen years after; and in the meantime, many desolating and bloody wars had taken place, during which the king of Leinster retained his sovereignty, and even considerably augmented his power.

Dermot was a warm espouser of the Hy-nial faction, the hereditary rulers of Ulster, as opposed to the O'Connors, who were the hereditary rulers of Connaught. So long as O'Lachlan, a chief of the Hy-nial race, preserved the sovereignty of Ireland, Dermot, protected by this powerful monarch, was safe in the possession of his throne and his dominions. But, no sooner had O'Lachlan's power been overthrown, and he himself slain in battle, than Roderick O'Connor ascended the vacant throne, and immediately prepared to take vengeance on the opposite faction. Dermot's territories were invaded, when his feudatories and vassals, by whom he was hated, at once deserted him on all sides; and finding himself unable to make any effective resistance to his enemies, he set fire to his capital, Ferns, and fled to England, with a small train of followers, to solicit the aid of the Normans. On reaching Bristol, he found that Henry was absent from England, in France, where he was engaged in subduing some of his rebellious barons in Bretagne, over whom he had recently acquired authority. Dermot immediately set out for the Norman king's camp, and laid his case before him, tendering his allegiance. The traitor was at once received into high favour, and ample promises were made of military assistance in order to set him again on the throne of Leinster. Though Henry could not himself personally come to the assistance of Dermot, he gave him letters patent, to be employed throughout his dominions, granting "license and favour" to all such of his liegemen, "English, Norman, Welsh, and Scotch," who should be disposed to aid Dermot in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot

could not wait for the subsidence of the rebellions, in crushing which Henry was engaged. But he immediately resolved to avail himself of the king's letter, and to solicit the assistance of those Norman adventurers who had then settled in Wales, or were still engaged in its conquest.

Let us just glance, for a moment, at the condition of England at this period. But a short time had elapsed since the Norman conquest, when the country had been overrun and plundered by the armies of William of Normandy, who had routed the Saxon monarchs and chiefs, divided their lands among his followers, and made slaves of the great body of the Saxon people. That the iron was yet burning in their souls, was obvious enough from the frequent insurrections and rebellions of the people which took place at this period. The land was held possession of by mere physical force; the barons, with their vassals, free tenants, and socmen, holding in stern thrall the original Saxon inhabitants of the soil. The latter were excluded from all civil rights; they could possess no kind of property; they had not a right to even their own wives, the *droits de seigneur* intervening; they themselves were bought and sold with the soil, and were considered as mere chattels and regular articles of commerce. Giraldus states that the number of them exported to Ireland for sale, even in the reign of Henry II., was so great that the market was absolutely overstocked; and from William I. to the reign of John, there was scarcely a cottage in Scotland but possessed an English slave. The condition of the country was meanwhile wretched. An old writer, speaking of the transactions during the reign of Stephen, who immediately preceded Henry II., says, "The nobles burnt all the towns: thou mightest go a whole day's journey and not find a man sitting in a town, nor an acre of land tilled. Wretched men starved of hunger; to till the ground was to plough the sands of the sea."

Meanwhile the land had been parcelled out among the Norman chiefs and their vassals. While the king of the freebooters retained all the riches of the ancient kings of the country, the church plate and the most precious articles found in the warehouses of the merchants,—the barons and knights who followed in his train, a collection of desperado adventurers from all parts of Europe,\* received vast domains, castles, villages, and even entire towns, while the vassals were rewarded by smaller portions. Fortified towers and strong places were built in every direction: the natives were completely disarmed: the name of *Saxon* became a term of reproach, while the followers of the successful Normans were held to be "noble," in right of their victory and foreign birth.

But while so many of the Norman chiefs were thus richly rewarded by large portions of the spoil wrung from the conquered Saxons, there were others, who arrived later from the European

\* It is from these freebooting chiefs that many of the English aristocracy of the present day boast of being descended.

continent, as smaller birds of prey follow in the wake of the great vulture, who were not so fortunate in obtaining a share of the plundered lands of England. They were still ready for any kind of murderous work which might offer them a fair prospect of booty. There were also many of the original invaders who had already wasted in riot and dissipation the lands which they had acquired at the conquest. To these needy and unprincipled chiefs, with their following of knights and vassals, drawn from the scum of the French, Italian, and Flemish cities, the Norman kings gave letters of license to conquer for themselves domains in Wales. These men were now engaged in subduing the southern part of that country, under Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, and had been in a great measure successful. It was to the son of this leader, by name Strongbow, that the traitor Dermot finally made application for assistance in the effort to recover his dominions in Ireland. Strongbow was ruined in fortune, from his past profligacy and dissipation; but he had the reputation of great valour and military skill: he had derived his name (Strongbow) from his brilliant feats in archery. Dermot promised, that if he was restored to his kingdom by Strongbow's aid, he would give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and secure him the inheritance of his kingdom of Leinster. Strongbow assented to these propositions, and, with the permission of the Anglo-Norman sovereign, prepared himself for the invasion of Ireland. Dermot also succeeded in obtaining the aid of other adventurers of rank, among whom were Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen, both thoroughly broken in fortune, and ready to embark in any desperate enterprise. Fitz-Stephen had been confined in jail for three years previous to his release, by Rhees-ap-Griffith, one of the Welsh princes. Dermot promised to these brothers, as an inducement to undertake the enterprise, the perpetual fee of the town of Wexford, with two cantreds of land adjoining. There were also Meiler Fitz-Henry, Maurice de Prendergast, Herve de Montmorais, and some other knights of desperate fortunes, but of considerable military reputation, who were also induced to follow in the train of the invaders.

Dermot having made these arrangements, set out for Ireland, where he landed elated with hopes of success, and prematurely declared himself. He was soon exposed to the utmost danger, as Roderick O'Connor, the Irish monarch, lost no time in marching against him with a powerful army. Dermot, however, made good his retreat into the fastnesses of Hy-Kinsellagh, a wild district on the banks of the Slaney. Several skirmishes took place between the troops of Dermot and Roderick. But the traitor, anxious only to gain time, at length professedly submitted to the Irish monarch, and gave hostages for his future fealty; renouncing all claim to the government of Leinster, and agreeing to hold a certain portion of territory, on condition of paying annual tribute. In the meantime, he dispatched messengers to Wales, to expedite the arrival

of the adventurers who had promised their assistance. The longings of the traitorous renegade were at length gratified; for, in the commencement of May, A.D. 1170, the Norman invaders landed, for the first time, on the shore of Ireland.

### CHAPTER III.

The Norman army of Invasion—Is joined by Dermot—Wexford taken—The Ossorians defeated—Roderick, the Irish monarch, takes alarm—Advances with an army, but makes an ignominious treaty with Dermot and the Normans—Terrible massacre of the Irish—Arrival of Strongbow—Marches upon Dublin, which is carried by assault—More incursions and massacres—Dermot dies, and Strongbow succeeds him—Dangers of his position—Confederacy against his power defeated—Causes of the success of the Norman army—Norman and Irish methods of warfare.

BEHOLD, then, the first Norman army on the soil of Ireland! The insignificance of the body, indeed, scarcely entitles it to the name of "army"; for it numbered only 40 knights, 60 men in coats of mail, and 500 archers! With this force, under the command of Fitz-Stephen and Maurice de Prendergast, (for Strongbow did not accompany the first expedition), the invasion of Ireland was undertaken! The attempt seems to savour of all the crusading folly and madness of the military enterprises of those ages; and yet it succeeded! Had the Irish monarch directed the patriotism and valour of Ireland against the invading force, it would have been crushed with the utmost ease, and the desperate adventurers would never have returned to tell the tale of their rashness and their folly. But alas! it was then the fate of Ireland, always unfortunate, to be embroiled and distracted by contending interests and factions, which paralysed its energies, and tended to demoralise its people. The foreign force was allowed to find a footing, and once gained, they availed themselves of every advantage to extend their power and increase their possessions. As they owed their first hold of power in Ireland to the villainy of a traitor, so they maintained their grasp of it afterwards by a system of relentless cruelty and despotism.

The Norman army of 600 men landed on the southern coast of Wexford, at a creek called the Bann, in the beginning of May, 1170. Dermot immediately collected together all the forces he could muster, amounting to not more than 500 men, and hastened to join the invaders. The united forces were immediately marched upon the town of Wexford, then a place of considerable strength and importance, and situated about twelve miles from the place of landing. At the first assault, the invaders were repelled with some loss—the inhabitants defending themselves with great bravery and obstinacy. The impression produced upon the garrison was such

however, that, at the instigation of the clergy,\* they offered to capitulate; and, after the lapse of three days, Wexford was surrendered to Dermot and his Norman allies. According to promise, Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Maurice were immediately invested with the lordship of the city and its domain, and grants of land were made to some of the other adventurers who followed in their train.

Dermot next proceeded to take revenge on his enemies,—first among whom was Mac-Gilla-Patrick, or Fitz-Patrick, king of Ossory, a monster almost as savage as himself, though high in reputation as a warrior. The Ossorians, entrenching themselves within their morasses and forests, for a time triumphantly repelled all the assaults of Dermot's army; but, drawn out by a feigned retreat of the Normans, in a moment of confusion and of fancied triumph, they were charged by the mounted men-at-arms clad in steel, and a great number of them were cut to pieces. The Ossorians fled, and their country was immediately ravaged with fire and sword by the enemy. But, again rallying, they collected another army, resolved to attack the Normans on their return, and when laden with booty. They took possession of a narrow pass, and would have gained a decisive advantage over the foe, but were again deceived by a feigned retreat, abandoned their position in the fancied pursuit of the flying horsemen, and ere they could recover themselves, great numbers of them were cut to pieces. It is said that the native Irish of Dermot's force, on this occasion, made a fierce slaughter of their countrymen, cutting off the heads of some 300 of them, and laying them at the feet of Dermot as a trophy. It is said that the traitor leaped with delight on viewing these ghastly spoils: discerning among them the head of one of his former persecutors, he indulged his ferocious revenge by lifting it to his mouth by both the ears, and biting off the nose and lips! This second victory was followed by the ravagement of the entire territory of Ossory.

Roderick, the Irish monarch, at length became alarmed for the safety of his kingdom, and prepared to act against the invaders. But he seems to have been a man of little fixity of purpose, too easily swayed by the opinions and influence of others. He convoked a meeting of the princes and nobles of Tara,—the site of the traditional glory of Ireland. From thence he marched with a large army to Dublin; but scarcely had he arrived there, than dissension, the curse of Ireland, began to work, and in a few weeks several of the most powerful princes drew off their troops, and returned home. Roderick, nevertheless, proceeded to invest

\* It is alleged that among the motives which disposed them to surrender were some feelings of compunction at the rebellious part they had been led to take against their king,—feelings, which the clergy within the walls would not fail, it is supposed, to encourage, being, like most of their clerical brethren throughout the country, disposed to view with indulgent eyes the enormities of Dermot's career, in consideration of the extent and munificence of his contributions to the church.—MOORE'S HISTORY, vol. ii., p. 215.



Ferns with the large army which still remained; but, instead of adopting the bold and energetic policy which the occasion demanded, he opened negotiations with the treacherous Dermot and the Norman chiefs; and a treaty was entered into, by which Dermot was recognised as king of Leinster, on the condition of his acknowledging the supremacy of Roderick, and rendering him homage as his subject. Scarcely had this ignominious treaty been concluded, than a new reinforcement of Norman troops arrived from England, and Dermot immediately availed himself of their arrival, to make a ravaging expedition to Dublin, when he compelled the citizens, at the point of the sword, to acknowledge his supremacy. On this occasion, such was the cruelty of Dermot, that the Norman chiefs actually interposed to allay the fury of his vengeance. Elated by his success, the king of Leinster was not merely satisfied with the re-establishment of his own sovereignty, but now openly aimed at the supreme throne itself. With this in view, he again turned to England for help, and renewed his applications to Strongbow.

The success of the expedition hitherto was a strong inducement with Strongbow to accede to the repeated requests of Dermot. Having obtained the half-consent of Henry, he prepared for an expedition to Ireland, on a somewhat larger scale than the first. As soon as the season permitted, (A.D. 1171), he sent over Raymond Fitzwilliam, surnamed *Le Gros*, with ten knights and seventy archers, to secure a landing place for his army. This little body of men was, shortly after their disembarkation at Dundolf, a little below the city of Waterford, attacked by the natives, and placed in circumstances of great danger. The Normans had fortified themselves behind entrenchments of wood and turf, expecting to make good their position until the arrival of Strongbow. A tumultuous force of some 3,000 Irish marched to the attack; but Raymond, driving a great number of cattle against the lines of the besiegers, and charging them before they could recover from their confusion, struck terror into their ranks, and put them completely to the rout. A terrible massacre was the consequence; above 1,000 men were slain in the pursuit, and many more were seized and cast headlong into the sea. Among those who were treated in the latter manner were seventy of the principal inhabitants of Waterford, whose limbs were broken previously to their being hurled from the rocks. The object of this monstrous cruelty was to "strike terror into the Irish"—a policy which the same party has madly pursued through six long centuries of grinding tyranny and wrong.

Three months elapsed, and at length Strongbow landed in the neighbourhood, with an army of 1200 men, of whom 200 were knights. Waterford was immediately attacked, and, after a vigorous resistance, was carried by assault. A general slaughter followed, without distinction of rank, or age, or sex. In the midst

of this massacre, Dermot arrived, and the promised marriage of his daughter Eva to Strongbow was forthwith "solemnized," almost in the midst of these revolting scenes of carnage and murder. This first union of England and Ireland, like the last, was perpetrated amid treachery, corruption, bloodshed, and civil war. A march upon Dublin was immediately thereafter determined on. Roderick, alarmed, again meditated resistance, and assembled an army to resist the invaders; but the sight of the Norman force dissipated their courage, and they dispersed without coming to an engagement. Strongbow accordingly reached Dublin unopposed, and summoned it to surrender; and while the citizens were meditating about terms, the city was suddenly carried by assault. A terrible slaughter of the inhabitants took place, and the city was given up to plunder. An excursion was next made into Meath, which was spoiled and laid waste. Fire, rapine, and murder, everywhere followed in the track of the invaders. Churches and religious houses were burnt down, after being plundered; life was mercilessly sacrificed, without regard to sex or age; and nothing was too sacred or valuable to be for a moment safe from the ravages of the invaders. They returned to Dublin, laden with booty. Roderick, meanwhile, endeavoured to expostulate with Dermot; but it was of no use. Dermot treated the monarch's messengers with contempt; and Roderick, in retaliation, struck off the head of Dermot's natural son, whom he held as a hostage. This completed the alienation of the traitor from the cause of his country. He now bequeathed his dominions to Strongbow, strongly exhorting him to maintain the possession of them; and shortly after, he died, universally detested and abhorred by his countrymen.

Strongbow, in defiance of the law of the land, forthwith took possession of the vacant throne of Leinster; but the act was followed by the immediate desertion of his subjects. At the same time, a formidable confederacy of the native Irish, aided by the Danes of the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, was formed against his government. They invested Dublin with an army amounting, it is said, to 30,000 men; and now Strongbow deemed himself on the brink of ruin. Wexford had "rebelled" (as the resistance to foreign oppression was, even in these early days, invariably termed), and destroyed the Norman garrison left to guard the town. Defection was now universal, and there wanted but a single combined effort to crush the adventurers' power, and sweep them from the land. Strongbow, after enduring a two months' siege, offered to treat with Roderick, who refused to enter into any terms, unless the Normans consented forthwith to leave the island. The besieged, rather than tamely submit to such terms, determined on a desperate assault of the Irish camp. They succeeded; and the besieging army fled terror-stricken, almost without striking a blow. Thus, in a few hours, was the aspect of affairs completely changed, and the chains of the foreigner, which seemed about to be rent asunder,

were now about to be more firmly rivetted upon Ireland than ever. Strongbow followed up his victory by invasions of Wexford, Waterford, Wicklow, and other districts, in all of which he proved successful, and established his power more firmly than before.

It may appear surprising, that with so small a force as that under Strongbow and the first Norman invaders, such great results should have been achieved. The Irish had their fatherland to fight for, whereas the Normans fought for mere adventure or plunder. Yet, in almost every instance, the former were defeated with great loss. Not that the Irish showed any want of valour, for they often fought with the most determined bravery. But their great weakness consisted in their want of discipline, in their want of arms, and in the want of that complete subordination to their leaders which is absolutely necessary for the success of military movements. The Irish Kerns, or light-armed infantry, fought in no regular order. They kept constantly in motion, from one part of the field to the other; often, however, doing great damage to those whom they found off their guard. They were exceeding active in their movements, and possessed great dexterity in the use of missile weapons. They retreated, returned to the attack, shifted their position, retreated and attacked again and again, with extraordinary alacrity. Their horsemen also were of the same irregular and skirmishing character. They were mounted on the light and active horses of the country, but they were generally undrilled, and consequently confused in their movements. Contrasted with the Norman men-at-arms and archers, the native Irish were comparatively powerless, no matter how brave and valorous they might naturally be. The Norman knights were clad in complete steel, themselves as well as their horses. They were trained from infancy to the use of arms and in the exercises of chivalry. Arms was their trade, their profession, by which they lived. Depending, as they did, upon their swords, for their subsistence, they perfected themselves in the art of using them to the best advantage for themselves, no matter what the cause or the service might be in which they were engaged. The Norman archers also were a highly disciplined and effective body of soldiers; it was their cross-bows and cloth yard shafts which decided the battle of Hastings. Unlike the Irish Kerns, they always moved in orderly array, and were protected on either flank by the knights and men-at-arms. What chance had untrained and light-armed men against such formidable antagonists as these? How could half naked infantry stand before the shock of heavy cavalry clad in steel? The thing was impossible: they were trodden down and slaughtered, or fled panic-stricken in all directions. And thus was it, that the success of the Normans was so invariable in almost all their early encounters with the Irish people.

## CHAPTER IV.

Henry's alarm at the success of Strongbow—Arrives in Ireland with an army—The Irish chiefs make their submission to him—Triumphal progress to Dublin—Henry's "Reforms" of the church—Returns to England—Fresh feuds and discords—The Irish chiefs endeavour to shake off the yoke, and fail—Wretched state of the country—Prince John sent over to Ireland as its lord—Insults the Irish chiefs—General rising of the Irish, and their success—Are again destroyed by their feuds—Death of Henry II.

At length Henry, the Anglo-Norman king, became alarmed at the success of Strongbow, and issued an edict, peremptorily forbidding the exportation of men, arms, or ammunition, to Ireland; and commanding all his subjects in that country immediately to return home, on pain of banishment and forfeiture of their estates. Strongbow, alarmed at this edict, immediately despatched an envoy to Henry to make his entire submission to him; but this being taken no notice of, Strongbow himself set out, and by the exertion of all his influence, obtained a reconciliation with the monarch. Strongbow renewed his homage and oath of fealty to Henry, and surrendered to him the city of Dublin and the adjacent country, together with all the seaport towns and forts possessed by him in Ireland; while Henry consented that Strongbow should retain all his Irish possessions under homage and fealty to the English crown. Henry also prepared to follow up this arrangement by an expedition to Ireland, conducted by himself in person. A powerful fleet and army were assembled at Milford Haven, in Wales, with which Henry set sail, and landed at Waterford about the latter end of October, 1171.

Ireland, though now threatened with the utter extinction of her national independence, made no effort to avert the evil. The completest apathy prevailed; not a sign of alarm or resistance was made; and Henry landed, to take possession of Ireland, and leave it virtually a subjected nation. Not only were the Irish princes apathetic of the danger of the new invasion, but they even made haste to resign themselves to the will of the invader! Enamoured, as it were, of political slavery, they allowed its gilded collar to be slipped round their necks. As for the people, they soon felt the iron in their hearts: the dungeon and the sword, chains and fetters, fire and devastation, were their lot for hundreds of years to come. Probably it favoured the designs of Henry, that at the time when he landed, civil war was raging in the heart of Ireland. When the invading prince made his appearance on the Irish shores, the unnatural spectacle was to be observed of the Irish people mercilessly spoiling and slaying each other, hounded on by their respective chiefs and princes! Henry took advantage of this revolting state of things, and entered Ireland in the pretended

character of a "protector"; and hence, perhaps, the tacit submission of the people to his sway. Scarcely had he landed, ere the powerful king of Desmond, or South Munster, came forward and resigned his estates into the hands of the English king, who re-granted them immediately, on the usual conditions of feudal tenure, excepting the city of Cork, which he reserved for himself. Other princes, among whom were those of Thomond, Ossory, and the Desies, immediately followed the example. They even vied with each other in the alacrity of their submissions. Thus Henry's march to Dublin was a kind of triumphal procession—not the slightest opposition being offered to his progress. Arrived there, he gave a splendid entertainment to the vassal princes, who, hugging their chains, seemed delighted with the privilege of serving so noble and mighty a master.

Henry, in his capacity of religious missionary, took an early opportunity of "reforming" the Irish church. He summoned a synod of the Irish princes and prelates, at Cashel, when the following decrees were enacted—exposing the miserable pretence of Henry for the invasion of Ireland, and the uselessness of his presence there, so far as the reform of the church was concerned:—It was decreed: "1. That all the faithful throughout Ireland should contract and observe lawful marriages, rejecting those with their relatives, either by consanguinity or affinity. 2. That infants should be catechised before the doors of the church, and baptised in the holy font in the baptismal churches. 3. That all the faithful should pay the tithe of animals, corn, and other produce, to the church of which they are parishioners. 4. That all ecclesiastical lands, and property connected with them, be quite exempt from the exactions of all laymen. And especially, that neither the petty kings, nor counts, nor any powerful men in Ireland, nor their sons with their families, should exact, as was usual, victuals and hospitality, or entertainments, in the ecclesiastical districts, or presume to extort them by force; and that the detestable food or contributions which used to be required four times in the year, by the neighbouring counts, from farms belonging to the churches, should not be claimed any more." Such were the whole of those wonderful church "reforms" of the Anglo-Norman king, for which the liberties of a kingdom were not thought too dear a price.

As Henry was preparing to secure and extend his conquests, he was suddenly interrupted by the alarming intelligence of the rebellion of his sons in England. He hastened home, leaving the Norman barons in charge of the newly conquered districts. A large part of Ireland still remained independent, among which were the powerful kingdoms of Connaught and Ulster. These were still ruled by their own chiefs, and governed by their own laws. Indeed, Henry did not seem to have any desire to extend the English laws and usages further than for the protection of the Anglo-Norman

subjects whom he left behind him. No sooner had he left, than feuds and discords broke out afresh. The extension of the English power being now intrusted to unprincipled adventurers, the doomed Irish were not long in feeling all the tortures of the scourge which Henry had delivered into their hands. Lands were seized, and districts ravaged and plundered on all sides, with or without pretence—it was all the same.

The cruelty and treachery of the Normans soon alienated the affection (as it was called) of the Irish chiefs who had submitted to Henry; and they determined on making a unanimous effort for independence. Roderick, the Irish monarch, who had hitherto been an inactive spectator of the rapid progress of the Norman power, consented to place himself at the head of the confederacy. Seizing a fitting opportunity, he made a sudden incursion into Meath, destroyed all the forts raised by the Norman lords, and advancing into Leinster, laid waste the whole county, as far as the confines of Dublin. Roderick, however, had but little of the qualities of a general, and his men had few of the requisites of steady soldiers; for, scarcely had they got thus far, than they dispersed without coming into collision with the enemy, leaving the Normans again to take possession of the country, and rebuild the forts which had been torn down. They also made an incursion into Limerick, when the city of that name was taken and plundered, and a large number of the inhabitants slaughtered in cold blood. Their army was now no better than a mere band of well organized freebooters, who waded to booty through blood, and trampled all honour, honesty, and virtue completely under foot. They disregarded every thing that had formerly been held sacred; they burned down monasteries, plundered churches, and polluted sanctuaries of all kinds. The invaders also quarrelled frequently among themselves, which, added to the bloody feuds that raged from time to time between the rival chiefs and kings of Ireland, completed the horrible picture of this period. It only needed the submission of the Irish monarch, which took place *A. D.* 1175, to complete the nation's humiliation. Roderick acknowledged the Anglo-Norman king as his liege lord, and bound himself to pay an annual tribute; in return for which, he was confirmed in his possessions, and allowed to retain the empty title of king of Ireland. The kings of England were accordingly henceforward to be considered as the lords paramount of Ireland, and the Irish kings but as the vassals of the Norman princes.

On the death of Strongbow, which took place soon after, Ireland was cast into fresh troubles, from the quarrels and jealousies of her new governors. It would be futile to describe in detail the feuds of the adventurers; and their destructive invasions of the Irish territory yet unsubdued. Whichever of the Anglo-Norman parties gained the ascendancy,—whoever was chief governor, or king's deputy,—it was all the same to the Irish. The result to them

invariably was, invasion, massacre, and plunder. Thus Ulster and Connaught were invaded and laid waste in 1177, while Munster was torn to pieces by the feuds of its native chiefs. The entire nation was plunged in anarchy, and both natives and foreigners seem to have alike completely set at nought the restraints of law, of religion, and of humanity. The Normans were ready to take advantage of every domestic feud, for extending their power and increasing their wealth; they set son against father, and father against son, and lent their arms to promote the most unnatural crime and rebellion. Thus, it was to aid the sons of the Irish monarch in a rebellion against their own father, that the destructive but unsuccessful invasion of Connaught was undertaken. One governor succeeded another, and the result was almost invariably the same. Cruelty, rapine, and murder, followed everywhere in the steps of the invaders.

About this time, however, the arrogance of the Norman monarch received a sudden check, and the spirit of independence in Ireland, though now fast flickering towards its extinction, seemed as if on the point of rescuing the kingdom from the hands of his followers. It is not improbable that, by this time, the Normans had learnt to despise the Irish, as they had long despised the Anglo-Saxons, for their pusillanimity in defending their native soil; and imagined that no slight was too marked, no insult so gross, as not to be endured by them with patient submission and forbearance. But the Norman king here reckoned without his host, as the events we are about to relate will sufficiently show. It appears that from an early period, Henry had designed Ireland as an inheritance for his son John, now (A. D. 1184) a boy of only twelve years of age. This was quite in accordance with the ancient as well as (we regret to add) modern method of handing over kingdoms of people from one person to another, just like a herd of sheep, or a flock of geese. In accordance with this design of the Norman king, Prince John was invested with the lordship of Ireland, and the Pope immediately confirmed the grant. And straightway, this boy of scarce twelve years old, set out for Ireland, to take possession of his kingdom!—a kingdom, be it remembered, which was yet only partially in the possession of the invaders, and was held from day to day only by a strong and well disciplined army. Yet this boy was now sent to rule Ireland!—an act savouring of all the wantonness and arrogance of uncontrolled and despotic power. Scarcely had the prince landed, ere many of the Irish chieftains, who, since their first submission, had been living quietly under the Anglo-Norman government, hastened to offer their respects to him, as the son of their sovereign. They came clad in their fine national costume, wearing linen vests, flowing mantles, long locks, and bushy beards. Prince John and his arrogant young Norman courtiers, received the chiefs, many of whom were venerable old men, with mockery and insult. They broke out in derision of

their dress, mimicked their gestures, went so far as to pluck them by the beard, and finally thrust them with repeated insults from their presence. The hot blood of these Irish chiefs could not brook this treatment. They hastened home, burning for revenge: they represented to their neighbour chiefs the galling insults they had received, and asked "if such be the manners in which our loyal submission is received, what other hope remains for the country, but united and determined resistance?" The flame caught and spread with amazing rapidity; a spirit of hostility to the invaders sprung up, such as had never before been witnessed—almost the entire island being animated by the sentiment of deadly hate against the Anglo-Norman government. The chiefs now agreed to sink all minor differences, and pledged themselves by the most solemn oaths to defend their country and its liberties to the death.

While such was the spirit of determined resistance awakened by Norman arrogance and insolence, the young prince, with his courtiers and advisers, were heedlessly pursuing their foolish and dissipated career. The storm burst upon their heads with terrible fury. Almost a simultaneous attack was made upon the Norman forces at all points, with extraordinary and unprecedented success. Castles were daringly assaulted, and their garrisons put to the sword; bodies of Norman troops were attacked and cut to pieces, many of the most celebrated of the Norman chiefs falling victims to the outraged feelings of the people. In some places, the Irish were repulsed with great loss; but such was the result of the struggle, that by the end of the season, (according to the testimony of the English chroniclers themselves), John had lost almost his whole army! Henry heard with dismay of the ruin which threatened his cause in Ireland; and lost no time in recalling John, and entrusting the government to an old and experienced, but fierce and blood-thirsty warrior, by name De Courcy, who had long been engaged in ravaging and desolating the province of Ulster. He acted with the utmost vigour, in recovering the lost ground, and restoring the tottering Norman influence; but even he and all his powers would have failed, but for the dissensions which again begun to appear among the Irish chiefs at the very time of their greatest success. Alas! the liberties of Ireland were again lost by the treachery of her chiefs! One or other of the rival factions called in the aid of the foreigners, for the purpose of destroying their native enemy; and thus the foreigner was again enabled to repossess himself of all the ground he had lost. Ulster was distracted with civil war, and thus De Courcy was enabled to recover his original position there, almost without interruption. In Connaught, the sons of Roderick were at war with their father, whom they succeeded in deposing, when he took shelter in a monastery, and shortly afterwards ended his unfortunate career.

Thus distracted and torn to pieces was Ireland, and thus



miserable and wretched was its population, when the death of Henry II., at Chinon, in Normandy, (A.D. 1189), closed for ever any hope which might yet be entertained, of a more pacific and rational course of policy, on the part of that monarch, in the government of unfortunate Ireland.

## CHAPTER V.

*State of Ireland at Henry's death—The Church : introduction of Tithes—English Laws—The English Pale—Ireland beyond the Pale—The native Irish in relation to the soil—Irishmen might be plundered and murdered with impunity—Proofs—The quarrel hereditary.*

THE condition of Ireland, at the death of Henry, was indeed wretched in the extreme. The country had been repeatedly ravaged throughout almost its whole extent ; crops, flocks, and herds, had been destroyed ; and thousands of people whom the sword had spared, died of hunger. But anarchy did not die : for the elements of mischief still existed in all their force, and were even carefully fostered by the invaders of Ireland, as their best protection and safety, as well as their surest means of future encroachment and conquest. To the demoralization consequent upon such a long-continued warfare, and the frequency of scenes of violence and bloodshed, was also to be added the worse demoralization now introduced among the Irish, of hiring themselves out to fight on any side, regardless of aught but rapine and plunder,—a practice which could not but have the most injurious and debasing effects on the character of the Irish people. No surer method than this could have been devised of obliterating all distinctions between right and wrong, and producing that state of moral degradation which both disposes and fits men to be slaves.

Among the other methods adopted by Henry to undermine the independence of Ireland, was the attempted attachment to his cause, by bribery and corruption, of the Irish clergy. Despots have in all times eagerly embraced alliances with the religious teachers of the people, in order to suit their own unholy purposes ; and all experience proves that there is no more effectual means of extinguishing the liberties of a nation, than by placing over it a corrupt and venal priesthood. Henry, it will be remembered, first appeared in Ireland in the character of a missionary : he had a commission to "reform" the church, and we have shown what were the amount of his reforms. Among other things, he endeavoured to attach to his interests the Irish clergy, by considerably increasing their power and privileges. He also exempted lands and other property belonging to the church from all impositions exacted by the laity ; enjoining also, for the first time in Ireland, the payment of tithes to the priesthood by the people. This, it was no doubt hoped, would prove a lasting bribe to the church.

But Henry was mistaken: tithes could not be collected; the great body of the Irish clergy preferred the old independent usages of the church; and for a long time after the passing of this decree, the priesthood remained unbribed, and tithes remained unpaid. At length Henry, finding that the Irish were but unwilling instruments in his hands, resolved to promote his Norman followers to the high offices in the English church; and, on the death of the famous Lawrence O'Toole, John Comyn, an Englishman, was made Archbishop of Dublin. This was the commencement of a system of corruption in the Irish church, which has continued down to the present day. The church in Ireland is still the badge of conquest, as much as when Henry placed his English bishops over the Irish people nearly seven hundred years ago.

When Henry died, but a small portion of Ireland, comparatively speaking, was under the rule of the Norman chiefs, and subject to the English law and authority. Not more than one-third part of the kingdom then acknowledged the foreign power. The rest was ruled over by the native chieftains, who exercised the same rights of sovereignty as under the ancient monarchy. And thus the laws, language, and customs, of the native Irish, continued unchanged; the English remaining an isolated and circumscribed colony, in the midst of a hostile and ever resisting people. All the elements, however, of national anarchy were preserved; and the peace and happiness of Ireland continued to be sacrificed for centuries to come. The extension of the English power being henceforward entrusted to private adventurers, who were rewarded with the spoils which they were able to seize from the natives, plunder was thus legalized, and the security of native life and property set at nought. To kill "mere Irish" was not considered a crime, while to seize their property was deemed an honourable act, to be rewarded by honours and offices in the state. Irishmen might be oppressed, spoiled, or killed, without controul; and thus were they rendered outlaws and perpetual enemies of the crown of England.\*

Had Henry given the country a uniform system of law and government at the first, when he had the opportunity, much of this future misery and mischief might have been spared. A community of interests would thus have sprung up; both invaders and natives would ere long have merged into one people; the invidious distinctions, as of conquerors and conquered, would have been removed; factious practices and unsocial manners would have yielded to the restraints of regular government; and the genial fruits of protected industry and progressing civilization would ere

\* "It was certainly a great defect (says Sir John Davies, an English Attorney-General) in the civil policy of Ireland, that, for the space of *three hundred and fifty years, at least*, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to its people, nor the benefit nor protection thereof allowed them; for, as long as they were out of the protection of the laws, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them, without controul, how was it possible they could be other than outlaws, and enemies to the crown of England."—DAVIES' HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

long have been gathered and enjoyed by all classes of the community. Instead of this, however, an opposite course was adopted, which produced as opposite results. An English Pale was formed, consisting of the first acquisitions of the Anglo-Normans, and extending along the eastern and south-eastern shores of Ireland. Within this pale only, the laws, language, and institutions of England prevailed; all the Irish people beyond it being regarded in the light of savages, "enemies," and outlaws. The most deadly rancour sprung up, and became hereditary, between the two races; the Normans and their descendants adding to their haughty contempt for the Irish a deep and inveterate hatred, which displayed itself in every form of insult and injury that devilish ingenuity could devise; while the Irish people amply repaid it on their side, by deadly enmity, by perpetual harassments, by nocturnal attacks, by destructive invasions, and by all the contrivances of a people driven mad and desperate by oppression and insult.

Who does not see in that first invasion and settlement of Ireland by the Normans, a clear unravelment of the condition of Ireland down to the present day? There were the two races, distinct and hostile, hating and hated by each other,—the one denounced as foreigners\* and tyrants, the other as serfs and rebels,†—the one assuming the rights of conquerors, the other resisting them often to the death,—the one race, constituting a small minority, enjoying with trembling the wealth and property which was theirs by right of physical force only, while the great mass of the people were plunged by oppression into deep poverty, misery, and suffering,—the soil monopolized by a small band of rapacious foreigners, while the native inhabitants, counted only as outlaws and enemies, were hunted from the soil which they occupied, and, thus rendered homeless and destitute, perished by multitudes in the land of their birth. It was one of the evils of the native Irish system, previous to the Norman invasion, that the land was held by the people

\* At the present day, the foreign invaders of Ireland are very erroneously stigmatized as "Saxons." If there be any use in names at all, why not call them by their right name of "Normans," as we have above shown it to be the true one? The fact is, almost the only "Saxons" in Ireland at the time of its invasion, in 1170, were those who had been sold to the Irish people as *slaves*, after the conquest of England by the Normans! At a general council of the Irish clergy held at Armagh, shortly after the invasion of Ireland by Dermot and his Norman allies, they declared that the success of the invaders was owing to the anger of heaven, which the Irish had provoked by purchasing English slaves (the vanquished Saxons) from the merchants of Bristol; and the slaves throughout the country were accordingly ordered to be immediately liberated, in order thus to avert the divine wrath from the Irish nation.—See MOORE, TAYLOR, O'HALLORAN, &c.

† It is a singular fact, that the very first resistance which the Irish made to the Norman troops, namely, at the siege of Wexford, was designated as "rebellion," by the English chroniclers! "Thus early," says Moore, "was it considered 'rebellion' in the Irish to defend their own rightful possessions. A similar view of the historical relations between the two countries has continued to be entertained ever since. Thus THOMAS WHARTON, in the preface to his spirited Ode, 'Stately the feast, and high the cheer,' speaks of Henry II. 'undertaking an expedition into Ireland to suppress a rebellion raised by Roderick, king of Connaught,' and describes him in the ode as

"Prepared to stain the briny flood  
Of Shannon's lake with *rebel* blood!"

at the pleasure of their chiefs ; consequently, they might all be dispossessed at a moment's warning. "The possession of similar power," says a well-informed Irish writer,\* "was ardently desired by the Norman barons. With short-sighted policy, they preferred a horde of miserable serfs to a body of substantial yeomanry ; and they sacrificed readily their true interests, and the interests of both countries, to secure this object of their unworthy ambition. A similar folly seems to have seized on the successive oligarchies that have wielded the destinies of Ireland. Nothing was deemed so formidable as an independent tenantry ; no possession more desirable than an estate stocked with beings who were slaves in all but the name. Hence, for many centuries, the valuable class of substantial farmers was utterly unknown in Ireland—hence the number of such is even now inconsiderable—and hence the great mass always ready for insurrection, when summoned by popular leaders, or by their own passions ; men possessing no sympathy with their landlords, for never did community of feeling exist between master and slave ; men having nothing to lose in agrarian tumult, and every thing to hope from the prospect of revolution. The Norman oligarchs (if such a word may be used) were bad masters, and worse subjects. The monarchs soon found the degenerate English who had adopted Irish customs more obstinate and formidable enemies than the natives. In the language of the old historians, 'they were more Irish than the Irish themselves ;' and, from their first settlement, their principal object and that of their successors was, to controul, and if possible prevent, the wholesome influence of the British government, in order to maintain their own monopoly of oppression. Had Henry remained a sufficient time to complete his prudent plans, he might really have established an English interest in Ireland ; but he only left behind him an oligarchy, which, like all other oligarchies in a country possessing the semblance of freedom, was ever jealous to the sovereign, and odious to the people."

Besides the merciless sword, the law was also as mercilessly turned against the Irish people. We have said that Henry refused to extend the English laws beyond the English pale. Many of the Irish pressed for admission to the rank of subjects, and for enjoyment of the "privileges" of the English constitution. But Henry and his advisers refused ; and, with the exception of the five families of O'Neills of Ulster, O'Connors of Connaught, O'Briens of Thomond, O'Lachlans of Meath, and Mac Murrroughs (McMurchads) of Leinster, the Irish people were held to be aliens and enemies, and could neither sue nor be sued in the English courts of law. This was the case down even to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a period of nearly 350 years ! The Irish were not only denied all protection from the laws of their invaders ; they

\* Taylor's "History of the Civil Wars of Ireland."

were even declared by those laws to be "enemies." All intercourse between the races was interdicted. The Irish could not enter any town or city without peril of their lives. They might be plundered and murdered with impunity, and even with the sanction of the laws. Numberless cases are on record, of complaints made for attacks on life and property, to which the defendants plead that "the plaintiff is an *Irishman*, and not of the five bloods"—namely, the five Irish families above-named,—an answer which, if verified, was always found sufficient to secure the liberation of the accused.\* Thus, in the 4th of Edward II., Robert Wallace was accused at Waterford for feloniously slaying John Mac Gillimory. The prisoner confessed the fact, but pleaded that "*by his slaying the aforesaid John he could not commit felony, because the aforesaid John was a MERE IRISHMAN, and not of the five bloods,*" and so forth. On another occasion it is recorded that William Fitz Roger was charged with slaying one O'Driscoll; the which having confessed, he (Fitz Roger) pleaded that "*he could not commit felony by means of such killing; because the aforesaid Roger was an IRISHMAN, and not of free blood;*" therefore the said William, as far as regards the aforesaid felony, is *ACQUITTED*." But, as O'Driscoll was "an Irishman of our Lord the King," the said William Fitz Roger was sentenced to pay "*FIVE MARKS to our Lord the King, for the value of the aforesaid Irishman!*" From this may be learned the highest price at which the life of an Irishman was in those days estimated by the Anglo-Norman government.

Such was the system of separation between the two races, persevered in from the first. The colony was thus enabled to preserve itself from merging into the nation, and the foreigners from amalgamating with the Irish people. Though living together in the same land, in a comparatively narrow and insulated territory, the same feelings of hostility and hatred have descended in all their bitterness and fervour down even to the present day. Nearly seven centuries have passed, and still the conquerors and the conquered are fighting out the same old battle on the soil of Ireland.

\* To give a single instance from the Historical Tracts of Sir John Davies:—"In the 29th Edward I., before the justices in Oyer, at Drogheda, Thomas le Botteler brought an action of detenu against Robert de Almain, for certain goods. The defendant pleadeth: that he is not bound to answer the plaintiff for this—that *the plaintiff is an Irishman, and not of free blood*. And the aforesaid Thomas says that he is an Englishman, and this he prays may be enquired of by the country. Therefore let a jury come forth, and so forth. And the jurors, on their oath, say that the aforesaid Thomas is an Englishman. Therefore it is adjudged that he do receive his damages." Thus these records demonstrate (says Mr. O'Connell, in his Memoirs of Ireland) that the Irishman had no protection for his property; because, if the plaintiff, in either case, had been declared by the jury to be an Irishman, the action would be barred; though the injury was not denied upon the record to have been committed. The validity of the plea in point of law was also admitted; so that, no matter what injury might be committed upon the real or personal property of an Irishman, the courts of law afforded him no species of remedy.—IRELAND AND THE IRISH, pp. 51-2.

## CHAPTER VI.

Richard Cœur-de-Lion—John—Deplorable state of the country—Henry III.—Futile attempt to introduce the English laws—Quarrels of the invaders—Irish join their armies—Edward I.—Feuds of the barons—Disregard of human life—Attempt to bribe the English into doing justice.

THE history of Ireland, for some centuries after the reign of Henry II., presents but little variety, except the variety of alternated force and fraud, of domestic treason and foreign tyranny. As king succeeded king in England, so did oppression succeed oppression in Ireland. The system of cruelty was handed down unchanged from one generation to another. Whatever change might take place in England favourable to popular liberty, it was all the same to Ireland: all parties oppressed and crushed her in their turn. The Irish annals of the period present one dismal monotony of calamity and crime.

Richard I. Cœur-de-Lion, succeeded to the throne of England, on the death of his father. His accession to power was signalized by the massacre and plunder of the Jews throughout England, to enable him to undertake a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. Thus, in those days of Norman tyranny it was not thought inconsistent to preface a great effort of missionary enterprise by an act of satanic cruelty and barbarism. On this occasion, the attempted recovery of the land of Jesus was heralded by a general massacre of the chosen people of God! Richard lived like a madman, and died like a fool, leaving his name as a legacy to the romancists and novelists of England. He did nothing for Ireland; but left it to the Norman barons to carry on the work of spoliation there for their own special benefit.

Richard was succeeded by his brother John—a monster, whose character stands unredeemed from infamy by a single virtue. He ascended the throne, first giving the people a sufficient proof of his humanity by the murder of his nephew Arthur. His exactions and oppressions of his English subjects soon became so intolerable, that at length they rose against him as one man, and wrung from him the celebrated Magna Charta, the key-stone of English liberty. But, successful though England was in its resistance to this tyrant, Ireland, during his reign, exhibited the same melancholy picture of slavery and suffering. Occasional attempts were still made to check the ravages of the invaders, more especially under the direction of the king of Connaught, Cuthal of the Bloody Hand; but in vain. The tide of oppression still rolled on, till at length it covered the land from side to side. Bloody feuds still continued among the native chiefs, which the foreigners artfully excited and fomented; taking advantage of the same to weaken the strength of the nation, and extend their own power. The Norman barons

themselves also not unfrequently fell out in their struggles for ascendancy; and in their feuds the native Irish generally took sides with one or other of the contending parties. With the view of checking the quarrels of these rapacious chiefs, John made a military expedition into Ireland (A.D. 1210), on which occasion many of the Irish princes and chiefs paid homage to the monarch. After the lapse of a few years, John paid a second visit to Ireland, on which occasion he transplanted many of the English laws and institutions, for the benefit of his English subjects in Ireland. From the benefit of all such laws and institutions, however, the Irish people were carefully excluded. It is not a little remarkable that throughout the stormy period of John's reign, his subjects in Ireland, English as well as native, should have made no effort to avail themselves of his embarrassments to advance their own interests and views. "On the contrary," observes Moore, "in defiance of all ordinary speculation,—and a similar anomaly presents itself at more than one crisis of our history,—while England was affording an example of rebellion and riot, which mere neighbourhood, it might be supposed, would have rendered infectious, the sister country meanwhile looked quietly on, and remained in unbroken peace." The unusual tranquillity of Ireland at this time was probably owing in no small degree to the comparatively mild sway of the governors to whom were entrusted the administration of its affairs during this disgraceful and infamous English reign.

Another attempt was made in the early part of the reign of Henry III. (which commenced A.D. 1216), to introduce English laws and institutions into Ireland, for the benefit of the English subjects there. The provisions of the Great Charter were confirmed, and extended to the sister kingdom. The natives, however, were still left entirely out of consideration, and were even carefully excluded from all share in the benefits of the new laws. Applications were repeatedly made for admission within the English pale; but were as repeatedly rejected with contempt. It was the policy of the new lords of the soil to deal with the native Irish as persons beyond the protection of the laws, and with whom they were bound to keep no faith. And such was the impotence of the English crown over the tyrannical barons, that in the thirtieth year of Henry's reign a royal mandate was sent over to Ireland enjoining on them, for the sake of the public peace, to *permit* it to be governed by the English laws! But no: the upstart and suddenly enriched aristocracy (and such are invariably the most inveterate enemies of public liberty) would not so soon give up their privilege of oppression. They continued in the "good old way" of harrassing, plundering, and massacring at will the native Irish. But injustice and wrong brought with them their own retribution. The barons lived in the midst of constant outrage and "rebellion"; and their lives were never to be considered safe

for a moment. Gorged with plunder, they also, by a kind of natural process, fell out among themselves, and waged destructive war upon each other ; to put an end to which, the royal power was often called upon to interfere. To check and keep in awe these turbulent tyrants, the Irish in their desperation, as the Israelites in their folly, prayed for a King ! They would have hailed the tyranny of One as a blessing, instead of the baronial tyranny of hundreds. The presence of Royalty, the Irish imagined, would check the career of their rapacious chiefs, both foreign and native, and accordingly they entreated the English king to send them over a member of his royal family to rule over them. The request, like all others, was refused, and Ireland was left to be victimized as before.

About this time it was, that, in spite of the oppressions practised on the Irish, the English monarch applied to them for military aid in his wars against the Welsh and Scotch, who were then struggling for their independence against the Anglo-Norman power. It has been the reproach of the people in all ages, and in almost all lands, that they have been ever ready to lend themselves as the instruments of their own degradation and slavery. No sooner have they been conquered, than they have been found ready to hug their chains, and bear them as if in triumph in the train of their conquerors. Ignorant of their own power, and unmindful of their own true dignity as men, they have lent themselves as the instruments of tyrants, for the establishment of the very system of oppression which was grinding them to the earth. They have hired themselves to their subjugators for the very purpose of trampling themselves and each other down. They have sold themselves to the very government that was seeking their own ruin and extinction as a nation. Thus the Irish were found ready to lend themselves to their English conquerors, even at this early period, to crush the liberties of the Welsh and the Scotch people \* ; while the Saxon inhabitants of England, who had been subjugated by the Normans, and many of them sold

"There occurred frequently," says Moore, "in the course of this reign, disputes between England and Scotland, arising out of those pretensions for feudal superiority on the part of England, which were carried to their highest pitch, and realized by Henry's heroic successor. Among other preparations for an expected war at one of those junctures, a writ was addressed by the English monarch, to Donald, King of Tyrconnel, and about twenty other great Irish chiefs, requesting them to join him with their respective forces in an expedition against Scotland." And again, "During the disputes that arose between Henry and two successive sovereigns of Wales, Llewellyn and David, respecting the claim of feudal superiority advanced by the English king, a perpetual warfare continued to be maintained between the borders of the two nations, which grew, at times, into sufficient importance to call into the field the respective sovereigns themselves. On an occasion of this kind, which occurred in the year 1245, the king, being then hard pressed by the Welsh, and likewise suffering from the intense severity of the winter, summoned to his aid Maurice Fitzgerald, with his Irish forces. Could a gallant example of self-defence have roused the Irish to an effective effort for their own deliverance, they had now, in the struggle of their brave neighbours, the Welsh, against English aggression, a precedent worthy of being emulated by them ; for most truly was it said of that people, now armed to a man in defence of their mountain soil, that 'their cause was just, even in the sight of their enemies.'" \* But thus was it then, as it has been too frequently since, the hard fate of the Irish to be not only themselves the bond-slaves of England, but to be made also her unwilling instruments in imposing the same yoke of slavery upon others.—*Moore's Ireland*, Vol. III. p.p. 20, 23, 25, 26.



by their conquerors into slavery, were now found alike ready to oppress the Irish, the Welsh, and the Scotch, in their struggles for freedom.

The reign of Edward I., which begun in 1272, exhibits the same dreary record of fierce and ignoble strife. The annals of that period are chiefly filled with details of the feuds of the rival factions of Geraldines and De Burghs. Assassinations and murders, both among the English and native chiefs, were also fearfully frequent. There was a melancholy waste of human life, a deplorable amount of human suffering. Manhood and womanhood were alike trampled upon by tyrannic power. Irish men were murdered, and Irish women were violated, with equal impunity.\* Usurpation everywhere prevailed. The people were counted as nothing. The Irish nation was now held to be comprehended within the pale over which England held rule. All beyond was considered, in the eye of the law, as a mere savage waste. Irishmen might be slaughtered or made away with, but the law afforded them no redress whatever. As by this time the English had begun to conform to the Irish dress and manner of wearing the hair, and several of them had thus been mistaken for Irishmen and murdered, it was deemed necessary about this period (1295) to enact, that all English settlers should conform strictly to the English garb and cut of the hair, on pain of forfeiture of their goods, imprisonment, and being dealt with as Irish!

Though often before rejected with scorn, many of the native chiefs again renewed their applications in this reign, for admission within the pale of the constitution. They even attempted to *bribe* the crown into doing them justice. "An application was made," says Leland, "to Ufford, the chief governor, and eight thousand marks offered to the King, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the laws of England to the whole body of the Irish inhabitants. A petition, wrung from a people tortured by the painful feelings of oppression, in itself so just and reasonable, and in its consequences so fair and promising, could not but be favourably received by a prince possessed with exalted ideas of policy and government, and, where ambition did not interfere, a friend to justice." The application, however, though listened to, and "graciously considered," proved in vain; the barons took care that no extension of justice was ever made to the Irish people, which they could possibly prevent. Their invariable rule has been coercion and spoliation, down even to the present day. It is not a little remarkable, that, at the very time when the Irish were being treated with such monstrous oppression and cruelty, they furnished Edward I. with an immense army† for the purpose of effecting the total subjugation of the Scottish nation! The fact is a most melancholy

\* A case is found detailed in the Rolls (Dub. 6 and 7 Edw. I) wherein Robert Delaroché and Adam de Waleys were indicted for violating the person of Margery O'Rorke; but it being found that "the aforesaid Margery was an *Irishwoman*," the accused were immediately *acquitted*!

† At Roxburgh, says Dr. Lingard, the king found himself at the head of 8,000 horse and 80,000 foot, principally *Irish* and *Welsh*.

one, and shows how much despotism had already done for the moral degradation of the Irish people.

## CHAPTER VII.

Edward's attempts upon the crown of Scotland—Wallace—Struggle for liberty—Robert Bruce—Death of Edward I.—Edward II.—Defeat at Bannockburn—Ireland imitates Scotland—The Irish chiefs invite Edward Bruce over to Ireland—Lands at Carrickfergus—Is crowned king of Ireland—Fedlim O'Connor—Civil war in Connaught—Famine and destitution of the people—Total defeat of Bruce by the English—National independence, how to be accomplished.

ONE of the chief objects to which Edward the First devoted himself, from almost the commencement of his reign, was the entire subjugation of Scotland to his authority. The rival claims of Bruce and Baliol to the throne, accompanied by the consequent divisions among the Scottish nobles, favoured his designs upon that kingdom. He was appointed umpire between the disputants, and the issue was, that he at length claimed to be lord paramount, as Henry had done in Ireland. He took possession of the country, garrisoned all its castles with English troops, and appointed Baliol to the nominal sovereignty, who did homage and paid tribute to the English monarch. The Scottish nobles permitted all this, and crowded to the English king to give in their allegiance. As the aristocracy are generally ready to do, when it suits their own interests, they betrayed their country into the hands of its enemies.

But do not let us confound the Scottish *people* with their nobles. *They* were still the same hardy and valorous race which withstood the Roman eagles of old. They were indigenous to the soil, which their nobles were not. They still remained faithful to the independence of their country, though their barons and chiefs had shamelessly betrayed it. The patriotic principle still burned pure in their breasts, though for a time they had been drawn into the toils of the crafty Edward. Their resistance to the new usurpation soon showed itself. Scarcely had Edward "settled" Scotland, and re-crossed the Border, ere the uncorrupted people took up arms, and, headed by Wallace,—a name which ranks in history with those of Tell, Kosciusko, Gustavus Vasa, Hofer, and Washington,—retook most of the strong places in the hands of the English, and swept the invaders across the Border. Edward, alarmed for his "conquests," immediately despatched an army into Scotland, of fifty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, under the command of Warrenne, Earl of Surrey. Wallace met and utterly routed them in the battle of Stirling; nearly one-half of the invading army being cut to pieces. Edward now determined to take the field in person; and, assembling an immense army of nearly 100,000 men, chiefly Welsh and Irish, comprehending about 15,000 horse, he

again entered Scotland to overpower and subdue it. The Scottish nobles again deserted their country in its hour of need, and joined Edward with all the men they could muster. As was to be expected, Wallace and his gallant little army were completely defeated by this monster force of Edward, at the battle of Falkirk. The country was again overrun, and its castles garrisoned with the English; but again and again did the Scotch people rise in "rebellion," against the foreign power; and again and again did the English monarch re-conquer the country with his armies.

Fifteen years were thus spent; Wallace had been betrayed, and ignominiously executed in London; and the strength and spirit of the Scottish nation seemed completely exhausted. But this was not really the case. After Wallace, rose up Bruce, who renewed the struggle for national independence; and brave people enough were still found to support him in his glorious enterprise. It was when on his way to the North, with an immense army, to suppress the "rebellion" of the Scots under Bruce, that Edward I. died, at Burgh-upon-Sands, in June, 1307, leaving the crown to his son, Edward II., a man who was in military enterprise and all other respects greatly his inferior. His first act was to return with the greater part of his army into his own dominions, leaving the Earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland. Bruce, however, continued his determined efforts to release his country; and succeeded so well, that in the course of little more than a year after Edward's death, he had re-taken almost all the castles north of the Tweed, and expelled the English from the country. At length Edward II., alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, (for the Scots were now making frequent incursions into England as far south as Yorkshire), determined to make another desperate attempt to reduce Scotland under English sway. An immense army was collected, of English, Welsh, and Irish,—the largest that was ever led by any former monarch into Scotland. It consisted of 100,000 men, including a body of 40,000 cavalry.\* To oppose this overwhelming force, Bruce could only bring into the field an army of less than 40,000 men, of whom only 500 were cavalry.† He resolved, notwithstanding this fearful disparity of force, to give battle to the English army, upon the field of Bannockburn. A terrible struggle took place, in which the invaders were completely defeated. Thirty thousand of the English and their allies were left dead upon the field; the independence of Scotland was established, and all hopes upon the part of England of accomplishing its conquest were for ever annihilated. All the military power and energies of a monarch and his barons fighting for conquest, were found of no avail when brought to bear upon a gallant people fighting for their freedom. It was thus that Scotland, though a poor and comparatively scantily peopled country, instead of

\* TYTLER'S *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 258. + *Ibid*, vol. i., p. 260.

becoming a mere conquered province of England, asserted and maintained its independence as a nation; the advantages resulting from which are undoubtedly enjoyed by her people down to the present day. At the Union, Scotland, unlike Ireland, was treated as an equal, and not as a vassal; and ever since, her people have enjoyed equal rights and privileges with their English brethren.

It was natural that Ireland should watch with deep interest the struggle of the Scottish nation for independence, against the powers of the English crown. Besides the sympathy which they had for them as men struggling in a noble cause, the Irish had also a sympathy for the Scots in many other respects,—as sprung from a common stock with themselves, speaking nearly the same language, and resembling them in many of their ancient laws and institutions. It may accordingly be conceived with what hope and enthusiasm the Irish looked forward to their own emancipation, when they heard of the glorious victory of Bannockburn, which so completely humbled the monarch, and prostrated the power of the mail-clad barons, who had trodden her own princes, chiefs, and people underfoot. The Ulster chiefs accordingly made all possible haste to fraternize with Robert the Bruce; and sent deputies over to Scotland, inviting him over to aid them in their struggle for independence. They insisted that, if he himself could not proceed to their aid, he would at least send his brother, Sir Edward Bruce, to whom they made offer of the crown of Ireland. Bruce, willing to find a vent for the ambition of his brother, and at the same time to harass England in her most vulnerable quarter, ere long acceded to their request. Edward Bruce accordingly landed at Carrickfergus, (in May, A. D. 1315), with an army of six thousand men. He was immediately joined by immense numbers of the Irish, and proceeded to overrun the northern provinces, slaughtering the colonists, and burning their towns and settlements. The English barons advanced against him with an army, aided by Fedlim O'Connor, king of Connaught, and his vassals; but they were defeated, with considerable loss. Fedlim retreated to his own dominions, to put down an insurrection among his vassals, headed by a new claimant to his throne. By the help of his English allies, he was enabled to subdue the insurrection and slay his opponent; but, instead of reciprocating the assistance, he immediately declared for Bruce, and drew his sword against his country's enemies. Even many of the English settlers, who by this time had amalgamated with the Irish, declared for Bruce, who, confident of success, was solemnly crowned at Dundalk, and proceeded to march southwards to Dublin. When arrived at Meath, he encountered a formidable force under the lord justice, and put them to rout with great slaughter. The Scots, however, from want of provisions, were compelled again to return into Ulster; where, at Northburgh Castle, Bruce held his court, and performed the functions and kept the state of an Irish monarch.

The arrival of supplies from Scotland, in the following year, enabled Bruce to renew the contest. But, in the meantime, his ally, Fedlim O'Connor, king of Connaught, had been encountered in a pitched battle, by the English forces under William de Burgh, and defeated with terrible slaughter. This engagement, said to be the most bloody and decisive that had ever been fought from the time of the English invasion, took place near Athenry, in the county of Galway. Eleven thousand Irish are said to have been left dead on the field; the gallant Fedlim himself was slain, and the power of the O'Connors in Ireland completely prostrated. This was a sad blow for Bruce, who had looked to Fedlim for great aid in the coming contest. But he was not daunted. On the arrival of his brother Robert from Scotland, with reinforcements, he took the field with his army, and proceeding southwards, laid waste the country to the very walls of Dublin. The expedition, however, was fruitless, for it ended in a retreat into Ulster, in 1317; after which King Robert returned to his own dominions in Scotland. The English, on their part, were now preparing to put forth all their strength, to drive the new invaders from the country. Meanwhile, discord continued to prevail among the Irish chiefs; and about this time another battle took place in Connaught, between two rival chiefs, which was attended with the slaughter of 4,000 of their respective followers.\* Famine also raged throughout the land, and especially in the northern provinces, to such an extent, in consequence of the long-continued warfare between so many rival parties, that the wretched people, it is said, took the very dead out of their graves, and boiling the flesh of the corpses in the sculls, thus frightfully appeased their hunger!† The Scottish army, under Bruce, was also reduced to the greatest extremities, and very much diminished in numbers.

After a long period of inaction, the final blow was at length to be struck. The English army had been joined by large reinforcements of men, in excellent condition; and now advanced into Ulster, in a body of 15,000 strong, under the command of Sir John Bermingham. To this force Edward Bruce could oppose only 2,000 Scots, together with about 1,000 badly-armed Irish.‡ Edward, contrary to the advice of his best captains, and notwithstanding the tremendous disparity of force, determined to risk a battle. He had already engaged the Anglo-Irish forces eighteen times, and had been uniformly victorious. But his success was now to desert him for ever. The armies met at Tagher, near Dundalk, on the 5th of October, 1318. The struggle was short, but fierce. At the first onset, the Scots, worn out by famine, and paltry in numbers,

\* "It was this discord among themselves," says the Irish historian Moore, "the inherent vice of the Irish nation, that paralysed then, as it has done ever since, every effort for their enfranchisement, and which, at that time, would have kept them helpless and confirmed slaves, had even a whole army of Robert Bruce thronged to their deliverance.—*HISTORY OF IRELAND*, vol. iii., p. 68.

† CAMDEN.

‡ BARBOUR, p. 317.

were as if swallowed up by their enemies. Almost the entire 2,000 were cut to pieces. Edward Bruce was found dead, and Sir John Maupas, who had undertaken to kill him at the commencement of the contest, was found stretched lifeless on his body.

Thus ended an expedition, which, if properly seconded by the Irish people, and conducted with more judicious valour by its leaders, might have re-established the independence of the Irish nation. But it is almost next to impossible for the independence of a people to be accomplished by the intervention of foreign influence. A people, to do this work successfully, *must do it for themselves*. To maintain their independence, they themselves must have been able to effect it by their own exertions. It is not improbable, therefore, that had Edward Bruce even succeeded in his object, the Irish people would only have exchanged one set of tyrant masters for another. The time had not yet arrived for the appearance of a Wallace or a Bruce in Ireland. It has been reserved for modern times to produce a Liberator for the Irish people.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Edward III.—Dreadful treatment of the Irish—Separation of the races by the invaders—Assimilation of the invaders to the Irish—Monstrous enactments to prevent this—"English rebels" and "Irish enemies"—Statute of Kilkenny—Richard II.—Capricious act—Absenteeism—Richard visits Ireland—Henry IV.—Henry V.—Encroachments of the Irish on the Pale—Henry VI.—The White and Red Roses—The Duke of York sent to Ireland—His wise administration—Civil war in England—Richard is aided by the Irish—Richard slain—Edward IV.—Edward V.—Richard III.

THE reign of Edward III., who succeeded to the English crown A.D. 1327, presents another revolting record of oppression, bloodshed, and crime. The aristocracy were more rapacious, and the people more defenceless, than ever. The lordly invaders now treated the Irish, as all men who fancy themselves endowed with "the right divine to govern wrong" invariably do,—with contumely and insult, and often with horrid cruelty. The English barons of this period seem to have been a kind of upper class savages, the more dangerous that they had generally large bodies of armed ruffians at their disposal, to aid them in their deeds of rapacity and vengeance. Often bloody feuds broke out among themselves, in which they were respectively aided by large bodies of the native Irish, led by their chiefs, and which ended in the defeat and destruction of one or other of the contending factions. It is melancholy to contemplate a kingdom and people thus given up to almost indiscriminate riot, plunder, and slaughter. Occasionally, the Irish rose against the barons, routed their forces, burnt their dwellings, and laid waste their possessions; but every thing like an effort at national deliverance was as yet afar off.

About this time, the Irish again applied for admission to the privileges and the laws of England, but in vain. The system of separation was inveterately persevered in by those who wielded the powers of the government. Yet a certain degree of intercourse and admixture could not but take place between the settlers and the natives. In the more remote districts, intermarriages took place; and not unfrequently alliances with the Irish sept were made, with the view of crushing their rivals within the Pale. The first distinguished instance of the open assumption of the character of Irish chiefs, on the part of the English barons, presented itself on the death of the powerful head of the De Burgh family. Immediately on the earl's assassination by his servants at Carrickfergus, two chiefs of the junior branches of the family, fearing the transfer of his immense estates into strange hands, resolved to seize on the estates, and declare themselves independent. They at once did so; and in order to enlist the sympathy of the natives on their side, they renounced the English dress, habits, and language, and adopted those of the Irish, assuming the respective Irish cognomens of Mac William Eighter and Mac William Oughter.\* This example was soon very extensively followed throughout the country. The number of the "degenerate English," as they were called, increased; the Irish language and manners became predominant, so that many of the English became "mere Irish," or, as a writer of the times expressed it, "even more Irish than the Irish inhabitants themselves."

To check this defection from the mother country, as it was generally considered to be, new expedients were adopted for restricting the colony. Those of the English settlers who allied themselves with the native Irish, were characterized as "English rebels," to distinguish them from the "Irish enemies;" for the Irish were never otherwise recognised by the English government, for several hundred years after their arrival in Ireland. The crown began to look with great jealousy towards the great Anglo-Irish lords, who had now monopolized in their hands so large a portion of the soil of Ireland; and the attempt was to be made to break them up and disperse them, if possible. A royal proclamation was issued, excluding from all share in the government the old colonists of the country, and confining the eligibility to office only to those of English birth. This proposal was received with such indignation, and such a formidable resistance to it was threatened, that Edward was glad to give up his project, limiting the exclusion to the native Irish, and eventually excepted from the operation of the law all who had obtained charters of privileges. The distinction between English by birth and English by descent was now, however, fully introduced, and was a source of strife, discord, and weakness in the colony, for a long time to come.

\* The Earl of Clanricarde is descended from the former, and the Earl of Mayo from the latter family.

In the fortieth year of king Edward's reign (A.D. 1367), a Parliament of the Lords of the Pale was held at Kilkenny, to consult on the state of the country. At that parliament was passed the ever-memorable and infamous act, afterwards generally known as the Statutes of Kilkenny. This monstrous act is full of the hatred with which the English regarded the native Irish at this period. It is perhaps one of the most fiendish acts which was ever devised since the world began. These Kilkenny Statutes enacted, "that intermarriage with the natives, or any connection with them in the way of fostering or gossipred, should be considered and punished *as high treason*;—that any man of English race, assuming an Irish name, or using the Irish language, apparel, or customs, should *forfeit all his lands and tenements*;—that to adopt or submit to the Brehon law (the ancient law of Ireland), was *treason*;—that the presentation of "mere Irishmen" to any ecclesiastical benefice, or the admission of them to religious houses, was *penal*;—that to admit Irish cattle to pasture or graze upon the lands of the English, was also *penal*;—as well as to entertain any Irish bard, minstrel, or story-teller, "who perverted the imagination by romantic tales"! Such were the principal enactments of the celebrated Statutes of Kilkenny,—which put the whole native people of Ireland under the ban of proscription and exclusion, and set a mark upon them, to be shunned and hated by their fellow-men. But we do not need to inveigh against the cruel and iniquitous character of the enactments: the mere simple statement of them is sufficient: they speak for themselves. In the words of Lord Clare, this act "was a perpetual declaration of war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the pale, and from motives of personal interest, or convenience, had formed connections with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs. And it had the full effect which might have been expected: it drew closer the confederacy which it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent district." The authority of the English rapidly declined; the natives made considerable encroachments on the possessions of the barons; who, meanwhile, by their unrestrained excesses and cruelties, kept the country in a state of the utmost misery and suffering.

Insurrections, feuds, rebellions, and slaughters, characterized the reign of Richard II., as of all his predecessors. He was a minor when his father died; but that mattered nothing to the Irish: the rule for them was always the same. According to the English writers of that day, they were "a race utterly irreclaimable;" accordingly, no mercy was shown them. The distinctions between Normans and Saxons were by this time disappearing in England; but the Statutes of Kilkenny meant that in Ireland the distinction



between the invaders and the natives should be perpetuated for ever. And, sure enough, they have descended down to our own times in almost a direct line. We have still the Norman barons and the Irish natives,—the “English rebels,” the “Irish enemies,” and the “Lords of the pale,”—as distinctly marked on the soil of Ireland, as ever. In England, the amalgamation between the two races was carefully fostered by the government: the king even forbade the use of Norman French in legal proceedings and deeds, in order to efface one of the remaining marks of the conquest. The same manners and language accordingly soon pervaded the people. In Ireland, how different it was! The barons pertinaciously refused the Irish admission within the pale of the English laws; they were consequently forced to retain their ancient system, their ancient laws, their ancient manners and language, which the Kilkenny Statutes actually made penal and treasonable. Was there ever such refinement of legal cruelty and barbarity as this!

There are no occurrences in the reign of Richard II. which are worthy of particular remark. The young monarch, in one of his capricious frolics, created his favourite, De Vere, Earl of Oxford, successively Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, investing him with the entire sovereignty of the kingdom during his life; an act which was actually confirmed by the Parliament of England! A law, the first of the kind, was passed against absenteeism; for, such was the condition of the country, that in the first years of this reign, the Pale was left nearly depopulated by the great influx of Anglo-Irish landholders into England. An act was passed, compelling them to reside on and protect their own estates; but it seems to have had very little effect, for new acts, more stringent than the first, were afterwards passed from time to time, in this and succeeding reigns. Another of the events of this period was a vain-glorious visit which Richard himself made to Ireland (A.D. 1394), attended by a large army, for the purpose of carving out for himself a military reputation, at the expence of the Irish people. No resistance was, however, offered him. The native chiefs, to the number of seventy-five, performed homage to him, and, after traversing the country in military pomp, he returned home again. After the lapse of five years, he paid Ireland a second military visit, for the purpose of reducing to subjection Macmurchad, one of the most powerful chiefs of Leinster; who, though a pensioner of England, had risen in arms against the royal authority, and severely harassed the English settlements. The expedition was without any results; for, before he could make any progress against Macmurchad, he was re-called hastily to England, to defend his own crown. He reached Wales only to find that his power had completely departed from him, and that he was considered as an enemy in the very land from which he had so lately set out a powerful and mighty monarch. Betrayed into

the hands of his rival, Henry of Lancaster, he shortly afterwards terminated his life, it is supposed by violence, in Pontefract castle.

Henry IV. (A.D. 1399) now usurped the English throne, and during almost the whole period of his reign was engaged in quelling insurrections amongst his English subjects. He had consequently little time to spare for poor Ireland, which, as before, was left to the individual rapacity and cruelty of the barons. The feud between the Butlers and the Geraldines reached to a dreadful height during this period; and furious battles were fought, with varying success to them, but always with the same destructive results to the native Irish. Henry died, after a disturbed reign of fourteen years, and was succeeded by Henry V., who was engaged, during most of his reign, in carrying on a vigorous and successful war with France, which ended in his obtaining the succession to the throne of that kingdom. Nothing, however, was done for Ireland, which was left to take its own course. The power of England consequently declined, both within and beyond the Pale; and the Irish chiefs, taking advantage of the weakness of the government, vigorously exerted themselves to recover back their possessions from the English. To such an extent did they succeed, that the Speaker of the House of Commons, in an address about this time, in reference to the "dangerous" state of Ireland, openly admits that "the greater part of the lordship of Ireland" had been "conquered" by the natives. The chiefs also kept the settlers in a state of such constant terror, by their wild and destructive inroads, that many of them were driven to the humiliating expedient of buying off the hostility of the Irish by means of an annual payment under the name of Black Rent—of a kind similar to that levied at a later period by Rob Roy and the Highland Caterans upon the inhabitants of the Scottish Lowlands.

Henry VI. was an infant when his father died, and in his reign it was that the fierce and bloody wars between the factions of York and Lancaster first broke out. During this period, the Ormonds, Desmonds, and other old Anglo-Irish families, greatly augmented their power and increased their possessions. One of the most important events to Ireland, in this reign, was the appointment of Richard, Duke of York, the lineal heir to the crown of England, to the lieutenancy of Ireland. Richard's branch of the family had been cut off from the possession of royal power, by the usurpation of Henry IV.; and his grandson, Henry VI., fearing that his powerful rival of York, who was generally beloved in England, and looked upon by many as the rightful heir of the throne, would prove troublesome if allowed to remain in his immediate neighbourhood, appointed him to the government of Ireland, and sent him over to take charge of that part of the kingdom.

Richard found the country in a wretched state, and the English power reduced to a mere shadow. But he had secured large powers from the English king, before assuming the government;

and he at once set himself to work in good earnest, as no other governor of Ireland had yet done, to restrain the excesses of faction, to promote the prosperity of the country, and bestow upon the Irish people the benefits of good government. It may be, that he was induced to do this, as is alleged, because he wished to secure for himself such a hold upon the affections of the Irish people, as would render them afterwards subservient to the advancement of his designs on the English throne. However this may be, it is certain that the brief administration of Richard, Duke of York, is one of the brightest periods in Irish history. For the first time since the Anglo-Norman invasion, the Irish were treated with fairness, the violence and persecuting spirit of the English was repressed, and all classes made to feel that they were alike under the protection and oversight of the government. Before, however, sufficient time was given for any permanent good to spring out of Richard's administration, the troubled state of affairs in England induced him to return home. An insurrection, headed by Jack Cade, an Irishman,\* broke out, it is said at the instigation of Richard's partizans, with the view of sounding the feelings of the English people in his favour. Henry publicly denounced Richard as the instigator of the rebellion; and, determined to vindicate himself, he immediately set out, with a body of retainers, for the English court.

After an apparent reconciliation with the king, the disaffection of the public broke out with great vehemence; Richard put himself at their head, made Henry a prisoner, and forthwith assumed the reins of government. But Margaret of Anjou, Henry's queen consort, a bold and courageous woman, assembling her partizans, put herself at their head, and marching against the Yorkists, defeated them at Blore Heath with terrible slaughter. Richard fled to Ireland, when the Irish flocked round him with their tenders of support. He was hailed as their prince; the parliament passed laws for his especial protection, even though he and his adherents had been attainted by the English legislature. After

\* That there were many Irish now in England, appears obvious enough from several of the acts of this period. Thus, in the year 1413, it was enacted by the king and parliament, that, "for the peace and quietness of England, and the increase and prosperity of Ireland, all *Irishmen, Irish clerks, beggars, &c.* should be removed out of England before All Saints following, with the exception of graduates in schools, sergeants and apprentices at law," &c. By another stroke of tyranny, about the same period, the Anglo-Irish law students were even excluded from the inns of court! At the same time, laws were actually passed by the Parliament of the Pale, ordaining that no "Irish enemy"—that is, Irish man or woman—should be permitted to depart from the realm, without special leave under the great seal of Ireland; and that any subject who should seize the person and goods of a native attempting to transport himself without such licence, was to receive one moiety of his goods, while the other was to be forfeited to the crown! "The Irish enemy," says MOORE, in his *MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN ROCK*, "showed, naturally enough, a disposition to emigrate; but, by a refined mixture of cruelty and absurdity, which is only to be found, *genuine*, in Irish legislation, an act of parliament was passed to prevent them. Those whom the English refused to incorporate with subjects, they could yet compel to remain as rebels or as slaves. We have heard of a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, but an act of parliament to compel him to stand his ground, could only have been passed by an Irish legislature."

the lapse of a short period, encouraged by the results of the battle of Northampton, Richard passed over into England, with a body of about 5,000 men, chiefly Irish, to aid his son Edward in the struggle for the English throne. Before, however, he could rally his partizans, he was unexpectedly attacked by Margaret, in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, with an army four times more numerous than his own, and completely defeated, with the loss of about 3,000 men. Richard himself fell in the battle, or was afterwards taken and killed on the spot. And thus passed away all hope which the Irish may have entertained of the blessings of equal laws and good government, from the accession of Richard, Duke of York, to the English throne.

The struggle, however, between the rival houses of York and Lancaster was not yet ended. It was renewed by Richard's son, Edward, who struck down the house of Lancaster on the field of Towton. Edward IV. then ascended the throne; but was for a time again displaced by Henry, through the aid of the "King-maker" (as he was surnamed), the Earl of Warwick. But Edward finally prevailed; and, dying in 1483, left his son, Edward V., to succeed him. The reign of this prince was, however, cut short by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who murdered the young prince and his brother in the Tower, and himself ascended the throne under the name of Richard III. His reign was short; for he was unseated by Henry, Earl of Richmond, who slew the tyrant, and completely defeated his army, on the field of Bosworth, in 1485. Richmond immediately ascended the throne, and reigned for twenty-four years, as Henry VII. One of the events of his reign constitutes an important epoch in the history of Ireland.

## CHAPTER IX.

Henry VII.—The territory of the Pale—Invasions of the natives—Tyrannical edicts of the Irish Parliament—Rebellions of Simnel and Perkin Warbeck—Henry attempts to bring the Irish people under the influence of English law—Former Parliaments in Ireland—Sir Edward Poyning's administration—Summonses a Parliament—Poyning's act—Its objects—State of the country.

At the accession of Henry VII., the power of the English in Ireland had become very much curtailed. The jurisdiction of the crown extended only over the four counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath! This constituted the territory of the Pale: all beyond it was still subject to Irish laws, not recognising the authority of the English parliament. The natives now, led by the native chiefs, who, though in many cases stripped of their possessions by the invaders, were still recognized by the people as their rightful rulers, made frequent inroads even upon the Pale itself, and succeeded in taking forcible possession of estates, from which it was found impossible to dislodge them. This was especially the case

during the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster,—the absence of many of the great landed lords furnishing the native chiefs with the opportunity of recovering their original inheritances, of which they were not slow to take advantage. Those who did not lose their estates, were glad, at least along the borders of the Pale, to purchase exemption from attack by the payment of annual pensions to the native chiefs.

Occasional attempts were made by the English of the Pale to defend themselves against these inroads. One of these was, the formation of a fraternity of arms, under the name of the “Brothers of St. George.” At the time it was instituted, it consisted of thirteen persons of the highest rank belonging to the four counties above named; who had at their command a force of 120 archers on horseback, 40 men-at-arms, and 40 pages. Contemptible as it was, this force was still further reduced, on the death of the Duke of Clarence (A. D. 1478), to 80 archers on horseback, and 40 “spears;” and lest the sum of £600, annually required for its maintenance, should prove too burdensome for the country, it was provided that should Ireland be unable to pay it, the sum was to be sent thither from England! \* And such was then the entire standing army of the English government in Ireland! With what perfect ease the native Irish could have crushed this contemptible force, had they been actuated by a spirit of unanimity in favour of national independence! But they then knew nothing whatever of this. The nation was still broken up into septs, each at war with the other; and they would not relinquish their discord for even the prospect of a victory over their common enemy.

One would almost have thought that the conscious weakness of the English would now have restrained their insolence, as displayed in the acts of the Parliament of the Pale. But no: their edicts continued as barbarous and unnatural as ever! We give a few of the more remarkable instances:—At a parliament, held at Trim, in 1446, it was enacted, that “any man who does not keep his upper lip shaved, may be treated as an Irish enemy.” This act continued unrepealed down to the period of Charles I. Another enactment of the same parliament was, that “if an Irishman who is denized kill or rob, he may be used as an Irish enemy, and slain on the spot.” In 1463, a parliament, held at the same place, passed enactments to the following effect:—“That any body may kill thieves or robbers, or any person *going to rob or steal, having no faithful men of good name and English apparel in their company;*” and “that the Irish within the Pale shall wear English habit, take English names, and swear allegiance, on pain of forfeiture of goods.” The first mentioned of these enactments was virtually a permission to kill Irishmen with perfect impunity, under the pretence that they were “*going to rob or steal.*” How could the miserable Irish prove

\* See Cox; also Moore.

that they were not? Surely, this was murderer's law, with a vengeance. In 1475, another barbarous law was passed in a parliament, held by William Sherwood, *Bishop* of Meath, enacting that "any Englishman, injured by a native not amenable to law, *might reprise himself on the whole sept and nation*. Thus, the entire Irish nation being pertinaciously refused the benefits of English law, it was made *legal* for any Englishman who had received an injury, to wreak his vengeance upon them! How unlike is this Bishoply law to the precepts inculcated in Christ's sermon on the mount! But already were the English bishops in Ireland, although catholics like the Irish themselves, "ravenous wolves whose gospel was their maw." We shall just mention one more instance of legislative barbarity at this period: it occurred at a parliament, held at Dublin in 1485, when an act was passed authorizing the men of the town of Ross to "reprise themselves against robbers,"—"In other words," says Sir William Betham, "they might rob the innocent to indemnify themselves for having been previously plundered."\*

Let us now return to the course of events under the reign of Henry VII. Shortly after his accession to the throne, a rebellion broke out against his authority, headed by a young man named Simnel, who was put forward by the Yorkist party, to personate the young Earl of Warwick, then a prisoner in the Tower. The Irish barons, headed by the Earl of Kildare, immediately declared for the impostor, and had him crowned King in Dublin, under the title of Edward VI. The Irish chiefs and their followers also crowded round him, to support his right to the English throne by force of arms. They invaded England, were met by Henry, and completely defeated. Thus, again, were the Irish made the dupes and the victims of unprincipled adventurers. Yet this failure, it seems, was not sufficient; for, in a few years after, Perkin Warbeck, another impostor of a similar kind, was brought forward as Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., who, it was pretended, made his escape from the Tower, where his elder brother was murdered. This attempt failed as signally as the other; and Henry was confirmed in the possession of his throne more strongly than ever.

But the time had now arrived when it was necessary that something should be done for Ireland, in order that it might continue attached to the English crown. Henry saw that it was at present only a source of weakness, and a point through which the most fatal blows might be inflicted on his power. His attention was accordingly now directed to the state of his dominions in Ireland, with a view to check the progress of anarchy and agrarian despotism. The time was certainly most favourable for carrying into effect an enlarged system of policy for the pacification of Ireland, and for the promotion of her domestic industry. The sword had been tried for more than three hundred years, and mangling and

\* Origin and History of the early Parliaments of Ireland.

bloody work had been done by it. Yet Ireland was as little under the dominion of England as at the commencement of that period, and was to her a source of weakness far more than of strength. The English monarchs had hitherto been engaged either in defending their possessions in France, pursuing conquests in Scotland and Wales, or putting down rebellions among their own subjects. But England was now in a state of comparative peace, and the juncture was favourable for attaching the people of Ireland as subjects to the English crown by means of wise and judicious legislation. Henry, though incompetent to tread in the higher walks of statesmanship, had sufficient sense to perceive that it would be much easier to govern the Irish by the law than by the sword; and he accordingly set himself to devise ways and means of bringing the Irish people under the authority of English laws and institutions.

Sir Edward Poyning was the person selected by the king to carry his views into execution; a man possessed of much influence in Ireland, and nearly connected with the families of several powerful Irish chiefs. He possessed the confidence of the monarch, and was feared, because of his severity, by the people. Poyning was accompanied to Ireland by several eminent English lawyers, and he was also attended by a well appointed little army of about 1000 men. The pen and the sword were now to be tried in conjunction as the subjugators and peacemakers of Ireland. The first great cause of mischief to which the new Lord-Deputy's attention was directed was the Parliament of the Pale, which was an irresponsible, self-elected body, packed by the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, and had hitherto been a mere instrument for furthering the despotic designs of those who composed it. Down to the time of which we speak, representative parliaments were unknown in Ireland. The ancient assemblies of the Irish people upon the hill of Tara partook more of the character of military musters, under their respective chiefs, than of parliaments for the purpose of deliberation and legislation, as they have since been assumed to be. When the English obtained a footing in the country, frequent meetings of the barons of course took place, to devise measures of further conquest and spoliation. In course of time, the barons, in addition to the sword, employed the weapon of the legislator—a still more efficient one for their purpose. All the cruel acts, which we have referred to, together with a great many more of kindred spirit, emanated from this body. Though called by the name of Parliament, it had none of the essential features of such a body; no constituencies, no election, no regular return. It was merely an assembly of the men of influence and property (however acquired) met for their own purposes.\* In course of

\* "Until the period," says Moore, "when regular parliaments began to be held in Ireland, it was usual to transmit thither, from time to time, the laws made by the English legislature, to be there proclaimed, enrolled, and executed, as laws also of Ireland; and there can be little doubt that what was then styled a parliament in that kingdom, was no more than the summoning of the great men of the realm together, reading over to them the law or laws transmitted from England, and enjoining that they should obey them."

time, however, such assemblies assumed to themselves large powers, to which they were most probably tempted by the weak and distracted state of England, and the little care that its monarchs took of all affairs relating to the government of Ireland. Many infamous and revengeful acts had been passed by this parliament of the Pale, which had been productive of vast mischief, but tended greatly to enlarge the powers and authorities of the feudal barons. Henry was resolved to check this provincial despotism of the Anglo-Irish chiefs, and, as we have already seen, sent over Sir Edward Poyning with the view of devising measures for their restraint, as well as to establish more effectually the authority of the English law in Ireland.

One of the first acts of Poyning, after repressing several outbreaks of the natives, was to summon a parliament at Drogheda; at which was passed the celebrated measure, generally known as Poyning's Act, or Poyning's Law. By this act, a provision was made that, before a parliament could be held in Ireland, the license of the King of England and his council should be obtained for the holding of it, and for all acts to be submitted to it. It also made all statutes which had been passed by the parliament of England effectual in Ireland. Another of the abuses against which this act was aimed, was the maintenance of great numbers of armed retainers by the barons, who had hitherto assumed the power of making peace and war with whom they pleased. All private wars were henceforward prohibited; and to stir up the "Irishry" against the people of the Pale, or to make war upon the chief governor, was declared high treason. It was made felony to permit any "enemies" or rebels to pass the marshes; and all proprietors of marsh lands were obliged to reside there themselves, or, when absent, to leave sufficient deputies in their place, on pain of losing their estates. Another act of the same parliament was directed against the ancient Irish exaction, called "coyne and livery;"\* and also against the English method of extortion of a similar kind, called purveyance. The war-cries of the barons† were also strictly prohibited, as provocative of riot and emblems of faction.

\* What was called "coyne and livery," was only a compendious method of supporting an army, by quartering it immediately upon the people. It meant pay, food and entertainment for the men; and forage for the horses. It was a fertile source of discontent and rebellion; exposing the natives, as it did, to arbitrary exactions, cruelty, rapine, and insult. "Every inconsistent party," says Leland, "who, under pretence of loyalty, received the king's commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to these barbarians."

† "The general war-cry of the native Irish was 'Farrah! Farrah!' an exclamation of encouragement. The gathering cries of the different chiefs were taken either from their cognizance, as in the case of the O'Briens whose crest is a naked arm holding a sword, or from some accidental circumstance, as in the instance of the Geraldines. The other most remarkable warisons were of the O'Neals, 'Lamhdearg-aboe,' (the cause of the red or bloody hand,) from their cognizance; of the Fitz-Patricks, 'Gear-laidir-aboe,' (the cause of the strong and sharp,) from the same circumstance; and of the De Burghos, 'Gal-Riagh-aboe,' (the cause of the red Englishman), in honour of the second Earl of Ulster, who was commonly called the 'Red Earl,' and looked upon as the founder of the prosperity of the De Burghos."—TAYLOR.



The object of these various enactments, it will be observed, was to keep down the power of the barons of the Pale, and at the same time to extend the authority of the English crown in Ireland. The effect of them was to extend the domination of England, together with the influence of the Irish parliament; whatever territory became subject to its influence, at the same time became a province under the English government. Thus, though at first, the influence of Poyning's Act extended no further than the Pale, as the authority of the crown increased, it at length came to be in force over the entire kingdom.

Besides this famous act of Poyning's, there is no other Irish event during this reign worthy of particular commemoration. There was the usual number of rebellions, assassinations, and slaughters. Among others, there were the rebellions, at different times, of the Earl of Desmond, and Macwilliam, Lord of Clanricarde, against the lord-lieutenant, then the Earl of Kildare; both of which issued in the rout of the "rebels," attended with great slaughter of their Irish allies. But these were events of usual occurrence in every reign. The reader may just imagine the wretched state of the people of a country, when such things were looked upon as mere matters of course, of almost constant occurrence—civil war, and native and baronial feuds, being the rule—peace and tranquillity the very rare exception!

## CHAPTER X.

Distracted state of the country after the death of Henry VII.—Commission of inquiry into the state of Ireland—Their reports—Accession of Henry VIII.—The "Reformation"—Henry's six wives—His murders of several of them—Means by which Henry accomplished the "Reformation"—His persecutions—His blasphemous assumptions—The "Reformation" extended to Ireland—Introduced by the Archbishop of Dublin—Protestantism rejected by the Irish—The Catholic priesthood—Sketch of the church in Ireland—Early separation between the English and Irish clergy—Henry calls a Parliament—Its slavish subserviency—Henry recognised king of Ireland—Henry dies, and is succeeded by Edward VI.—Persecutions of Somerset the Protector—Sacilege and spoliation of the churches—Re-establishment of Catholicism by Mary—Forbearance of the Catholics—Acts of Mary's reign—A massacre commemorated.

THE laws passed by Poyning's parliament remained a long time in abeyance, in consequence of the distracted state of Ireland after the death of Henry VII. The destructive feuds between the Butlers and the Geraldines,—the wars of incursion waged by the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Kildare, against the O'Neils of Ulster, and other powerful chiefs,—the insurrections and inroads of the native chiefs, now become more frequent, in consequence of the weakened executive power of the government,—prevented every thing like a regular system of legislation from being carried into

effect. There was such a constant succession of lords-deputies also, that it was impossible for any system, even had it been desired, to be persevered in so steadily, and for such a time, as to insure its success. The sole power relied on by each successive governor, for maintaining the English dominion, was force and terror. The sword was their only instrument of policy, and conquest their leading object. The system pursued at this time, by the representatives of the government in Ireland, may be gathered from a letter of the Earl of Surrey (then lord-deputy) to Cardinal Wolsey, the prime minister of Henry VIII. "This land," says he, "will never be brought to due obedience, but only with compulsion and conquest"; and he adds, "most humbly I beseech your grace that, if the king's pleasure be not to go *thorough* with the conquest of this land, which would be a marvellous charge, no longer to suffer me to waste his grace's treasure here." In a subsequent communication, he states the means by which the land is to be reduced to general obedience; and these seem to amount to neither more nor less than the entire extirpation of the natives, and supplying their places with a new race of inhabitants,—and this, even though, as is stated in another letter, there were then "but few English inhabitants in the four shires of the Pale." An illustration of the spirit of the times is furnished in an anecdote related by Leland,—that, immediately after a sanguinary fight, in which the English lord-deputy had been victorious against the rebel Clanricarde of Connaught, chiefly by the aid of his Irish allies, a brother baron turned round to him and said, "We have now slaughtered our enemies, but, to complete the good deed, we must proceed yet farther, and *cut the throats of those Irish of our own party*!"

We shall not enter into a detail of the petty wars of this period, which present a dreary and revolting record, unredeemed by a single trait of heroism or patriotism; nor of the struggles of the rival barons for power, in which much blood was shed, and wanton mischief committed. One of the most stirring events of the period was the revolt of Lord Thomas, son of the Earl of Kildare, against the authority of England. In the course of the civil war which ensued, a great part of Ireland was ravaged; and the counties of the Pale were laid waste up to the gates of Dublin. The royal authority was, however, maintained, after a protracted struggle; the young lord was taken captive, with many of his relatives, and sent to England, where he was executed; and thus the house of the Geraldines, which for more than two centuries had kept Ireland in a state of constant broils and contentions, was prostrated for a long time to come.

The attention of the English government being painfully directed to the distressed state of Ireland at this period, some inquiry was made into its causes; and John Alen, the master of the Irish rolls, was sent over to England by the council, to inform the king of the

state of his Irish dominions. The report which he made was lately published under the authority of a commission from the crown, and gives considerable insight into the condition of the country in the reign of Henry VIII. From this curious document it appears that as yet the "English order, tongue, and habit," were used, and the English laws obeyed, within a district of not more than "*twenty miles in compass*"! Sixty "regions" or districts of Ireland were stated to be under the dominion and authority of Irish chieftains; and no less than thirty similar "regions" were under the authority of chiefs of Anglo-Norman descent, but who did not acknowledge the English laws and government. There were only five counties in which the English authority was recognized; and even in these only partially so. The council also declared it to be their opinion, that unless measures were adopted to execute the laws, even this "little piece," namely, the Pale, would soon be reduced to the same condition as the rest of the kingdom.

From another report of the same period, it appears that the Anglo-Irish lords had now become so powerful and so independent within their several territories, that the king's writ had ceased to have any authority on them! In those shires over which the Earls of Desmond, Kildare, and Ossory, held almost the entire power, no legal measures of any kind could be taken, even in behalf of the king's subjects, without the leave first asked and obtained of the lord to whom the seignory belonged. No revenue was obtained from these extensive domains; their respective chiefs ruling over them with an absolutely despotic power. They quartered their men and horses upon the poor inhabitants, compelling them to support them in idle profligacy. The conclusion come to in this report was, that though the "wild Irish lords and captains" were blamed for "the destruction of the land of Ireland, it is not they only, but the treason, rebellion, extortion, and wilful war of the aforesaid earls and other English lords," who were in reality answerable for the ruin. The report says, in one place, with great truth, "*As to the surmise of the great bruteness of the people and the incivilitie of them; no doubt, if there were justice used among them, they would be found as civil, wise, politic, and active, as any other nation.*"

"It has often been asked," observes Mr. O'Connell,\* "why the Irish, who deprived the English government of so much of the island, and reduced them within such narrow limits, did not totally expel that government, and establish one of their own? This document at once clearly shows the causes that prevented such a desirable result. It shows that the Irish had no point of union, or centralization; that they were totally divided among themselves—the enemies of one another. The same cause that, in a more mitigated form, *now* prevents Ireland from being a nation, did at that

\* Memoir on Ireland, Native and Saxon, pp. 100-1.

time preclude, in a more rude and savage manner, the establishment of nationality. The Irish chieftains had the power, and seldom wanted either the inclination or the incitement to make war upon each other. Mutual injuries, reciprocal devastations, created and continued strife and hatred amongst them. The worst elements of continued dissension subsisted. When upon particular occasions some universal or general oppression made them combine, their confederacy was but of short duration. When the English party was strong, it endeavoured by force to put down such confederacy. But the forcible attempts were in general successfully resisted by the Irish; who gained the futile glory of many a victory over some of the most accomplished commanders of the English forces. But these defeats taught the English officers that cunning which is called political wisdom. They assailed the avarice, or fomented the resentments of particular chieftains, and succeeded in detaching them from the general cause. These chieftains betrayed their companions in arms; joined their forces with those of the English; and participated in the councils, and united with the force, which by degrees broke down the power of the chieftains. But the traitors obtained no permanent profit; and no length of fidelity to the English commanders secured them the confidence or the kindness of their unprincipled seducers."

The chief public event in connection with the reign of Henry VIII. was what has been called "the Reformation from Popery" in England, and its attempted extension to Ireland at a subsequent period. Henry, the instrument by which this great work was appointed to be accomplished, was one of the greatest monsters that ever filled a throne. Religion, in his hands, became the mere instrument of satisfying his lusts and justifying his crimes. At the outset of life he was a furious enemy of the Reformed tenets, which were then making rapid progress throughout Germany, and even wrote a book against Luther, entitled "a Treatise in Defence of the Seven Sacraments," for which the Pope conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." But Henry soon threw the religion which he had thus publicly defended, overboard, when he found it to interfere with the gratification of his unhallowed desires. Having just married his sister-in-law, Catherine of Arragon, and become satiated with her, he was next seized with a violent passion for Anna Boleyn, one of her maids of honour. He applied to the Pope for a divorce, which was refused. He then resolved to establish a church of his own, and set the Pope at defiance. He assumed the title of "Supreme Head of the Church in England;" and the parliament and clergy immediately acknowledged him as such. Wolsey having been trodden down, and Cranmer raised to the archiepiscopal see, a sentence of divorce was pronounced by him against Catherine, and Henry at once married Anna Boleyn, the virtual mother of the Reformation! \* In two years Anna Boleyn

\* "'Twas love that taught this monarch to be wise,  
And Gospel light first beam'd from Boleyn's eyes."

GRAY.

had grown a stale pleasure with the "Supreme head of the Church," and he had her beheaded on a charge of adultery. The day after her execution, Henry married Jane Seymour, one of the murdered queen's maids of honour; all of which deeds parliament confirmed by their acts, making it treason not to say that Henry had done well. But we have not yet done with Henry's wives. Jane Seymour dying in the year following Henry's marriage to her, he afterwards became united with Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. But, not satisfying the "Defender of the Faith," he was shortly afterwards divorced from her, and married Lady Catherine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. After living with her for eighteen months, he had her beheaded on a charge of incontinence both before and after marriage. His sixth and last wife, was Catherine Parr, widow of the Lord Latimer. These, be it observed, are merely Henry's legalized lusts: over the others, decency requires that a dense veil should be drawn.

We cannot here enumerate the crimes and blasphemies perpetrated by Henry in completing the establishment of the Anglican Church, and separating the English clergy and people from the church of Rome. Acting as if he were the absolute master of the bodies and minds of his subjects, he made creeds and burned those who would not publicly conform to them. It was treason to deny their truth, no matter though of the most contradictory and absurd character. The adherents of the Pope and of Luther were alike hateful to Henry. To doubt Henry's orthodoxy, was to be beheaded or burnt without mercy. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were executed for refusing to take the oath of supremacy to him as "Supreme Head of the Church," and for not swearing that his daughter Mary, by his first wife, was a bastard! At the same time, he burned Protestants at the stake for speaking against the sacraments of the Romish church. Shortly after he had burnt Lambert for disputing the Real Presence, he made a general attack on the monasteries, confiscating the property belonging to them to the use of the crown. He then concocted and promulgated a national faith, which he ordered to be adopted throughout his dominions, under pain of death. The rack, the gibbet, and the stake, were his principal "reforming" instruments: and the jailer, the torturer, and the executioner, were his gospel missionaries. Catholics and Protestants who presumed to judge for themselves, in opposition to him, were mercilessly destroyed. On one occasion, the same cart conveyed to execution at the same time, three protestants and three catholics: the former were burned, the latter hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The parliament became a mere tool for the perpetration of Henry's brutal tyranny. It voted all his intolerance legal, by the famous bill of the Six Articles, called the Bloody Statute. By this law, the real presence and communion were asserted, the marriage of priests was forbidden, the utility of private masses and the necessity of auricular confession were declared, together

with the principal doctrines of the Catholic church. The penalty for refusing to believe the first article, viz. Real Presence, was death; and for the others, confiscation of property and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Not only did the parliament enact this monstrous law, but they even basely surrendered into the monarch's hands their own power, giving the Royal Proclamation the force of statute law. Such is a brief sketch of the "Reformation" enacted by Henry VIII., the first "Supreme head of the Church in England!"

Attempts were soon made to extend the new system to Ireland. According to Poyning's law, all the acts passed by the English legislature were equally operative in Ireland; hence, Irish as well as English consciences must now submit to swallow the creed concocted for them by Henry. As the most pliable of consciences are generally found in connection with a state church, so the first men who declared for the new faith in Ireland, as in England, were the highest dignitaries of that Church. George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, immediately declared for the new state creed; and to his hands was committed the task of introducing it to the people. But of all the nations of Europe, the Irish were the most tenacious of their ancient Catholic faith, and the archbishop soon found that the "Reformation" of Ireland would be a work of extreme difficulty. We have already alluded to the early independence of the Irish church, especially as manifested by the great body of the working priesthood—the men who mixed with the people, and immediately ministered to their spiritual wants. The same spirit still remained among them after the lapse of more than four hundred years, from the period of the first invasion of Ireland by the Normans. However much the priesthood of England, Catholic or Episcopalian, may have indulged in licentious practices, certainly the Irish priesthood have always been distinguished for the chastity of their lives, and the purity of their morals. Giraldus, the first English writer on Ireland, (A.D. 1198,) though he gives a dark and repulsive picture of the Irish people, speaks in a tone of unmixed eulogy of the character and conduct of their clergy, especially in regard to temperance, chastity, purity, and strict attention to religious duties. The only charge against the Irish prelates which Giraldus could make, was, that they could not boast of a single martyr! "It is true," replied Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, to whom this observation was made,—"it is true our nation may seem to be barbarous, uncultivated, and cruel; yet have they always shewn reverence and honour to men of the church, nor ever would raise their hands in violence against the saints of God. But there is now come among us a people, who not only know how, but have been accustomed to make martyrs. From henceforth, therefore, Ireland will, like other nations, have martyrs." Unfortunately the subsequent history of Ireland fully testifies to the truth of this prediction.

From a very early period, the church in Ireland was attempted to be made the tool of the English government. We have seen that as early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry II., one John Canning, an Englishman, was appointed archbishop of Dublin; and from this time forwards, were Englishmen on every occasion appointed to high offices in the church, when it was in the power of the invading party to accomplish their object. In fact, the admission of natives into any of the religious communities established within English bounds, was strictly forbidden, under heavy penalties. The presentation of a native clergyman to any ecclesiastical office or benefice was also forbidden (A.D. 1417) on pain of forfeiting all temporalities on the part of the presentee. Thus, even though the whole nation was Catholic, there was the church of the English and the church of the Irish almost from the commencement of the English ascendancy in Ireland. The former was an instrument wielded by the government to maintain its influence; its officiating clergy being generally the mere tools of despotic power. The latter was the church of the people, and its priests were their advisers, counsellors, and comforters, often in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. The former was the church of the invaders, a badge of conquest: the latter was the native institution, based on the affections of the people, and at all times found ranged on their side in opposition to despotic power and authority. From the first, then, these two churches, though both Catholic, were greatly at variance with each other; and were separated by differences in race, in language, in political feeling, and even in ecclesiastical discipline. All attempts to assimilate the Irish church to the English completely failed. Such was the state of church affairs in Ireland when the attempt was made to introduce "the Reformation" by the English government. And from this time forward, the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, backed by the great body of the people, may be looked upon as the great engine of opposition to the royal power.

The first step adopted by Henry's agents in introducing the new creed was to call a Parliament, which, subservient as usual to the regal power, followed the example of the English legislature, declaring the King's supremacy in the Church, and his right to first fruits instead of the Pope,—granting him and his heirs for ever, the twentieth part of the annual profits of all ecclesiastical promotions,—and also acknowledging the king's right to dispose of the kingdom of England and the lordship of Ireland, by letters patent or by will. All opposition to these measures was sternly borne down. The spiritual proctors, who resisted it successfully at first, were expelled from the Parliament in order to allow them to pass. Shortly afterwards an act was passed for the suppression of the religious houses, and the confiscation of their property to the crown, which was immediately carried quietly into effect. Lord Grey, the lord-licutenant, also collected a numerous army, and marching

through Leinster, obtained the submission of the most eminent of the native chiefs, who took the oath of supremacy, and acknowledged the king supreme head of the church. Several of the remoter chiefs attempted resistance, but without effect. O'Neil, of Ulster, assembled a numerous army, and marched to Tara, when he indulged in an ostentatious parade of his force, and then returned home, collecting booty as he went. But, before he could reach his own fortresses, he was attacked by the English at Bellahoe, and completely routed. The power of Henry was now generally acknowledged in Ireland. Parliament proceeded to grant him the title of King of Ireland, instead of Lord of Ireland, the title originally granted to Henry II. by the Pope. By this assumption of the monarchy, the authority of Rome to bestow the sovereignty of the kingdom was completely disclaimed. The passing of the bill conferring on Henry the title of King of Ireland was made the subject of general rejoicing by the government. A general pardon was proclaimed, bonfires were set a-blazing, and wine was placed in the streets for the public drinking. Many of the native chiefs were at the same time induced to lay aside their Milesian pre-eminence, and accepted of English peerages. O'Neil was created Earl of Tyrone; De Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde; and O'Brien, Earl of Thomond. These had formerly been the greatest disturbers of the peace of the government; and the policy of conciliating them was soon made apparent in the general tranquillity and peacefulness which prevailed throughout the land. This continued till the death of Henry; when the country was in such a state of repose as it had not been for centuries past, though no particularly active measures had been adopted as in England, (where the most dreadful persecutions now prevailed,) for enforcing the newly established creed upon the Irish people.

The repose which prevailed towards the end of Henry's reign was broken in upon during the reign of Edward VI., when the Protector, Somerset, attempted to introduce the reformed Liturgy into Ireland. Persecution then commenced its hideous course, and the Irish were victimized by thousands under the pretence of zeal for the propagation of the gospel of Jesus. Churches were robbed, and the spoils sold to the highest bidder. New and coercive Acts of Parliament were passed, and soldiers were sent among the people to enforce them. The reformed clergy left every thing to the state to do: they made no exertion to "convert" the people, or shew forth in their own lives the beauty of the precepts which they were paid to teach: their sole dependence was on the sword of the state. An Irish Lord Chancellor of the time states that the reformed clergy did not preach more than once a year: the ministrations of the king's soldiers were vastly more regular. To give an instance of the zeal of these missionaries, we quote the following passage from Leland, a celebrated Protestant writer:—"Under pretence," says he, "of obeying the orders of the state, they seized all the most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale



without secrecy or reserve. The Irish annalists pathetically describe the garrison of Athlone issuing forth with a barbarous and heathen fury, and pillaging the famous church of Clonmacnoise, tearing away the most inoffensive ornaments, so as to leave the shrine of their favourite Saint Kieran a hideous monument of sacrilege." Taylor, another Protestant writer, says—"The first impression produced by the advocates of the reformed religion was, that the new system sanctioned sacrilege and robbery."

On the death of Edward, the Catholic religion was again re-established in England, the great body of the priesthood were again found as ready to declare for Catholicism as they had formerly been for Protestantism. All the furies of persecution were again let loose in England; and in the course of five years not fewer than 300 persons were burnt to death for their adherence to the reformed religion. But though Mary thus earned for herself in England the title of "the Bloody," in Ireland the policy of the government and the temper of the people were of an entirely opposite description. The Catholic religion was again quietly established; not a life was taken; not the slightest persecution was attempted. Many Protestant families even fled from the fury of their own government and took refuge in Ireland, where they continued to worship freely after their own consciences. It is highly honourable to the Irish Catholics that they have never followed the example of their Protestant persecutors, when they had the power in their hands. They have, on the other hand, set a lesson of charity and forbearance such as Protestants at all times would have done well to imitate. How different was the conduct of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, in the reign of Mary's sister, Elizabeth, we shall see in our next chapter.

The civil events in the reign of Mary, are of comparatively little note. Petty civil wars occasionally broke out, and were put down by force of arms. The two septs of O'Connors and O'Moores, chiefly inhabiting the counties of Leix and Ofalley, were nearly extirpated, and their lands occupied by colonists from England. To commemorate the horrible massacre, the two counties were named King's and Queen's county, and their chief towns Philipstown and Maryborough, after the English queen and her husband, which names these places retain down to the present day. It is a refinement of cruelty, such as has been attempted in no other country, for the conquering party to take every possible method, even down to the naming of counties and of towns, to root into the memory of the native inhabitants, the destructive spoliation and massacres which have been inflicted on them. Other conquerors have adopted every means of effacing the memory of their subjection from the minds of the great body of the conquered, and thus endeavoured to blend the two races into one people. But in Ireland exactly the contrary practice has been pursued. The most hateful distinctions have been carefully preserved, as if with

the view of keeping green the memory of their oppressions in the minds of the plundered natives. And so successful has this practice of the English government in Ireland been, that, after the lapse of nearly seven centuries, the Lord Chancellor of England, in his official position in the House of Lords, amidst "hear, hears," and "great applause," feels himself justified in branding the entire Irish people as "aliens in blood, aliens in language, and aliens in religion"!

## CHAPTER XI.

Elizabeth re-establishes the reformed religion—Instantaneous conversion of the state priesthood in England—Ireland remains Catholic—Civil wars raging throughout Ireland—The Acts of Supremacy and Conformity passed—The new state clergy and the old—Means by which the power of the English government was extended—Destruction of John O'Neill of Ulster, and confiscation of his estates—Rebellion of the Earl of Desmond—Horrible devastation of Munster by the royal army—Resistance of the Earl—Massacre of his Spanish auxiliaries—Spenser's short and easy method with the Irish—Destruction of Desmond—Holinshead's account of the state of the country—"Hibernia pacata"—Confiscation and partition of the Desmond estates—Sir John Perrot—Rebellion stirred up in Ulster—The war against Hugh O'Neill—The English armies repeatedly defeated—Insurrection becomes general—the Earl of Essex made lord lieutenant—Is defeated by the policy of O'Neill—Essex is succeeded by Montjoy—Help arrives from Spain—Siege of Kinsale—The Irish army is defeated—O'Sullivan of Dumborg—Devastation of Ulster—Horrible sufferings of the peasantry—O'Neill makes peace with Elizabeth—How the "reformed" religion was propagated—Persecutions of the Catholics—Character of the Protestant clergy—Summary of Elizabeth's reign—The "Reformation completed."

ELIZABETH ascended the throne of England, and re-established the reformed religion by act of parliament. She ordered all the established clergy to swear to the new order of things. What a wonderful power there is in an act of parliament! At once, and as if by miracle, the whole national priesthood changed their religion. Out of the immense host of clergy, spread over the ten thousand parishes of England, not more than two hundred refused to become Protestants at the order of her Majesty, the "good Queen Bess." The act of parliament passed, and the effect was almost instantaneous: the state priesthood were at once re-converted to Protestantism! Probably there is not such another instance of degrading mental slavery in the entire history, degrading though it be throughout, of established and state-paid churchism.

But it was otherwise in Ireland. Many of the English clergy of the Pale were, it is true, re-converted back to Protestantism;\*

\* LELAND says, that "in the Parliament convened in Ireland, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, most of the temporal lords were those whose descendants, even to our own days, continue firmly attached to the Romish communion; but for the greater part of the prelates were such as quietly enjoyed their sees, BY CONFORMING OCCASIONALLY TO DIFFERENT MODES OF RELIGION."

but the great body of the Irish clergy and people remained Catholic as before. The mere passing of an act of parliament, at the individual will of the English queen, had no convincing influence upon their minds. They refused to be thus converted. Elizabeth, however, immediately had recourse to the sword, the rack, and the gallows,—those ancient and venerable allies of state churches. In the course of her reign, numbers of Catholic priests were barbarously put to death, for worshipping their God according to their conscience, and after the manner of their fathers. The Irish clergy and people were tortured, murdered, hanged and quartered, by the agents of the English queen, because they were Catholics; just as the English clergy and people had been, a few years before, by her sister Mary, because they were Protestants! Such is the barbarous cruelty and inconsistency of state churchism!

At the accession of Elizabeth, Ireland was in a state of great distraction. In the north, O'Neill was struggling to make himself master of Ulster, in which he had nearly succeeded; in Connaught, the rival branches of the De Burgh family were making fierce and destructive war upon each other; Munster was again distracted by the feuds of the Butlers and the Geraldines, and by struggles for the chieftaincy of the province; while Leinster was overrun by the men, whom the barbarous persecution of the English government had made landless, homeless, and desperate.

One of the first acts of the Earl of Essex, the Queen's lord-deputy, was to convene a Parliament, and pass the famous Acts of Supremacy and Conformity, for the re-establishment of the reformed worship. These acts were levelled at the whole fabric of Catholicism in Ireland: they transferred the primacy from the Pope to the Queen, and vested in her and the English Parliament the spiritual power to decide on all errors and heresies in the church. The work of Protestantizing the Irish then commenced in earnest. The priesthood who refused to change their opinions at the command of the queen, were driven at once from their cures, and their places supplied by the scum of the English church,—men whom the English poet Spenser describes as guilty of “gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinence, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life.” The new clergy, besides, were men who did not know a word of the language of the people among whom they were sent to minister; they had no sympathy for them, but, on the other hand, were leagued with those whom the Irish naturally looked upon as their malignant enemies and oppressors. How different from the native Catholic clergy of Ireland!—men sprung from the people, devotedly attached to them, sympathizing with their sorrows, sharing in their sufferings, and sparing no toil or labour in the performance of their religious duties. All the powers of the most persecuting government that ever existed could have no influence upon the convictions of a people ministered to by a priesthood such as this. And they had not. Elizabeth tried all

forms of persecution with the Irish, even to the length of extermination, and they failed. She and her armies might conquer the soil of Ireland; but they could not conquer the deeply-rooted religious convictions of its inhabitants. Long, indeed, before the conclusion of her reign, Protestantism had made itself thoroughly odious and intolerable to the great mass of the Irish people.

The plan which the government of Elizabeth seems to have premeditatedly adopted, and rigidly adhered to during her reign, was that of coercion and subjugation of the Irish. At one period, nothing short of utter extermination was thought of. With this view, chieftains were incited to make war upon each other, the agents of the government watching the opportunity to pounce upon them, and divide their estates among themselves. When districts could not be goaded to rebellion, other excuses were always found ready at hand. An infamous act was never yet done by wicked men, but there was an excuse to prop it up with. Thus, when chiefs did not actually rebel, it was easy to accuse them of *intending* to rebel; and the same object was accomplished, as if they had been taken in actual rebellion. The first chief with whom the new policy was tried was the powerful John O'Neill of Ulster. A large force was marched against him, which O'Neill prepared rigorously to resist. An accommodation was, however, effected between the lord-deputy and the chief, and bloodshed was for a time averted. The chief seized the opportunity of proceeding to London with all speed, to lay his case before Queen Elizabeth in person. His appearance at the English court, in the character, dress, and following of an Irish chief, caused a great sensation. The sight-loving Londoners were delighted with the novelty, and Elizabeth felt flattered by the deference of the "wild Irish chief." The result was, that O'Neill gained his point; and returned to Ireland, confirmed in all his honours, and in the possession of his vast estates.

The Queen's English agents in Ireland were enraged at being thus out-manœvered by O'Neill. They continued to represent to the Queen the danger of allowing such a person to remain possessed of such powers, and constantly asserted that he was on the brink of insurrection. "Well," at length replied Elizabeth, "if he do revolt, it will be the better for you, as *there will then be estates enough for you all.*" However Elizabeth may have meant this,—and she was a woman who was heartless and selfish enough for anything,—her Irish retainers construed it into a license to provoke the native chiefs into revolt, that they might share among themselves the estates which might thus be forfeited. Certainly, means were immediately thereafter adopted to provoke O'Neill to rebellion. His resistance to the government was at first effectual; but only a short time elapsed before he was completely crushed by their overwhelming power, as well as by the defection of those whom he had counted on as allies. In his last extremity, he fled

to the Hebridean Scots, whom he had formerly attacked and routed with great slaughter, to gain the favour of the English queen. In revenge, and instigated by Piers, a British officer, they slew him, and his head was sent to Dublin as a trophy of the victory.

Such was the first war, after the Reformation, in Ireland. Its effects were fatal to the progress of the new religion, for it identified the new system in the minds of the people with rapine, treachery, and murder. To these were soon added wholesale spoliation and robbery; for, at a packed Parliament assembled by the Queen's deputy in Dublin, a bill was introduced and passed with wonderful speed and unanimity, for the forfeiture of O'Neill's vast estates in Ulster, and vesting them in the crown. No doubt, the hope of sharing in the spoil was the secret of this ready compliance of the Parliament with the wishes of the English deputy. Elizabeth, however, had no such design. Her object was, to "clear off" the natives, and plant in their places colonies of Protestants from England. With this view, extensive grants of the confiscated estates were made to Devereux, Earl of Essex, who long persevered in his attempts at Protestant colonization, but was completely defeated by the obstinate resistance of the Ulster Irish.

The Earl of Desmond, a descendant of one of the Anglo-Norman barons who first invaded Ireland, and who now possessed large domains in Munster, was the next object of attack. Means were adopted to sting him into rebellion; which, with a man so fierce and high-spirited as he, very soon succeeded. Irritated by what he considered a flagrantly unjust decision as to the boundaries of his estates, he flatly refused obedience to the decision of the Lord-Deputy; on which he was immediately seized, and sent to the Tower of London, where he lay for a long time a prisoner. War was waged by the partizans of the government against his kinsmen at home, who maintained a stout resistance at intervals, until the escape of Desmond from London again placed the chief at the head of his sept. A hollow truce was preserved between him and the government for some time; until at length the precipitancy of some of his kinsmen, who, entirely contrary to his wishes, landed on the coast with a force of some eighty Spaniards to re-conquer Ireland (!), brought down upon him all the fury of the government, who had long been waiting its opportunity. He was ordered to surrender himself a prisoner within twenty days, and he refused. He was at once proclaimed as a traitor, and a powerful army was marched against him for his destruction.

The ferocity and cruelty with which this war was conducted, is perhaps unsurpassed in the records of crime. Slaughter, famine, and desolation, marked the route of the English army. No quarter was given. Men, women and children, wherever found, were indiscriminately put to death. The soldiery were mad for blood. Priests were murdered at the altar, and children at their mothers' breasts. The beauty of woman, the venerableness of age, the

innocence of youth, were no protection against these sanguinary demons in human form. "The soldiers in the camp," says Holinshed, the English chronicler, "were so hot upon the spur, and so eager upon the vile rebels, that they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but *all* were committed to the sword." Their cruelty was not glutted even with bloodshed. According to Lombard, a contemporary writer, "great companies of these provincials, men, women, and children, were often forced into castles and other houses, which were then set on fire." All the cattle were carried away by the invaders, and the crops cut down in sheer wantonness. What they could not carry with them, they destroyed with the flames. Famine and desolation were their handmaids; those who were not slain by the sword, perished of hunger. "They performed," says Cox, another old English writer, "their duty so effectually, and brought the rebels to so low a condition, that they saw three children eating the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed many days, and roasted it with a slow fire." Or, take a poet's description of the hideous scenes of desolation which Ireland presented at this period: "Notwithstanding," says Edmund Spenser, "that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after; insomuch, as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or sham-rocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue withal; that in short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast."

The brave old Earl of Desmond, who had a large share of that bull-dog courage which was considered the highest virtue in those days, made a most desperate defence; but what could that avail him against all the powers of England? He assaulted and captured the town of Youghal, totally defeating his mortal enemy, the Earl of Ormond. It was about this period that Lord Grey, a man of almost unrivalled cruelty, was appointed the lord-deputy; and he determined at once to put an end to the Desmond war. He was the more urged to this, on understanding that a Spanish force of about seven hundred men had landed in Munster, bringing with them a considerable sum of money, and arms for five thousand men. Entrenching themselves in the garrison of Smerwick, in Kerry, they were almost immediately attacked by the English forces under Lord Grey. After a short resistance, they surrendered themselves up on mercy; but were immediately ordered to be

butchered. "Wingfield was commissioned," says Leland, "to disarm them; and when this service was performed, an English company was sent into the fort, and the garrison was butchered in cold blood; nor is it without pain that we find a service so horrible and detestable committed to Sir Walter Raleigh." The fame of Edmund Spenser is also sullied by being mixed up with this infamous transaction, which he stood forward to vindicate before the English people. And not only this—but Spenser was even the advocate of extermination by famine and pestilence, as the only means of subjugating Ireland to the English power! He recommended that twenty days should be given to the Irish to come in and submit; and after that time they were to be shown no mercy; those who could not be slain by the sword, were to be starved out of being by hunger. This was Spenser's short and easy method of pacifying Ireland. He insists that it will work very well—"The end (says he) will, I assure mee, bee very short, and much sooner than it can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for: altho' there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldiour, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint, *they would quietly consume themselves and devour one another.*"

The savage deputy acted upon the savage poet's advice. Ruthless butcheries of the Irish people, throughout the Desmond country, took place; their lands were laid waste; their cattle were slaughtered; their homes were made desolate; the population perished of hunger; and the pestilence completed the destruction of what the famine had spared. Thus Desmond was soon reduced to extremity, and at last he was hunted and run down like a wild beast. After enduring untold hardships, he was tracked to his retreat in the wilds, by Kelly, an Irishman; who slew him, and then cut off his head, and sent it to his rival, Ormond. This chief, after glutting his vengeance on the remains of his victim, forwarded the head to Queen Elizabeth, as the richest and rarest present he could offer her—a specimen of the civilities of that age of English barbarism in Ireland.

The work of destruction in Munster was now nearly completed. There were no more lives to destroy; there was no more property to devastate. Lord Grey had done his work so well, that, as Queen Elizabeth was assured, there was now "little left in Ireland for her Majesty to reign over, *but carcasses and ashes.*" Holinshed's description of the state of things at this period gives but a faint idea of the actual truth. "The land itself, which, before these wars, was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the blessings of God—being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well stored with fruit and sundry other good commodities—is now waste and barren, yielding no fruits; the pastures no cattle; the fields no corn; the air no birds; the seas, though full of fish, yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, every way, the curse of God was so great, and

the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from the one end unto the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the heart of Limerick, which is about six-score miles, he should not meet any man, woman, or child, saving in towns or cities, nor yet see any beast, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts."

This period of destruction and desolation was appropriately enough celebrated by the publication of a book by Sir Geo. Carew, one of the actors in the horrid scene,—entitled "*Hibernia Pacata*," or "*Ireland Pacified*." The victors had converted a blooming country into a desert waste; they had extirpated the inhabitants by famine and slaughter, and made desolate alike the scenes of domestic joy and the haunts of busy industry; they had destroyed every sign of life in the land, and spread over all things the stillness and quiet of the grave; and then they sat down and called this Peace! They had famished and massacred the unfortunate Irish, and then said Ireland was "*pacified*"! Yet such have, unfortunately, been almost the only methods employed to "*pacify*" the people of the sister kingdom, down even to the present day.

The barbarous outrages we have just detailed were followed, as was to be expected, by a general confiscation of the Desmond estates. Six hundred thousand acres of arable and pasture land, in Munster, besides immense tracts of waste, were declared forfeited to the crown, and were shortly afterwards divided among English adventurers. Sir Walter Raleigh had for his share forty thousand acres in the county of Cork, the price of his cold-blooded massacre of the Spanish garrison of Smerwick. It was one of the conditions of these grants that the lands should be let to none but English tenants; and that no Irish were to be permitted to settle on them. The colony was to be English exclusively; the natives were to be hunted off like vermin. The plantations, however, completely failed. The Irish were found indispensable as labourers; the estates were, in fact, worth nothing without them. The contractors accordingly had no hesitation in at once violating their contracts, disregarding the royal authority; and the rural population again became Irish as before.

It is but justice to the memory of Sir John Perrot, the Queen's Lord-deputy at this time, that he did every thing that lay in his power to check the wanton effusion of blood in Ireland; and to give the country the benefit of a firm and impartial government. But all his efforts were thwarted by the swarm of greedy officials, whose interests lay in confiscation, devastation, and plunder. After a sway of several years, he resigned the reins of government in disgust, and returned to England, amidst the regrets and lamentations alike of the English settlers and of the native Irish,—as indeed of all who wished for the pacification and prosperity of unhappy and suffering Ireland. During Perrot's administration, it was openly recommended, in the English Parliament, that



rebellions among the Irish should be stirred up, that the English government might take advantage of them, to promote its own ends. It was advocated as sound policy, to "connive at their disorders," and "let the rebels murder one another," for that thus the royal coffers would be saved, and "the public service be advanced"!\* Sir John Perrot spoke of this horrid scheme of policy in terms of just indignation; but he had not the power to resist it; and on his resignation, it was carried into effect with all the celerity that English chicanery and plotting, and English arms and money, could accomplish.

The scene of rapine and cruelty was next changed to Ulster; where Hugh O'Neill, like his uncle John, had been taken into Elizabeth's favour, and restored to the possession of his estates; but, like his progenitor, was fated to the same treacherous opposition from the English settlers. It was an easy matter for the avaricious harpies at Dublin to invent rumours and to imagine plots, about the period of the invasion of the Spanish armada; and the Protestant government, alarmed by its own fears, was ever ready to pounce upon the objects of its suspicion and jealousy throughout Ireland. It was excuse enough for them that "Protestantism" was "in danger," and immediately they were ready to lay waste with fire and sword, and put to death all who offered to resist their orthodox progress. Means were soon adopted to sting the Irish chief into rebellion, and at last he determined to make a resolute effort to free Ireland from the dominion of the usurpers. A powerful force, under Sir John Norris, was led against him, but made no progress in reducing him to subjection. Lord Burgh was then invested with the command, with orders to prosecute the war vigorously, and bring it to a speedy termination. He led a powerful army against O'Neill, but without success. In a fierce engagement, near Armagh, the English were completely defeated, De Burgh was himself slain, and the flower of his troops cut down in the conflict.

Sir Henry Bagnal was sent against the brave O'Neill with a second army, which succeeded no better than the first. O'Neill was engaged in laying close siege to the fort of Blackwater, when the English army approached. Bagnal's determination was to relieve the place, and O'Neill's was to prevent him. The rival armies met a second time near Armagh; in numbers they were nearly equal; though the English were considerably superior, as regarded discipline and appointments. The struggle which took

\* See LELAND, book iv. chap. iii; SIR GEORGE CAREW'S *HIBERNIA PACATA*, &c. &c.—Leland says—"Some of her (Elizabeth's) councillors appear to have conceived an odious jealousy, which reconciled them to the distractions and miseries of Ireland. 'Should we exert ourselves,' say they, 'in reducing the country to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence, and riches. The inhabitants will thus be alienated from England; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders; for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England.'"

place was a desperate one, but of short duration. The English army was completely defeated; 1,500 of the royal soldiers were left dead upon the field; Bagnal and many of his best officers were found among the slain; and an immense amount of artillery, arms, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Insurrection immediately spread far and wide. The English were at once driven out of their new settlements, and took shelter in the fortified towns along the sea-coast. O'Neill, with consummate policy, endeavoured to unite the rival chiefs of Ireland in a firm and combined resistance to the English; and he succeeded to an almost unprecedented degree. Old feuds were reconciled, and ancient animosities allayed, in the prospect of a complete deliverance from the common enemy. O'Neill also endeavoured to obtain the aid of Spain, in the assertion of the independence of Ireland; and a body of troops was promised by the Spanish king.

Elizabeth now trembled for her dominions in Ireland; and determined to make a vigorous effort to put down the insurrection. She created her favourite, the Earl of Essex, lord lieutenant, and sent him over with an army of 20,000 men. O'Neill was not cowed by the approach of this immense force, but still determined to resist. Essex, however, did not give him the opportunity; for he marched his army southwards into Munster, where, instead of armed men, he encountered only famine and desolation. In his progress through the country, however, straggling detachments of his army were occasionally attacked and defeated. In one of these actions, which occurred in the passage of the royal cavalry through Leix (King's county), they were vigorously attacked by O'Moore and his followers; when the gay young cavaliers of Essex were so plucked of their feathers by the uncourtly Irish, that the place of action is known by the name of the "Pass of the Plumes," down to the present day.

Essex, after a fruitless campaign in the county of Munster, was peremptorily ordered to march into the north against the valiant O'Neill. And here his success was no better than before. The wily chief, aware of the susceptible nature of Essex, offered to treat with him; and he so won upon the earl, by his gallant and chivalrous bearing, that Essex was soon completely captivated: a truce was established, and the royal army retired from the province. Elizabeth was enraged when she heard of this termination of a campaign, which she expected to end so brilliantly. She severely reprimanded Essex, who returned to England in disgrace; and his place was supplied by Blount, Lord Mountjoy, a much less scrupulous man of war than the gallant and courtly earl who had preceded him. He was assisted in his administration by several men of great ability and experience; and backed by a numerous and well-disciplined army. Mountjoy immediately endeavoured to draw O'Neill to a decisive engagement; but the wary chief eluded all such attempts to entrap him into defeat.

At length the long-expected help from Spain arrived : a force of about 2,000 men, under Don Juan d'Aquila, a weak and thoroughly incompetent leader—the first proof of which was, that he determined to land in the south, where he was immediately blockaded by the English army under Mountjoy. O'Neill, however, who was then in the north, determined to make an effort to liberate him. He set out with his army, and, by making forced marches, succeeded in reaching Kinsale in an incredibly short time, and so suddenly as to surprise the English army, and blockade them in their besieging quarters. In this position the armies lay for some days; Mountjoy's forces being in the singular position, at the same time, of both besiegers and besieged. At last, the foolish, bravadoing Spaniard, eager to fight the enemy, resolved upon a sally by night. Into this project O'Neill and O'Donnell, the Irish leaders, were entrapped; the whole scheme, when matured, being revealed by spies to the English general. The sally was made, and the Spanish and Irish forces were defeated with great slaughter. The consequences of the victory to the English were, the capitulation of the Spaniards and the retreat of O'Neill's army to the north.

An episode in the history of this short struggle is worthy of mention. A brave Irish chieftain, O'Sullivan of Dunboy, dissatisfied with the Spanish garrison which occupied his castle, and fearing their disposition to capitulate, turned them out, and garrisoned the fort with Irishmen of his own sept. Thus defended, the castle kept the English general and army at defiance for a considerable time. At length they effected a breach, but still the garrison would not yield. They disputed every inch of ground, opposing their bodies at every point to the weapons of the besiegers. They were driven from room to room, and from floor to floor. The governor, with a party, was at last driven to the cellar, where he desperately, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured, by plunging a lighted torch into a barrel of gunpowder, to blow up both victors and vanquished, and bury them in the ruins of his own castle.

Mountjoy now determined to carry out the same policy with O'Neill in Ulster, that had been found so effectual in subjugating Munster and destroying the Earl of Desmond. The country was laid waste; every thing that could be destroyed, was destroyed; houses were burnt and rased; cattle were slaughtered; ripe and unripe crops were cut down; the lands were prevented being sown and cultivated; every human being that could be laid hands on, was butchered, no respect being paid to either age or sex;—in short, the country was as nearly as possible reduced to the condition of a desert, having no subsistence in it for either man or beast. The horrid expedients resorted to by the miserable people to allay their hunger, as recorded by the old English writers, are almost too revolting for detail. Children were found feeding on their parents' flesh, and women upon children and each other. Morrison mentions a dreadful instance of the manner in which some of the wretched people allayed the rage of their hunger:—

"Some of the old women," says he, "about Newry, used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm themselves, were by these women surprised, killed, and eaten; which was at last discovered, by a great girl breaking from them by the strength of her body; and Captain Trevor sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the children's skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact"\*—executed for having been reduced, by the policy of the English government, to the state of cannibalism! "No spectacle," adds Morrison, "was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground." In all this fiendish work, Sir George Carew, the author of *Hibernia Pacata*, was pre-eminently distinguished. He was merciless, unsparing, persecuting, cruel, and rapacious, to the very last degree. His method of pacifying Ireland was to destroy every Irishman in it; though, fortunately for the cause of human kind, he was not permitted to accomplish his object.

The brave O'Neill, though reduced to great extremities by want and famine, resisted for a long time; his adversaries still ravaging and devastating his territories. At last, when all hope from Spain had disappeared,—when many of his allies had accepted the bribes offered by the English government to desert his cause,—when he saw the bravest of his followers wasting from famine, and unable longer to meet the enemy in the field,—when all his hopes were laid prostrate, and nothing remained for him and his followers but death by famine or the sword,—the brave old man's firmness was at last shaken, and he offered terms of accommodation to the English general. Mountjoy eagerly accepted them, and a treaty was entered into. Peace was concluded. A general amnesty was made with O'Neill and his confederates, granting them the free and open exercise of the Catholic religion, and the full enjoyment of their estates; O'Neill on his part renouncing the name, pre-eminence, and sovereignty of an Irish chieftain. And thus ended one of the most vigorous and determined struggles which has ever yet been made against the ascendancy and dominion of the English in Ireland.

It now remains for us shortly to notice the measures employed during the reign of Elizabeth to propagate the "reformed" religion in Ireland. One would naturally suppose that religion had been lost sight of amid all the slaughter, devastation, and hideous cruelty which characterised this reign. But no: the propagation of the Protestant religion was actually one of the pretences put forward by the English government for its "vigorous policy" towards the

\* MORRISON'S HISTORY OF IRELAND, folio ed. p. 272.

Irish! Protestantism and persecution went hand in hand; and while Grey, Carew, and Mountjoy were burning and devastating in Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, the zealous propagandists of the new religion were labouring to extend their creed by means of torture and cruelty. Many Catholic bishops and priests were put to death, during Lord Grey's administration, for exercising their spiritual functions;\* some were hanged and quartered; others were beaten about the head with stones, till their brains gushed out; others were murdered in cold blood, sometimes at the very altar; others had their bowels torn open, their nails and fingers torn off, and were thus painfully destroyed by slow torture, their remains being afterwards treated with the most revolting indignity.† The most common method, however, of executing the sentence of the law upon these Catholic recusants was as follows:—They were first hanged up, and then cut down alive; they were next dismembered, ripped up, and had their bowels burned before their faces; after which, they were beheaded and quartered; the whole process lasting above half an hour, during which the unfortunate victims remained conscious and writhing under the agonies inflicted on them by their Protestant persecutors. And thus did the emissaries of the reformed religion in Ireland endeavour to show forth the efficiency of physical torture as a means of converting sinners, together with the beauty of state-church bigotry, and the righteousness of orthodox hatred.

While the Catholic clergy were thus treated, the Protestants who had been created teachers of the state-religion by act of parliament, were notoriously profligate, lewd, simoniacal, slothful, and intemperate, even according to the testimony of English Protestant writers themselves. They were the refuse of the English church—we had almost said, of England,—of whom nothing else could be

\* "In this reign," says Dr. Curry, "among many other Roman Catholic priests and bishops, there were put to death, for the exercise of their function in Ireland, Glaby O'Boyle, abbot of Boyle of the diocese of Elphin, and Owen O'Mulkeren, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity in that diocese, hanged and quartered by Lord Gray in 1580; John Stephens, priest, for that he said mass to Teague M'Hugh, was hanged and quartered by the Lord Burroughs in 1597; Thady O'Boyle, guardian of the monastery of Donegal, was slain by the English in his own monastery; six friars were slain in the monastery of Moynihigan; John O'Calvhor and Bryan O'Trevor, of the order of St. Bernard, were slain in their own monastery, de Santa Maria, in Ulster; as also Felim O'Hara, a lay brother; so was Eneas Penny, parish priest of Killagh, slain at the altar in his parish church there; Cahall M'Goran, Rory O'Donnellan, Peter O'Quillan, Patrick O'Kenna, George Power, vice-general of the diocese of Ossory, Andrew Stretch of Limerick, Bryan O'Muirhirthagh, vicar-general of the diocese of Clonfert, Dorohow O'Molony of Thomond, John Kelly of Louth, Stephen Patrick of Annaly, John Pillis, friar, Rory M'Henlea, Tirrilagh M'Inisky, a lay brother. All those that come after Eneas Penny, together with Walter Farnan, priest, died in the Castle of Dublin, either through hard usage and restraint, or the violence of torture."—CURRY'S HISTORICAL REVIEW, ch. ii.

† See MILNER'S LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY; CURRY'S HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND; BOURLE'S HIBERNIA DOMINICANA; CAREW'S HIBERNIA PACATA, &c. Milner mentions the case of F. O'Hurle, Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, who was horribly tortured, by the orders of Sir William Drury, in 1573. On falling into the hands of this sanguinary governor, the unfortunate archbishop "was first tortured by his legs being immersed in jack-boots filled with quick-lime, water, &c., until they were burnt to the bone, in order to force him to take the oath of supremacy; and then, with other circumstances of barbarity, executed on the gallows."

made but Irish parsons. They went to Ireland for gain, for tithes, for plunder; caring nothing for the souls of the flock, and watching over them rather with the care of the wolf than that of the shepherd. The Irish church was, in fact, henceforward looked upon as a mere refuge for hungry adventurers from England,\* who, born within the atmosphere of gentility, were too idle to work, but were not beneath extracting from the hard earnings of the poor the means of profligate luxury and riotous extravagance. What was the consequence? That the great body of the Irish people, in whose eyes Protestantism had become identified with every thing that was odious and intolerable, clung to their ancient faith, and to the native pastors who had been faithful to them for centuries; while they despised the English interlopers as upstarts and intruders, and hated them as bigotted persecutors and oppressors.

Such was the reign of "good Queen Bess" in Ireland—one of the darkest and bloodiest passages to be found in history. In her time, almost the entire country was reduced to the condition of a desert, and at least half the entire population perished by famine or the sword.† Nearly forty rebellions occurred during the half century that she occupied the throne,—many of which rebellions were stirred up and fomented merely for purposes of rapine, confiscation, and plunder. Famine and pestilence were then openly advocated as the only pacificators of Ireland, by one who is known in England as the most elegant and graceful of her early poets. In Irish minds, however, Edmund Spenser is associated, not with the Faery Queen, but with the royal vixen of England, of whose cruelty and ambition he was found the unscrupulous advocate. Sir Walter Raleigh‡ too, the chivalrous and polite, is known to Ireland only as the

\* SPENSER, in his *VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND*, which is written in the form of a dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus, attributes the chief evils of Ireland to the *religion* of the Irish people. "They be all papists (says he) by profession." These are represented by Irenæus to be ignorant of the grounds of their faith. Eudoxus inquires, why not instruct them? To this Irenæus observes, that "this needeth quiet times," and "that it is ill time to preach among swords." "Eudoxus: But is there no law or ordinance to meet this mischief? Irenæus: Yes, it seems it hath; for there is a statute there enacted in Ireland, which seems to have been grounded on a good meaning: that whatsoever Englishman of good conversation and sufficiency shall be brought unto any of the bishops, and nominated unto any living within their diocese that is perfectly free, that he shall (without contradiction) be admitted thereunto, *before any Irish*." Eudoxus: This surely is a *very good law*." This "very good law" is but an instance of the system then, as now, pursued towards the Irish people. The case, at the present day, remains as it was then. "Whatsoever Englishman" presents himself, is still almost certain to be preferred "*before the Irish*."

† TAYLOR's *Civil Wars of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 232.

‡ Sir Walter Raleigh was the first who introduced the *potatoes* into Ireland, which he did upon his Cork estate. Opinion is divided as to whether this was a blessing or a curse to Ireland. Most probably, like almost every thing else introduced from the same quarter, it was the latter. Cobbett was strongly of opinion that the cultivation of the potatoe was the curse of Ireland; and the author of the "Landlord's Suggestions for Checking the Repeal Agitation," says—"I sincerely believe that of all Sir Walter Raleigh's cruelties committed in Ireland, the planting of the potatoe on his Cork estate was the most cruel. It taught the landlord how cheaply poor Paddy could be supported; and, giving him this root for his labour, they have ever since taken all the rest in rent."—It is, however, looking only at the surface of things to attribute all, or even a large portion, of the miseries of Ireland to this cause. The evil lies much deeper, as will be made evident enough hereafter.

instrument of ruthless tyranny and barbarity. Elizabeth's entire reign, indeed, was a continued series of disgusting cruelties and crimes.\* Famine and devastation were the "good queen's" hand-maidens; the rack, the gibbet, and the dungeon, her Protestant missionaries. And thus, at last, was Ireland "pacified"; and, after a contest of 440 years, brought under the dominion of the crown of England. The cost to Elizabeth was most serious. More than £3,000,000 sterling was expended on the conquest, with an incalculable number of her bravest soldiers. And after all, as the Queen was assured by her own servants, "little was left in Ireland for her majesty to reign over, but CARCASSES and ASHES"!

The "Reformation from Popery" was also "completed" in Elizabeth's reign. The history of this movement in Ireland is, throughout, one of merciless persecution, of wholesale spoliation, and of murderous cruelty. The instruments by which it was accomplished were, despotic monarchs, unprincipled ministers, a rapacious aristocracy, and venal and slavish parliaments. It sprung from brutal passion, was nurtured in selfish and corrupt policy, and was consummated in bloodshed and horrid crime. "The work," observes a contemporary, "which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest." Such was the "Reformation," and such were its instruments; and the consequences which flowed from it, at least to Ireland, were of a kindred character for centuries to come.

## CHAPTER XII.

James I.—Commences his reign as a persecutor—Abolition of the old Irish laws—Invented plots and conspiracies—the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel accused—Their immense estates in Ulster confiscated, and planted with English and Scotch settlers—An Irish Parliament assembled to sanction the robbery—A stroke of arbitrary power—James's defence of packed Parliaments—the venal Parliament assembled—Fight for the speakership—Division of the confiscated Lands—the London companies—Organized system of confiscation—Its success—Proposed confiscation of the province of Connaught—Death of James—Religious History of this reign—Persecutions of the catholics—Their continued hostility to protestantism—Condition of the people.

It was reserved for James I., the Prince of royal pedants, to continue the system of confiscation and extermination which Queen Elizabeth had prosecuted with such vigour during her reign. From the fact that James's mother, the beautiful but unfortunate Mary

\* One of the most odious and barbarous cruelties of this period (which we find we have omitted to mention in the proper place) was the cold-blooded massacre perpetrated at Mulloughmaston, or as it is now abbreviated, Mullighmast, in the 19th year of Elizabeth's reign. On that occasion, some hundreds of the most peaceable of the Irish gentry, chiefly belonging to the sept of O'More and O'Connor, were invited there under the protection of the government, and were

of Scotland, had died a martyr to the catholic faith, having been beheaded by the connivance, if not at the express command, of her rival the "good Queen Bess," the Irish Catholics now hoped for toleration and protection in the enjoyment of their worship, at the hands of the new monarch. But they hoped in vain. James commenced and closed his reign as an inveterate hater of "papists." One of his first acts was to proclaim a general gaol delivery, except to *murderers and papists*; and he pledged himself never to grant any toleration to the catholics, entailing a curse on his posterity if they failed to follow in his steps. Those of the Irish catholics, therefore, who, in the towns of Munster and Leinster, had incautiously proceeded to exercise their worship in public, were soon undeceived in their hopes of the new monarch. An army under Mountjoy was immediately marched against them, for the purpose of repressing all demonstrations of attachment to the ancient faith. Waterford, Clonmel, and Cashel, at once yielded; and Cork, after a short siege, also surrendered, where several of the leaders in the demonstration were put to death, and all was quiet again. And thus, says Sir John Davies, describing the condition of Ireland on the ascension of King James, "the multitude being brayed, as it were, in a mortar, with sword, famine, and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the English government, received the laws, and magistrates, and most gladly embraced the King's pardon and peace in all parts of the realm, with demonstrations of joy and comfort." What the "joy and comfort" was, our readers may judge from what follows.

An attempt was made, early in this reign, to abolish entirely the ancient system of Irish jurisdiction, and substitute the English laws in its place. Circuits were established, and itinerant judges appointed; the customs of tanistry and gavel kind were declared illegal; and the tenures of land were appointed to be modelled after the English fashion. Had the object of these measures been, to establish security of property, order, and good government, the results might have been of incalculable benefit to Ireland. But the real object being, as soon afterwards appeared, the wholesale confiscation of Irish property, the results were only increased insecurity, and more general and deep-rooted hatred of the English government. At the same time, the penal laws, enacted in the

brutally murdered to a man. "The English," says Dr. Curry, in his literal translation from the Irish annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign, "published a proclamation, inviting all the well-affected Irish to an interview on the Rathmore, at Mulloghmaston; engaging at the same time for their security, and that no evil was intended. In consequence of this engagement, the well-affected came to the Rathmore aforesaid; and soon after they were assembled, they found themselves surrounded by three or four lines of English and Irish horse and foot, completely accoutred, by whom they were ungenerously attacked, and *cut to pieces*, and *not a single man escaped*." Another barbarous act committed in this reign was that of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, who, on the conclusion of a peace, invited Bryan O'Neill of Claneboy, with a great number of his relations, to an entertainment, and after three days feasting, they were attacked by the armed followers of Essex, and brutally put to death, men, women and children. O'Neill himself, with his brother and wife, were sent to Dublin, where they were cut in quarters. —See CURRY'S HISTORICAL REVIEW, pp. 10, 11, 12.



reign of Elizabeth, were revived in all their original harshness. Sir Arthur Chichester, the new lord-lieutenant, a man cruel and avaricious in his character, and eager to amass wealth and possessions, no matter in what manner, willingly seconded all the designs of the persecuting monarch. The catholic chapels were shut up; and the most wanton oppressions and extortions were resorted to, such as fine, imprisonment, and deprivation of office, for enforcing attendance on the protestant service. To put an end to all doubts, also, as to James's being favourable to religious toleration, he issued a proclamation\* giving due notice to all concerned of his thoroughly intolerant disposition and character. This singular proclamation commences thus:—"Whereas, his Majesty is informed that his subjects of Ireland have been deceived by a *false report* that his Majesty was disposed to allow them liberty of conscience, and the free choice of a religion: he hereby declares to his beloved subjects of Ireland, that *he will not admit of any such liberty of conscience* as they were made to expect by such report," &c., &c. And then the proclamation goes on to order the expulsion of the catholic bishops, jesuits, and all other ministers of the catholic worship, and to prohibit† altogether the exercise of the Catholic religion. At the same time, sham "Popish plots" and "conspiracies" were hatched, and the pretext thus afforded for putting down by force and persecution the adherents of the Catholic religion both in England and Ireland.

The celebrated Gunpowder Plot, a thing of perplexity and obscurity down to the present day, occurred about this period; and whether real or invented, it certainly proved a God-send to the confiscators and exterminators in Ireland. Among the parties charged with the projected crime, were the Irish catholic lords, prominent among whom were the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel. Without any proofs of their guilt, an accusation was brought against these lords, the meaning of which they well knew. Conscious that their properties were marked for confiscation by a government which was ready to adopt every expedient to increase its power and at the same time break the spirit of the Irish people, they took to flight, when their immense estates in Ulster were immediately seized upon by the harpies of the crown. Sir Cahir O'Doherty, a northern chieftain, took up arms to resist the government, but he

\* See HIBERNIA DOMINICANA, p. 619. Also LELAND, v. ii, p. 421.

† All catholics were obliged to assist at the protestant church service every Sunday and holiday; and thus they, who had been called "imps of Anti-christ, &c." for listening to a Latin mass which they did not understand, were now forced to listen to an English liturgy, which they, being Irish, understood quite as little. By a refinement of cruelty, too, Roman catholics of condition were appointed by the state, under the name of *Inquisitors*, to watch, and inform against those of their own communion who did not frequent the protestant churches on the day appointed; and if, through any scruple or pride of conscience, they neglected or refused this degrading duty, they were heavily fined, and condemned to a long imprisonment.

"Where's your religion, and be d—d to you?" says a pious gentleman in one of Cumberland's plays; and much in the same sort of edifying style was the reformed religion first insinuated into the hearts of the Irish.—MOORE'S MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN ROCK.

was immediately crushed, and his possessions added to the forfeitures of Tyrone and Tyrconnel. By these means, upwards of five hundred thousand acres of the richest and best cultivated land in Ireland,—constituting the six entire counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh,—a tract of country equal in extent to the whole of Yorkshire and Lancashire,—were forfeited to the crown, and immediately distributed among the adherents and favourites of the English king. The native population, as if they had been involved in the suspected guilt of their chiefs, were at once driven off the confiscated lands, into the woods and mountains; and their holdings and habitations were conferred upon adventurers from England and Scotland, who were animated by a strong national antipathy against the Irish, as well as against the Catholic religion which they professed. It was by means such as these that almost the entire province of Ulster was thrown into the scale of the protestant interest, and continues so down to the present day.

The manner in which James, who was scrupulously regardful of the proper forms of law (!), procured the assent of the Irish Parliament to these extensive forfeitures, is not unworthy of notice,—exhibiting, as it does, a stretch of parliamentary corruption and of royal despotism which has rarely, if ever, been equalled. James knew that he would have great difficulty in gaining the assent of the English catholic party in Ireland, the descendants of the barons of the Pale, and the other English invaders of Ireland. This party, be it remembered, was always quite distinct from the Irish catholics, from whom they were separated by the barriers of race and conquest. Agreement in religious sentiment between them constituted no bond of mutual interest; on the contrary, they hated each other as if they had been the professors of creeds of the most opposite possible character. The English government, however, now regarded both in the same light: the protestant adherents of Elizabeth and James abhorred them equally as Irishmen and idolaters. The English catholics now felt that they were under the ban as much as those whom they had for centuries oppressed; and they feared that the same tyranny which they had inflicted upon the Irish would soon be visited upon themselves. Still they possessed considerable power in Ireland; and of this, James, who was resolved to crush them, was fully acquainted. The first blow which he struck at their influence was by means of a Parliament, which he now, for the first time, summoned, after a lapse of twenty-six years.

We have already shown, in a previous chapter, that Parliaments in Ireland were mere assemblies of the principal men of property and influence in the country; and that representation of the people was as yet completely unknown. Parliament, however, grew into a custom; and the name had a “constitutional” sound in it, which is always a satisfactory thing to English ears. They were also found exceedingly useful tools to the English monarchs in extending English influence in Ireland; and they were generally summoned when

there was any oppressive law to be carried into effect, or any extensive spoliation to be achieved. As the last Irish parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, had been held for the purpose of completing the confiscation of the vast estates of the Earl of Desmond in Munster, so the first Parliament held in the reign of James was for the purpose of sanctioning by legislative enactment the confiscation of the immense estates of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in Ulster. The hostility, however, of the catholic lords and gentry of English descent, was greatly feared by James and his party; they had still a considerable superiority over the protestant settlers introduced during the last two reigns, and were thus enabled to send a considerable preponderance of their members into the Irish Houses of Parliament. But this was no obstacle whatever in the way of the despotic monarch. By a stroke of his pen, he, at once, created fourteen new peers, who were bribed by the promise of a large share in the northern plunder; and, at the same time, he created no fewer than forty of the most wretched villages and hamlets in Ireland into boroughs, which were so constituted as to be completely under the will of the crown. These seats were chiefly filled by attorneys' clerks, and servants of the lord deputy, ready, of course, to obey, in every point, the behests of their lord and master.

This arbitrary measure caused great alarm among the old ascendancy party in Ireland, and a remonstrance against it was at once sent to James, signed by some of the principal proprietors in Ireland. But James's kingly answer was:—"You complain of the new boroughs! It was never before heard that any good subjects did dispute the king's power in this point. What is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs? My council may consider the fitness, if I require it; but what if I had made forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs! The more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer"! Here was the answer of a constitutional monarch to his faithful and loving subjects! The Irish lords also petitioned against the measure; but James at once seized their messengers and sent them into confinement. There was no spirit in Ireland to resist this tyrannical act; for the Irish people had long been divorced from all sympathy with the Anglo-Irish lords whom James was now tyrannizing over. The measure was accordingly consummated, and the venal Parliament at length assembled.

What the parliament did, may be inferred from its thoroughly servile constitution. It did all that its master required; though not without a resolute, but futile, resistance from the old English party. The influence of the crown greatly preponderated in the upper house, chiefly in consequence of the English prelates (at all times the servile tools of despotism) being unanimous in support of the government. The chief resistance was made in the House of Commons, where a most unseemly struggle took place for the Speakership, in which the respective partizans of the government and anti-government parties endeavoured by force to obtain

possession of the chair. The two candidates for the speakership were Sir John Davis on the part of the government, and Sir John Everard on the part of "the recusants." A majority of votes appeared for the former; but, some dispute occurring about the result, it was agreed that the supporters of Davies should go out to be counted, and those of Everard remain in. No sooner had the majority left the house than the partizans of Everard immediately shut the door, and put their candidate in the speaker's chair, declaring him to be duly elected. Upon the entrance of Sir John Davies's supporters, a row took place, during which Everard was pulled out of his chair, and the other thrust into his place. The result of the whole was, the withdrawal of the recusants, protesting against the proceedings of the assembly. Matters, however, were at length made up between the two parties; and they then proceeded unanimously to pass a bill of attainder against the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and Sir Cahir O'Doherty,—giving the entire fee-simple of the six confiscated counties to the crown. They also voted a large subsidy to the king out of the public property, both parties claiming an equal share of merit in the grant. In return for this, James addressed his "gracious" thanks in a letter to the deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, who was himself a large sharer in the government spoils; having received as his own reward the greater part of the estates which had been possessed by Sir Cahir O'Doherty.

The confiscated lands of Tyrone and Tyrconnel were then distributed in portions of from one to two thousand acres, among English and Scotch settlers, who were required to plant their proportions of English and Scotch tenants. Persons of Irish descent, or "mere Irish," as they were called, were not to be permitted to reside on the lands at all; nor were catholics, either English or Irish, who were excluded by the condition attached to the occupancy of the lands,—namely, taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, recognizing the king as the head of the church, &c.—which no consistent catholic could possibly do. Several of the trading Companies in London obtained large grants of the confiscated land, which they retain down to the present day. The Fishmongers' Company, the Skinners' Company, and others, still possess extensive and valuable estates in Ulster. The estates of the Irish society (which is a committee of aldermen and common council men of the London corporation, for the managing of their Irish estates) at one time embraced the whole counties of Londonderry and Coleraine: they now consist of the city of Derry, with 15,000 acres; the town of Coleraine, with 9,000 acres, and the fisheries and other lands incapable of equal divisions or proportions. The revenue from these Irish estates of the London corporation amounts to upwards of £12,000 a-year. The share of the Fishmonger's Company is said to produce £7,000 a-year. The Skinner's Company, it is said,

have been offered £1,500 per annum, and a fine of £100,000 for a lease in perpetuity of their proportion.\*

This system of general confiscation and "plantation" succeeded so well in Ulster, and gave James such a taste for the work, that it was henceforward persevered in with greater vigour than ever. Commissions of inquiry were obtained into defective titles of estates, and, where a flaw in them was found, the property was immediately seized by the crown. When flaws in the title did not exist, it was easy to invent them; the ingenuity of the inventors being generally rewarded with the principal share of the spoil. The old rolls in the Tower were searched for the original grants, and when it was found that their conditions had not been complied with,—that rents to the crown had been left unpaid, or feudal services neglected, the estates were either at once confiscated, or the possessors were compelled to accept of new grants at greatly advanced rents. The creatures of the crown did not scruple to resort to the most shocking acts of cruelty, subornation, and perjury, to accomplish their nefarious object. Witnesses were tortured, and jurors were not only imprisoned and fined, but had their ears and other parts cut off, if they refused to swear as the government officers required them. This system of royal jobbing and plunder was presided over by Sir William Parsons, ancestor of the present Earl of Rosse, who then laid the foundations of that family's fortunes in Ireland.†

\* See an elaborate article on "*The Corporation of London and Municipal Reform*," in the *Westminster Review*, for May, 1845, p. 545. At a meeting of the Repeal Association in Dublin, Mr. O'Connell explained the fraud by which they were obtained; and then said as follows:—"It is enough for me to observe that these companies have no other titles than those lands except this monstrous piece of iniquity that I have described. It has been often said that the origin of these bad titles ought not to be inquired into, because they have been followed up by contracts between man and man in the open market, and sold to innocent holders from whom they have been transmitted, through perhaps 20 generations. I agree in the doctrine perfectly, but it does not apply to all those corporations; for it has never passed from their hands, and no man is the richer for the incomes they produce, for they are spent in feasting and ornaments, and no members of that society can have any individual interest in them. The clear inference to be drawn from such possessions is, that the rents drawn from such lands must go out of Ireland. Every shilling of them is spent in England, and even if absenteeism were abolished, still it could not affect these companies, for it would be unjust to expect that these fishmongers, and larimers, and haberdashers' companies should come over and spend their incomes in Ireland. The course I would propose is, to sell these estates, giving the right of pre-emption in every case to the occupying tenants. I would then be for handing the purchase money to the English companies, who would be thus done full justice to, or rather more justice than they deserve."

† The following statement exhibits the manner in which this aristocratic family acquired its great possessions. To do them justice, however, their origin is no worse than those of many other "noble" families in Great Britain and Ireland:—

"One case may be quoted, as a specimen of Irish justice in those days. Bryan and Turlogh Byrne were the rightful owners of a tract in Leinster, called the Ranelaghs. Its vicinity to the capital made it a desirable plunder; and accordingly Parsons, Lord Esmond, and some others, determined that it should be forfeited. The Byrnes, however, had powerful interest in England, and obtained a patent grant of their lands from the King. Parsons and Esmond were not to be disappointed so easily. They flatly refused to pass the royal grant; and, deeming the destruction of the Byrnes necessary to their safety, they had them arrested on a charge of treason. The witnesses provided to support the charge, were Duffe, whom Turlogh Byrne, as a justice of the peace had sent to prison for cow-stealing, Mac Art and Mac Griffin, two notorious thieves and a farmer named Archer. This last long resisted the attempts to force him to become a perjured witness; and his obstinacy was punished by the most horrible tortures. He was

These unscrupulous measures completely succeeded : immense additional confiscations of property were made,—friend and foe being alike ruthlessly plundered by the harpies of the government. Sixty-six thousand acres, between Dublin and Waterford, were declared by inquisition to be the property of the crown ; three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres, situated in the counties of Westmeath, Longford, Leitrim, and King's and Queen's county, were also seized and planted by new settlers, as Ulster had been ; the immense possessions of the O'Rourkes, in Leitrim ; the O'Farrells, of Longford ; and the Boynes, of Wicklow, were also confiscated and put into the King's hands ; almost the entire county of Wexford was appropriated ; and the result was, that more than a million of acres of the best land in Ireland were seized from the original proprietors and declared to be the property of the crown.

James and his rapacious adherents were not yet satisfied. A still more extensive scheme of confiscation was devised, for the confiscation of the entire province of Connaught, on the pretence that its proprietors had neglected to take out letters patent when their estates were compounded for in the preceding reign. In consideration, however, of large sums paid into the exchequer, their possessions were again confirmed to them by an act of state, and a commission was appointed to receive surrenders and issue letters patent. But, as if the clerks in the record office had been secretly in league with the confiscators, the patents were not enrolled, the titles of the patentees were declared null, and James and his

*burned in the fleshy parts of the body with hot irons ; placed on a gridiron over a charcoal fire ; and, finally, flogged until nature could support him no longer, and he promised to swear any thing that the commissioners pleased.* Bills of indictment were presented to two successive grand juries in the county of Carlow, and at once ignored, as the suborned witnesses were unworthy of credit, and contradicted themselves and each other.

*"For this opposition to the will of government, the jurors were summoned to the Star-Chamber in Dublin, and heavily fined. The witnesses, Mac Art and Mac Griffin, being no longer useful, were given up to the vengeance of the law. They were hanged for robbery at Kilkenny ; and, with their dying breath, declared the innocence of the Byrnes.*

The ingenuity of Parsons and his accomplices was not yet exhausted. The Byrnes presented themselves before the Court of King's Bench in Dublin, to answer any charge that might be brought against them. No prosecutor appeared, and yet the Chief-justice refused to grant their discharge. During two years, repeated orders were transmitted from England, directing that the Byrnes should be freed from further process, and restored to their estates ; but the faction in the castle evaded and disobeyed every mandate. At length, on learning that the Duke of Richmond, the generous patron of the persecuted Irishmen, was dead, it was determined by Parsons to complete the destruction of the victims. He had before been baffled by the integrity of a grand jury ; on this occasion, he took proper precautions to prevent a similar disappointment. The bills were sent before the grand jurors of Wicklow, the majority of whom had obtained grants of the Byrnes property, and all were intimately connected with the prosecutors. The evidence placed before this impartial body was the depositions of four criminals, who were pardoned on condition of giving evidence ; but even these wretches were not brought in person before the jury. Their depositions were taken in Irish by one of the prosecutors, and translated by one of his creatures. These suspicious documents, however, proved sufficient, and the bills were found.

*"To procure additional evidence, it was necessary to use expedients still more atrocious. A number of persons were seized, and subjected to the mockery of trial by martial law, though the regular courts were sitting. The most horrid tortures were inflicted on those who refused to accuse the Byrnes ; and some of the most obstinate were punished with death. But the firmness of the victims presented obstacles which were not overcome, before some virtuous Englishmen represented the affair so strongly to the King that he was ashamed into interference. He sent over commissioners from England to investigate the entire affair. The Byrnes were brought before them, and honourably acquitted. Their lives were thus saved ; but Parsons had previously contrived to obtain a great portion of their estates by patent, and was permitted to keep them undisturbed.*

*"This narrative, which has been rather softened in its horrible details, may appear to many too shocking to be believed ; but all the documents connected with it are still preserved in the library of the Dublin University, and it is circumstantially related by Carte, a historian remarkable for his hostility to the Irish."—TAYLOR'S HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND, vol. i, p. 243-4-5-6.*

servants were about to proceed to the wholesale confiscation of the province of Connaught. The catholic proprietors endeavoured to avert the ruin which was impending over them by offering the greedy monarch a bribe of £10,000; and while he was meditating between the smaller gain within his reach, and the larger plunder in prospect, he was cut off by a mortal disease in the year 1625, leaving his son Charles to carry on the work of spoliation in Ireland, and of despotism in England, and to reap the reward in an ignominious death on a public scaffold.

The religious history of this reign differs but little from that of the preceding one. There was the same amount of despotic intolerance, if not of furious persecution. The reign of James, whose character was a mixture of vanity, cunning, and greed, was, however, chiefly expended on schemes of confiscation and plunder through the agency of the law, whose powers were wielded by his despicable instruments. Yet the fires of persecution were not allowed to cool. The Ecclesiastical Courts were then, as now, inquisitions, in which the souls and bodies of the conscientious were tortured. Catholics were there excommunicated as "recusants," and punished both by severe fines and long imprisonments. "The whole business of these courts," says Bishop Burnett, in his life of Bishop Bedell, "seemed to be nothing but *oppression and extortion*; the solemnest and sacredest of all church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as a spiritual censure, was lost, and the effect it had in law made it to be cried out upon as a most intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the courts thought they had a right to oppress the natives; and that *all was well got that was wrung from them*." The places in those courts were bought, and the power which they gave was turned to profit in the way of fines and bribes extorted from the victims on whom they fastened. The catholic clergy, as well as laity, were also victimized by such means. Many of them were condemned to long imprisonments. The catholic bishop of Down and Connor, was hanged, drawn, and quartered; and many others of the inferior clergy were punished for their "recusancy," with death.

It was scarcely to be expected that such measures as these would reconcile the people of Ireland to protestant ascendancy, or greatly impress their minds with a conviction of the beauties of the new religion. On the contrary, they must necessarily have produced a feeling of inveterate hostility, in the minds of the people, to the authors of such cold blooded cruelty and unprincipled spoliation. Was it to be expected that a whole nation would at once abandon the cherished faith of their fathers, and overturn all that had been venerated and adored in the land for centuries, in favour of doctrines which they had been taught to believe were heretical, blasphemous, and dangerous to salvation,—especially when the professors of the new faith came before them in the guise of robbers and persecutors, having pleasure rather in the torture and spoliation of the people

than in their conversion to a religion of charity, and peace, and love? Of all sights, indeed, to be seen in this world, there is none more disgusting than that of a daily life and practice on the part of religionists, which is at direct variance with the doctrines they profess. Even though the religion which they preach be true, those to whom it is offered, cannot but shrink back from it with aversion, when they see it associated with hypocrisy, deceit, and acted falsehood. No wonder that the Irish people rejected the new faith with disdain, when offered to them by the plundering harpies who now came to them in the guise of protestant reformers. And it is honourable to the Irish catholics that they continued to preserve their consistency and to hold by their early faith, notwithstanding all the cruel means by which the new creed was attempted to be enforced upon them by the emissaries of the government.

The condition of the great body of the Irish people, at this period, may be inferred from the measures which were adopted to dispossess them of their lands and habitations. Extermination would have been mercy compared with the misery which thousands of them were now compelled to undergo. Driven from their homes, and their property forcibly taken possession of by strangers and foreigners, they wandered about in multitudes, destitute, starving, and desperate. Many perished of hunger. Others took to the woods and mountains, and lived a lawless and half-savage life. Thousands were reduced to beggary; while those who remained on the estates of the new settlers were held in a state of abject thralldom and servitude. They had no hold upon their masters, but were liable to be turned adrift at a moment's notice. The Brehon laws had now been abolished, and the native chiefs no longer felt themselves called upon to extend their protection to the mass of the labouring population. The bond of allegiance between the upper and lower classes of society was broken; and there now stood ranged on opposite sides, the landlord Few, enjoying their unjustly acquired possessions in fear and trembling, and the great mass of the native population, landless, homeless, starving, and destitute. The nation now contained within it all the elements of insurrection, anarchy, agrarian outrage, revolution, and general overturn.

Such was Ireland at the conclusion of James's reign; during which the catholic property-holders had been, under various pretences, plundered of nearly three millions of acres of land, which were cleared of their native cultivators to make room for settlers from England and Scotland; and during which, also, the legislative preponderance of the catholics was overturned by a stroke of despotic power, which raised a corrupt ascendancy on the ruins of the popular interest, and turned all the powers of civil and religious tyranny against the great body of the native people of Ireland. James was not unfrequently addressed, by his parasites, as the Solomon of his day. In one sense, indeed, he answered to the



description, for he not only 'chastised his people with whips', but was preparing for them a hopeful successor, who would 'visit them with scorpions.' The proofs of this will be found in abundance in the course of the next chapter.

### CHAPTER XIII.

Despotism in England—Resistance of the people—Ireland at the accession of Charles I.—the Irish catholics grant him a large subsidy—"The Graces"—Lord Wentworth—His character—Arrives in Dublin as lord-deputy—Calls a Parliament—His proposals—Obtains six subsidies—The second session—Is again successful—Public measures of improvement—Further confiscations of property—His arbitrary measures—Discontent increases—Returns to England—The English parliament—Rebellion of the Scotch—The Danger increases—Wentworth's energy—Civil war breaks out in England—Wentworth is impeached—And executed.

WHILE the liberties of Ireland were thus strangled by the agents of despotic power, amidst the submissiveness of the Irish nation,\* the English were preparing for one of the noblest and most successful resistances to a despotism of the same kind, which has ever been recorded in the history of nations. Tyrannic and irresponsible power had, during the last few reigns, been gradually closing around the liberties of the people. The rights of persons, property, and conscience, had been invaded, while the prerogatives of royalty had been advancing with a steady step. The arrogance of the Tudors had been succeeded by the blinded despotism of the Stuarts. *Magna Charta*, in their hands, had become a dead letter; and the writ of *habeas corpus* weaker than a cobweb, as a protection from arbitrary assault. Law was now merely the instrument of the crown to enforce obedience to its exactions. The courts were little better than the "caverns of murderers."† Monopolies were erected, which crushed industry to the earth. The press was held in shackles. Religion was persecuted. The liberty enjoyed by the subject was a mere mockery. The king usurped the functions of the legislature, and regularly imposed taxes without the consent of parliament. He violated the laws daily. In the meantime, profligacy, licentiousness, and vice, pervaded the atmosphere of the court; and the aristocratic caste presented an example to the people, of gross immorality, sensuality, and extravagance. The state church, too, which in Ireland was attempting to persecute the people into protestantism, was now in England attempting to persecute them back to catholicism. The tyranny of the church and the crown went hand in hand. Laud and Charles alike aimed at despotic power, the one over the church, the other over the state. Laud's ambition

\* Such was the submissiveness of Ireland during the reign of James, and in the midst of all his confiscations and persecutions, that the standing army, which, at the commencement of it, amounted to 20,000, towards its close had been reduced to a force of only 1,550 men!

† Hallam.

was to be an English Pope; Charles's to be an absolute despot, uncontrolled by law or by parliament,—and, in working out this design, the church took him under her keeping, and solemnly led him to destruction.

An opposition was not long in showing itself among the English people. The middle classes had recently sprung up into some importance, and, as 'through a glass darkly,' were beginning to discern something of the true character of the principles of popular liberty. Education was spreading among them; for the Printing-press was now at work, and scattering abroad the seeds of knowledge, liberty, and social and political independence. The principles of the Reformation also were now working in the minds of the people, and rousing them into unwonted activity. For, whatever may be our several opinions of the religious changes of the time, there can be only one opinion as to the effect which that great religious movement had upon the condition of the public mind and the subsequent progress of man in knowledge and civilization. It thoroughly roused the masses from the slumber of centuries, and let loose upon society an immense amount of mental activity, which down to that period had been completely pent up. It gave an impulse to investigation, scrutiny, and inquiry, which soon extended itself over the entire field of human relations.

Turn we again to Ireland, where the suffering people indulged in prospects of toleration on the accession of Charles I. to the throne. Charles was known to have a strong leaning towards catholicism; and his marriage to a catholic princess shortly after his ascension, gave renewed hope to the party throughout the empire. The anticipations of the Irish catholics ended, as usual, in disappointment. No change was made except for the worse. No matter who reigned in England, whether Tudor or Stuart, whether protestant or catholic, it was alike to Ireland: the agents might be changed, but the system remained the same: persecution and confiscation were the lot of the Irish under all administrations.

The catholic landholders, who had been alarmed by the projected seizure of the whole of Connaught during the former reign, under the pretence of defective titles, resolved to take immediate steps to avert the danger still impending over them. The old proprietors of Irish estates feared lest they should all be involved, in course of time, in the same general confiscation. They held a meeting in Dublin, and, aware of the royal necessities, voluntarily agreed to grant the sum of £120,000 (an immense sum in those times), payable in three years. They only required, in return for this, that Charles should grant them the commonest rudiments of justice—such as making due provision for the security of property, the administration of justice, the freedom of industry, the regulation of the clergy, the restraining of the tyranny of ecclesiastical courts, and the prevention of inquiries into the titles of estates beyond a certain period. All these demands were perfectly fair and

equitable; and Charles, tempted by the subsidy, at once agreed to grant them under the name of "The Graces:" he pocketed the money, and the catholics considered themselves comparatively safe. Scarcely, however, had the bargain been concluded, than a proclamation was issued commanding the catholics to forbear the exercise of their rites and ceremonies; and ere long, it was quite apparent that Charles had no intention whatever of fulfilling his solemn promises. He made a technical informality in the writs for summoning parliament, a pretence for delaying the Graces during Lord Falkland's administration; and when the consideration of the matter could no longer be deferred, he sent over "a bold bad man," Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, to keep things quiet among the discontented and complaining Irish.

Wentworth was one of the boldest and most impetuous instruments that ever lent itself to the support of despotism. He was haughty, ambitious, tyrannical, revengeful. He was unscrupulous in the employment of means for the advancement of his power, which he used for purposes of self-aggrandisement, and not unfrequently for the gratification of malignant passions. A thorough aristocrat at heart, he despised the people, whom he ruled over as a despot. And yet this man started in life as a popular leader, and served in the same ranks with Pym, Vane, Eliot, and others. But like all apostates from the cause of the people, he had no sooner joined the ranks of the enemy, than he distinguished himself by his persecution of the party he had abandoned. There was not a particle of indecision in his whole character. He threw himself, body and soul, into whatever cause he espoused. His talents, too, were of the most splendid kind. It was of Strafford's "rare abilities" that Lord Digby spoke, where he said that "God had given him the use of them, but the devil the application." He had also a wonderful influence over other men, carrying them with him almost whithersoever he would; though he afterwards had to contend with men greater than himself, backed, however, by a whole people, by whom he was completely overthrown.

Such was the manner of a man to whom Charles now delivered over the government of Ireland. The country was in a critical state: torn to pieces by the dissensions of religious parties, and grievously oppressed by the church courts, the exactions of the established priesthood, the existence of hateful monopolies, and other crying abuses. Armed with extraordinary powers, Wentworth set out for Dublin. He entered Ireland as a despot, with one paramount object,—that of making his master "*the most absolute prince in Christendom*," in so far as regarded that "conquered country." Behold Ireland, then, now under the iron-rule of an unscrupulous tyrant! It was not long before the entire nation was found groaning under him in agony. His first act was to call a parliament for the purpose of sanctioning his absolute measures; and Irish parliaments were generally found venal and

corrupt enough to countenance and legalize any act of oppression. Charles, however, had a great hatred to the name of "parliament," having found it such an obstacle in the way of absolutism in England. But Wentworth soon showed him that an Irish parliament was a different thing, and that there would be no difficulty in wresting it to the purposes of tyranny. "*I shall labour,*" he says in one of his letters, "*to make as many captains and officers burgesses in this parliament as I possibly can, who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, may almost sway the business between the two parties which way they please.*" Charles's scruples were thus satisfied, and a parliament was called, which was opened with extraordinary pomp and ceremony.

Wentworth's speech, on opening the houses, not a little startled the members. He informed them that two sessions were to be held, the first to be devoted to the sovereign in the way of granting of subsidies, and the second to the subject in the way of redress of grievances. In reference to the former affair, Wentworth insolently told the parliament that if they expected *protection* (such protection !) without contributing towards it, they looked for more than had ever been the portion of a "conquered kingdom." Wentworth, without allowing time for consultation or coalition among the catholics and protestants, demanded, on the following day, the enormous grant of six subsidies. The two parties, willing to rival each other in loyalty, at once granted the money unconditionally,—the first "settled subsidies" that had ever been paid in Ireland. He also obtained, in the same manner, no fewer than eight subsidies from the convocation of the Irish clergy. Wentworth having thus triumphantly carried his money bills, the session closed, and he sent over congratulatory letters to his master, Charles, crowing over his success.

As the time approached for holding the second session, for the redress of grievances, and the granting of The Graces, Charles became apprehensive of the issue. He was again quieted by Wentworth, who assured him that *he* would take upon himself the whole responsibility and blame of refusing them. Parliament was opened, and Wentworth kept his word. Every concession was stoutly refused by him. The Catholics offered resistance ; but Wentworth throwing all his influence on the Protestant side of the house, they were at once defeated. The Protestants expected a reward for defeating the Catholics ; but they were immediately borne down too, in like manner, and the session ended—a complete blank. Wentworth hastened to assure Charles in a despatch, that his majesty was now, through the person of his deputy, the uncontrolled ruler of Ireland,—"*So now I can say,*" observes he, "*the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side*"—namely in England.

Wentworth next directed his efforts to the extension of Protestant conformity ; to the increase and maintenance of the standing

army, "the great peace-maker," as Wentworth himself described it. He also directed his attention to the increase of the public revenue, and in four years the produce of the customs rose from £12,000 to £40,000 a-year. He applied himself to the increase of trade, and abolished several absurd restrictions and monopolies; he established a victualling trade betwixt Ireland and Spain; and laid the foundations of the linen trade in Ulster, which continues to flourish down to the present day. By these means, in the course of about five years, the revenue exceeded the expenditure by about £60,000 per annum,—a proof of "complete success" in the eyes of the lord-deputy, as perhaps it would be in the opinion of most modern statesmen and financiers.

The lord-lieutenant next proceeded to put in execution the famous project of the wholesale confiscation and "plantation" of Connaught, which had been planned by the preceding monarch. Pledging himself to Charles that he would immediately reduce Connaught to the absolute possession of the crown, he at once proceeded to make good his word. He called together packed juries, who were terrified or bribed into obedience to his commands, and were ready to find verdicts in favour of the crown. The jurors who refused to give a favourable verdict, were heavily fined, and imprisoned for long periods. "Sometimes," says the Commons' Journals, "they were pilloried with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with a hot iron, and other infamous punishments." This plan was found effective in Roscommon, Leitrim, Mayo, and Sligo, the greater part of which counties were confiscated to the royal uses. Opposition was offered in Galway, where the jurors imagined they would have the protection of the powerful Earl of Clanricarde. But Wentworth soon bore down their opposition with a tyrant hand. Immediately on the jurors refusing to find for the crown, as in the preceding cases, they were cited to the Castle Chamber of Dublin and fined £4,000 each; the sheriff who had selected them was also fined £1,000.; and the Earl of Clanricarde received a heavy reprimand from the court, and otherwise suffered severely. This "just severity," as it was called by Wentworth, was expected to "make all the succeeding plantations pass with the greatest quietness that could be desired."

Heavy sums of money were next extorted from those who had neglected the original conditions of their grants of land. He exacted £17,000 from the O'Byrnes, and no less than £70,000 from the London Companies who held estates in Ulster. Henceforward these companies were the determined enemies of Wentworth, and did every thing they could to accelerate his downfall. Wentworth also treated the Irish nobility with great severity. He fined the Earl of Cork and Lord Wilmot; sent the Earl of Kildare to prison; and meanly compassed the ruin of Lord Mountnorris, the vice-treasurer, whom he had sentenced to military execution, but

afterwards dismissed with a mock pardon, a lowered and beggared man.

These arbitrary proceedings caused bitter murmurs and discontent in Ireland, and they extended also to England, where men spoke out more openly and fearlessly. The murmurs increased so much about court, that Wentworth resolved to make a sudden appearance in England, and boldly confound his accusers. He was received by the king with marks of great favour, and detailed the measures he had adopted for the government of Ireland at "a very full meeting of council." He left the court, loaded with the applause of the king and his courtiers. Before he returned to Ireland, he went into Yorkshire, where he signalized himself by his vigorous collection of ship-money, one of the arbitrary and unconstitutional taxes which Charles was now levying on his English subjects, and which at last drove them into open rebellion to his authority.

Wentworth then returned to Ireland, and carried on his government with the same vigour as before. But opinion was now fast drawing to a head in England, and every ship that arrived was freighted with intelligence that dashed his prosperity and his pride. A loud and violent voice was raised by the popular party, headed by Pym, Hampden, Vane, and others, against the tyrannous conduct of the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Wentworth flung back these charges with contemptuous scorn, though, in his heart, he secretly feared the newly-sprung power of the people whom he openly affected to despise. Still indulging in his ambitious dreams and projects, he commenced the erection of a magnificent palace at Naas\*, the ruins of which still stand; the peasants, as they pass, venting their occasional execrations upon "*Black Tom*," (the name by which he is now remembered in the country,) whose memory has been handed down to them by tradition as one of the bloodiest and cruelest tyrants that ever lived. He also kept up an almost regal magnificence, maintaining at his own charge a retinue of 50 servants, and a troop of 100 horse splendidly mounted and accoutred. His object in keeping up this style, he stated to Cottington was, that "having the great honour to represent his majesty's sacred person," he thought it becoming in him, "*to set it forth, not in a penurious manner, before the eyes of a wild and rude people.*"

Wentworth was roused from his comparative inactivity by the alarming intelligence of the rising of the Scottish nation against Charles, in defence of their civil and religious liberties. The attempts of Laud to thrust an obnoxious creed upon them, stirred

\* The remains of this building, which was called Juggerstowne Castle, are visible still, and, I am informed by gentlemen who have seen them, sufficiently indicate its extraordinary grandeur and extent: they cover several acres. They are close to the road side, about sixteen Irish miles from Dublin, and provoke, even now, from many an unreflecting passer by, a curse upon the memory of "*Black Tom*." Such is the name by which the Irish peasantry still remember Strafford. When M. Boullaye-le-Gouz visited Ireland, he found the castle in the property and possession of Sir George Wentworth, Strafford's brother, and guarded by forty English soldiers.—MR. CHOKER'S M.S., QUOTED IN FORSTER'S LIFE OF STRAFFORD, IN LARDNER'S CABINET CYCLOPEDIA, p. 351-4.

the whole people into rebellion. Wentworth immediately hastened to assist his master. He first forced down some rising commotions among the Scotch settlers in Ulster, and forwarded from Ireland a body of troops to garrison Carlisle. He also offered large contributions of money towards the expenses of resistance; and urged his friends in Yorkshire to make every exertion in the royal cause. Charles now looked on Wentworth as his great hope. He urged him to come over to England, where he desired his "counsel and attendance." Suffering under gout and "flux," Wentworth embarked and reached London; and was immediately engaged in close conclave with Laud and Hamilton. There they were, the triple-headed tyrant executive of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They had to take measures against a people, who would no longer grind in their mill of slavery. What was to be done? The Scotch were up in arms! Wentworth at once declared for war. But where were the supplies to be found, to carry it on? The public treasury had been drained, parliament refused to grant subsidies, the levy of tonnage and poundage was no longer productive, and tyranny stood almost disarmed by mere passive resistance. But Wentworth had a brave heart, though a false one. He was now, as he had often before hinted, engaged in a work, which he was bound to go "*thorough*" with, at the "peril of his head." And, sure enough, he did the work, and — lost his head. It was at one of the privy council meetings of this same junto, that Strafford uttered the memorable words, which were afterwards brought against him, and sealed his fate: "*You have an army in Ireland,*" said he "*that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience.*"

Wentworth, with characteristic energy, at once subscribed £20,000 out of his own purse, and promised to bring a large subsidy from Ireland, if the king would call a parliament there. Writs were issued, and an Irish parliament was called together. Wentworth went over to meet it, as Earl of Strafford,—a title which had twice been solicited by him, and twice refused, but was now conferred unasked. The members of the Irish parliament crowded around him with lavish devotion, and at once granted him the four subsidies that he demanded. They also assured him that that was nothing in respect to their zeal, for that "*his majesty should have the fee-simple of their estates for his great occasions.*" But how versatile is the adulation of slaves! Scarce two months had passed, when Strafford's fall was apparent, and the same parliament turned round upon him as a tyrant, and never lost sight of him until they had seen him executed on the scaffold.

Wentworth had been scarcely a fortnight in Ireland, when he had achieved these results with the parliament, and levied a body of 8,000 Irish troops as a reinforcement to the royal army. He again left for England, and on his arrival was put at the head of the army to march against the Scots. At the same time, he sent a commission to Ormond to bring over his army of 20,000 men from

Ireland. The campaign commenced, but it was rendered nugatory by the irresolution of the king. Negotiations were entered into, a parliament was agreed to be called, and now Strafford felt himself to be lost. He prayed his master, Charles, that he might be allowed to retire to Ireland, and not deliver himself up into the hands of his enemies. Charles peremptorily refused, but assured him that "while there was a king in England not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched by the parliament." The storm soon burst. The new parliament met, and one of its first acts was to impeach Strafford for high treason. His friends at once fell away from him; the king left him to his fate; and the man who had just been ruling Ireland with the power of a despot now paid the penalty of his crimes, and died on the scaffold like a felon. "Put not your trust in princes" was the final murmur of the mighty, but prostrate Strafford.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

Distracted state of parties—Rumours of Catholic extermination—General alarm among the Irish—Insurrection of 1641—The Irish leaders, Roger Moore, and Sir Phelim O'Neill—Alleged "massacre"—Cruelties of Sir Charles Coote—The Catholics in vain endeavour to effect a reconciliation—Sir William St. Leger—The Lords-Justices Parsons and Borlase—Their savage orders to the Earl of Ormond—Position of affairs—The Parliaments of Ireland and England—Charles distrusted by all parties—Temporising policy of the Catholic Lords—Battle of Kilrush—The English reduced to extremities—Lord Forbes and his army of fanatics—Lord Inchiquin defeats an Irish force—Arrival of the Scotch army in Ulster under General Monroe—Their cruelties—Condition of the Irish army—Owen Roe O'Neill—Arrival of Earl of Leven, with reinforcements—Successes of the Irish—The confederates proceed to organize a government—The Catholic clergy take the lead—Synods held at Kells and Kilkenny—General representative assembly of the nation at Kilkenny—Their measures—The provincial generals—Successes of the confederates.

We now arrive at a period of Irish history extremely confused and distracted, and difficult to unravel. There were now several distinct parties in the field, each animated by fierce hostility to the others. There were the native Irish, who constituted the great bulk of the population,—the English Catholics of the Pale, known as the "Recusants",—the Royalists, for the most part English settlers on the estates confiscated by King James,—and the Parliamentarians, including the Puritans of the Pale, and the Scotch Presbyterians of Ulster:—an extraordinary spectacle of contending parties and conflicting interests. At this period, the powers of government were entrusted to Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase,—men who were both hostile to the king, and detested by almost all parties among the Irish people. These men did all that



they could to thwart the royal wishes in reference to Ireland, and played meanwhile into the hands of the parliament. The consequence was, the executive powers were at variance, and extreme weakness characterised the government. The Irish ceased to respect the crown, and they despised and hated the delegates of the parliament. Discontent prevailed throughout the country, and it began to be rumoured that the Catholics were on the eve of a general insurrection.

And the time seemed opportune for one. The government was powerless; while in every district there existed the materials of popular resistance. The Irish of Ulster, who had been dispossessed of their lands in the reign of James, and driven to live in the wilds, were eager to engage in any enterprise that would restore to them their lost possessions. The Connaught people feared the same fate, and were ready to take up arms to avert it. The Catholics of the Pale also dreaded the intolerance of the Puritans, who had publicly stated their object to be the utter extermination of the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland. Their estates were even marked out, and allotted to their conquerors. No secret was made of these intentions. Sir John Clotworthy openly stated in the House of Commons, that "the conversion of the Papists in Ireland was only to be effected by the bible in one hand and the sword in the other." Mr. Pym is stated to have said that "they would not leave a priest in Ireland." And Sir William Parsons openly asserted, at a public entertainment, that "before a twelvemonth not a Catholic would be seen in Ireland." The object of these statements, it is supposed, was to stir the Irish into rebellion, and then to take advantage of it for the purpose of making a general confiscation of the estates of the Catholic gentry, of English as well as Irish extraction.\*

Whatever might have been their real intention, the result of these menaces certainly was, to fill the minds of the Irish Catholics with dismay and alarm. An appeal to arms seemed to be generally contemplated; and Irish exiles began to flock home from all parts of Europe, in the hope of regaining the property of which they had been plundered, as well as of aiding their countrymen in the

\* Carte, an English Protestant writer, of great accuracy, goes far towards substantiating this assertion. He says: "There is too much reason to think, that as the lords-justices really wished the rebellion to spread, and more gentlemen of estates to be involved in it, that the forfeitures might be the greater, and a general plantation be carried on by a new set of English Protestants all over the kingdom, to the ruin and expulsion of all the old English and natives that were Roman Catholics; so, to promote what they wished, they gave out such a design, and that in a short time *there would not be a Roman Catholic left in the kingdom*. It is no small confirmation of this notion, that the Earl of Ormond, in his letters of January 27th, and February 25th, 1641-2, to Sir W. St. Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design: and when a person of his great modesty and temper, the most averse in his nature to speak his sentiments of what he could not but condemn in others, and who, when obliged to do so, does it always in the gentlest expressions, is drawn to express such an opinion, the case must be very notorious. I do not find that the copies of these letters are preserved; but the original of Sir Wm. St. Leger's, in answer to them, sufficiently shows it to be his lordship's opinion; for after acknowledging the receipt of these two letters, he useth these words: 'The undue promulgation of that severe determination to extirpate the Irish and Papacy out of this kingdom, your lordship rightly apprehends to be too unreasonably published.'"

—CARTE'S ORMOND, I., 263.

assertion of their civil and religious liberties. The example of the Scotch people, who, though less powerful in point of numbers, had thrown off episcopacy, and secured the enjoyment of their own form of religious worship, not improbably stimulated the Irish Catholics to a similar attempt. The persecutions which the Catholics had undergone for some time past, alike from Charles and his Parliament, (for Royalists and Parliamentarians, however much they differed on other points, had only *one* mode of treatment for Ireland), were sufficient to drive the most passive and loyal people to desperation. The result was as might have been expected: an insurrection burst out with great fury on the 23rd of October, 1641. The peasantry of Ulster, who had been enduring the greatest sufferings, since their expulsion from their holdings to make room for James's settlers, rushed from their retreats, and swept the new population before them. The settlers fled in all directions. Little resistance was made, for it would have been in vain. Excesses, however, were committed; and when the English had the opportunity, they were returned with tenfold interest. But, on the whole, less life was lost during this insurrection than on any previous one of a similar kind.

The principal leaders of the native Irish, at this period, were Roger Moore and Sir Phelim O'Neill. The former was a descendant of the O'Moores of Leix (or King's county), who had been forcibly expelled from their possessions, in the reign of Queen Mary, and their sept almost extirpated by military execution. Moore was a gallant, enterprising, and generous-hearted young man,—full of enthusiasm, brave, and chivalrous—and irritated by a keen sense of the oppressions to which his family and country had been subjected. He saw his rightful possessions in the hands of strangers and foreigners, while he himself was compelled to be a wanderer and an outcast from his native land. Educated in continental courts, he acquired a grace and refinement of manners unknown to his forefathers. While abroad in Spain, he had formed an intimate friendship with young O'Neill, son of the crushed Earl of Tyrone: together they recounted the calamities of their race, and glowed with the desire to avenge their wrongs and establish again the ancient splendour of their families. Moore returned to Ireland, full of the great idea, and laboured by every means to obtain the esteem and affection of his countrymen. His grace of person and his brilliant qualities of mind enabled him completely to succeed; and he soon became the darling of the Irish people. They regarded him with a mixture of worship and affection; they celebrated him in their songs; and the expression became proverbial, that the dependence of the Irish was on "*God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.*"

Sir Phelim O'Neill was the head of the powerful sept of the O'Neills of Ulster; he succeeded to this position on the death of the young O'Neill, of whom we have above spoken, in the Spanish service. Sir Phelim was not distinguished by the graces and

manners of his brilliant fellow-labourer, Roger Moore. He was always harsh, and often cruel: a man of mean capacity, and of small education. He was, however, very ambitious, and entered readily into the conspiracy to overthrow the English government. With these leaders were associated Richard Plunkett, of an old and powerful family,—Connor Macguire, lord of Inniskillen,—Hugh Byrne, an Irish refugee in the Spanish service, and other Irish chiefs, of desperate fortunes. The Irish people immediately trusted them as leaders, and, stung by the insults and oppressions of the government, and exasperated by the loss of the property and possessions of which they had been despoiled, they at length rose in the fierce insurrection which we have just described.

Some writers have magnified this effort on the part of the Irish to regain the property of which they had been dispossessed by the Scotch and English settlers, into a "Protestant massacre"; but the authentic records of the period furnish no proofs in support of the allegation. Dr. Taylor, a Protestant writer, expresses his conviction, after a careful examination of all the statements, that the number of persons killed by the insurgents was less than 5,000; and that about an equal number was slain by their opponents.\* The cruelty and extermination openly recommended by the officers of the government had no counterpart in the conduct of the Irish leaders, who, on the other hand, did all that they could to restrain the violence of their followers. It is a remarkable fact, which tends strongly to disprove the statement as to the object of the rising

\* Dr. TAYLOR observes: "The Irish massacre in 1641 has been a phrase so often repeated in even in books of education, that one can scarcely conceal his surprise, when he learns that the tale is as apocryphal as the wildest fiction of romance. No mention is made of these extensive murders, in any of the proclamations issued by the lords-justices, even so late as the 23rd of December, and truly, the character of Parsons does not induce us to believe that he would have suppressed anything likely to make his adversaries odious. The protestantism of the Irish parliament is equally silent on the subject; nor does any state paper of the local government afford the slightest ground for the charge. Stories of massacre and horrid cruelty were indeed studiously circulated in England, because it was the interest of the patriot party in parliament to propagate such delusions. They increased the popular hatred of popery, and rendered the king's suspected attachment to that religion more generally odious; and they afforded a pretence for assembling an army, on whose officers and soldiers the parliament could rely. When, at a later period, it became necessary to excuse the monstrous iniquity of the act of settlement, advantage was taken of the general belief in this unfounded calumny, to justify an instance of royal ingratitude and shameless injustice not to be paralleled even in the dark annals of the Stuarts.—The accounts published by the Catholics on the continent are full of misrepresentations almost equally glaring. If one side avers that there was a conspiracy for the universal slaughter of the Protestants, the others, with similar falsehood, accuse the professors of the reformed religion of designing the extermination of the Papists. If one exaggerates the murders and cruelties perpetrated by O'Neill and his savage mob, the other adds to the excesses committed by the Scotch in the island of Magee, and by Coote at Santry and Clontarf, in the same proportion. There were doubtless many disgraceful atrocities on both sides; but are they not inseparable from civil war? These crimes were owing to the wickedness of particular men. We wish neither to palliate nor to disguise them; but they were disapproved of by the leaders on both sides; and it is but fair to add, that all atrocities were not only discouraged, but punished by the Catholic nobility and gentry. It is equally wicked and foolish to make these sad events the subject of charge against sects and parties at the present day. This was a war for property, rather than religion. The northern Irish wished to recover their estates: Parsons and his supporters desired to enrich themselves by new confiscations. Both employed the name of Deity to cover their real designs; but assuredly religious principle of any kind had little influence on either."

being for the purpose of Protestant extirpation, that, in the despatches of the time, sent over to the King and Parliament, detailing the transaction, not a word is said of the horrible massacre, upon which subsequent writers have commented with such indignant eloquence. And had such a massacre really taken place, certainly so favourable an opportunity would not have been let slip, of whetting the public vengeance against the Catholic body, and thus promoting the object which the lords-justices were now so anxious to accomplish,—namely, the wholesale confiscation of the Catholic property, and the complete extirpation of the Catholic people of Ireland. Unfortunately, there were cruelties committed on both sides, as there always will be in such public commotions, when there has been great tyranny practised on the one side, and much wrong and suffering experienced on the other. Certainly, if the Irish did commit outrages, it was not for want of bloody enough examples which were set them by the enemy.\*

The men of property belong to the Catholic body, alarmed lest the government should take advantage of the insurrection to crush them, sued for accommodation with the king,—asking for a free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of the penal laws. But their appeals were unheeded; and, instead of justice, Sir Charles Coote was sent out with an army, to lay waste the country with fire and sword. The records of the bloody deeds of this man are most horrible. He caused numbers of Catholic priests to be hanged; among others, Father Higgins, the parish priest of Naas. He also ordered women, some with child, to be hanged. Even sucking infants were cruelly butchered. The rack and dungeon were put in requisition. *Roasting to death* was a method employed by him in sending some of his victims out of the world. “Sir Charles Coote,” says Leland, “committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage, in the town of Wicklow, as rivalled the utmost extravagances of the Northerners.” And what was his reward? “Immediately after his inhuman executions and promiscuous murders of the people in Wicklow, he was made governor of Dublin!”

The Irish Parliament, in which there were many Catholic landed proprietors, endeavoured to avert the horrors of a civil war, and tried to bring the insurgents to terms, and to obtain justice from the English king. But all their efforts were destined to be thwarted by the infamous machinations of the lords-justices. Rebellion was the goose that laid their golden eggs, and they were determined it should not die. The Catholic lords of the Pale, rather than take

\* Among the other cruelties of this period, the massacre at the island of Magee is worthy of particular notice. On this occasion about 3,000 Irish, unarmed men, women, and children, were, on the first alarm of the insurrection, set upon and cruelly massacred, many of them in their beds, by the Scottish Puritan soldiers, who then garrisoned Carrickfergus. Leland endeavours to explain away the more repulsive features of this horrible tragedy, but in vain. Dr. Curry, in his “Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland,” completely refutes his statements, and makes out the above case of wanton cruelty, from the accounts of Protestant writers themselves.—See CURRY’S REVIEW, ed. 1830, p. 170-1, &c.

part with the Irish Catholics, whom they hated, then offered their aid to the government, to put down the insurrection. Even this was refused, and they were immediately disarmed, and peremptorily ordered to quit Dublin.

The object of these measures was, to expose the gentry to the necessity of receiving the insurgents, and thus give a colour to the imputations of their treasonable intercourse. Shortly after, they were arbitrarily summoned to appear at the council board, Dublin, to answer such a charge; and foreseeing their fate if they obeyed, they met at Swords, and resolved to refuse to comply with the state summons; alleging that the savage military excursions of Sir Charles Coote had put them in fear of their lives, and that they now had no other alternative but to act upon the defensive. They next met on the hill of Crofty, and afterwards on the hill of Tara, where they put themselves in a posture of defence, and drew up a petition to the king, stating their grievances, and setting forth the necessity they were under of recurring to arms for their self-defence and self-preservation.

The ranks of the insurgents being thus reinforced, the war soon became general throughout the country. Moore and the other Irish leaders pushed their advantages. The greater part of Leinster and Ulster was soon at their disposal; the authority of the lords-justices being confined to the city of Dublin and the town of Drogheda, which latter place was closely besieged. Meanwhile, Sir William St. Leger, the English president of Munster, signalized himself by the cruelties which he perpetrated upon the native population of that province. His despotic and tyrannical acts at length drove the Munster lords also to join the confederates. Almost the entire province was soon reduced under their sway; and though they had the power to retaliate upon their enemies, they opposed themselves firmly to all assaults upon Protestant life and property.

The lords-justices, Parsons and Borlase, now carried on the work of confiscation with great vigour. In two days, they found bills of indictment for high treason against all the Catholic nobility and gentry of the counties of Meath, Wicklow, Dublin, and Kildare. At the same time, the Earl of Ormond was appointed commander-in-chief of the royal army, and ordered to proceed against the rebels with ferocious vigour. He was commanded to burn, waste, consume, and demolish, all the places, towns, and houses, where the rebels had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there; and also to kill and destroy all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms.\* These orders were mercilessly carried into

\* The following is a copy of this atrocious and sanguinary document:—"It is resolved, that it is fit that his lordship do endeavour with his Majesty's forces to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels, their adherents, and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish, all the places, towns, and houses, where the said rebels are, or have been, relieved and harboured; and all the hay and corn there; and kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting capable to bear arms. Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 23rd February, 1641-2. R. Dillon, Tho. Rotherham, Ab. Loftus, F. Willoughby,

effect. Leland says, that in their execution, "The justices declare, that the soldiers *slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children.*" And Dr. Borlase, a relation of one of these justices, boasts, that Sir W. Cole's regiment killed two thousand five hundred rebels in several engagements, and also that "there were starved and famished, *of the vulgar sort*, whose goods were seized upon by this regiment, SEVEN THOUSAND!" Any thing more monstrous than those sanguinary orders, deliberately planned by the chiefs of the government, and obeyed to the letter by the English commanders, can scarcely be imagined.

The position of affairs was now as follows :—Sir Phelim O'Neill, together with several other native leaders, it is said, having under them a force of nearly 30,000 Irish, were masters of about the entire province of Ulster. The government still held possession of several strongly fortified places; but the open country was overrun by the "rebels." The powerful Earl of Clanricarde still remained faithful to the government, in Connaught; but had willingly entered into terms with the confederate leaders, who had under their controul the greater part of the province. Munster also chiefly acknowledged their sway; though the cruel president, Sir William St. Leger, still struggled to maintain his influence. Leinster also was, in a great measure, in the possession of the confederates, with the exception of the fortified towns and castles. The government possessed little or no authority throughout the country; the army at their command, under the Earl of Ormond, was extremely disproportionate to the retention of the country or the subjection of the allied chiefs; and even its power was greatly curtailed by the contradictory orders of the lords-justices, who feared that Ormond, by his reduction of the "rebellion," would greatly gain in influence, and be promoted over their heads.

The Irish parliament, from which all the Catholic lords were now expelled, was again found the servile tool of the government: it now held a session of three days, during which it enacted several oppressive penal laws against the Catholics, and prepared an address to the English parliament, calling for new and more severe laws against the recusants. But the English parliament was now engaged in its ever memorable contest with Charles, and made no exertion to aid their 'Protestant brethren' in Ireland. They contented themselves with passing an act for the sale of two millions and a half of acres confiscated by the lords-justices, and introduced several clauses to prevent the king from entering into any terms of accommodation with his Irish subjects.\* But Charles

J. Temple, Robert Meredith."—The cordial manner in which these brutal orders were executed is thus described by Leland: "In the execution of these orders, the justices declare, that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children."  
—LELAND'S HISTORY OF IRELAND, book v.

\* It has been alleged that the Irish rebellion of 1641 was originally commenced with the connivance, if not at the express desire of Charles; and the publication, by Sir Phelim O'Neill, of a document purporting to be the king's commission for taking up arms, gave some colour of

seems to have had no such intention; for he issued several proclamations, denouncing the Irish confederated forces as rebels and traitors, and even eagerly demanded to be put at the head of the army that he might treat their rebellion with the severe punishment that it deserved. The offers of Charles were, however, contemptuously refused by the parliament. The miserable monarch was now suspected by all parties; his despotism had completely alienated from him the affections of the great body of his subjects, and his perfidy and duplicity had excited only their despal and disgust. His will was now completely disregarded, and the nation was on the brink of an open rebellion against his authority.

After the first fury of the insurrection had spent itself, the insurgents languished in their exertions. The English settlers recovered from their surprise, and took the necessary steps for their defence, and, in many cases, they were able to repel the attacks of their assailants. But they were unsupported by the government, and they did no more than hold their ground. The confederate chiefs, on their part, adopted no decided or vigorous measures. They were for temporizing from the first,—hoping still to preserve their possessions from the clutches of the lords-justices. With this view, they laboured to come to terms with the government, and merely kept up such a warlike attitude as they thought might ensure them safe and equitable terms of submission to the government. Besides, they hated the native Irish, as well as their leaders, and never could amalgamate with them thoroughly. It was only the fear of a common ruin and extermination that had driven them into the field, and so soon as they saw the prospect of safely retreating from their position, they were willing to do so, and abandon the natives, as before, to the tender mercies of the government. But the arbitrary measures of the lords-justices, and the wholesale confiscation of their estates which had now been effected and legalized, left them no alternative but to take up arms in their own defence. Still they cherished hopes of accommodation with the government, having no other object in view than the preservation of their lives and properties, and the free exercise of their religion. The lords-justices,

truth to the allegation. But there is every reason to suppose that Charles had no share whatever in the transaction; Sir Phelim O'Neill declaring at his trial, and afterwards at his death (when a confirmation of his original statement might have saved his life), that the said document was a forgery of his own, and that he had never received any commission from the king. So anxious were the parliamentary party to implicate the king in the alleged guilt of the Irish revolt, that they applied torture to extort confessions to this effect, from several witnesses. Sir John Reed, an English protestant gentleman, who had undertaken to carry the petition of the nobility of the Pale to the king in Dublin, was immediately seized and compelled to suffer the indignity and excruciating agony of *THE RACK*. Mr. Hugh M'Mahon was also tortured in the same way, and also a respectable gentleman, Mr. Patrick Barnwell, of Kilbrow, at the advanced age of sixty-six. The latter gentleman spent his time chiefly in retirement and seclusion, taking little interest in political movements, but respected by all parties for his honour and integrity. That such a man should be put to the rack, excited general horror and indignation, particularly when it was immediately afterwards acknowledged that he was wholly innocent of the charges laid against him, and was afterwards allowed to reside in Dublin unmolested. It was by means so atrocious as these that the government was at last enabled to lash the country in a wild fury, which found a vent in organized resistance to the constituted authorities of the country.

however, took care effectually to thwart every attempt which they made in this direction ; and accordingly they were more completely divorced than ever from their allegiance to the government.

The catholic lords of the Pale, therefore, did not rush at once into the arms of Moore and his associates. They rather held aloof, occasionally making overtures of conciliation to the government, which were invariably refused. Lord Gormanstown, who was their leader, at length on seeing no hope of a reconciliation, and lamenting the condition to which his family and friends were reduced, died of grief. The forces which were under his command now joined themselves to Lord Montgarret and his party ; and, shortly after, they were joined by Roger Moore, Hugh Byrne, Lords Dunboyne and Ikerrin, and the forces at their disposal, to the number of 8,000 men. The confederate army was posted in the neighbourhood of Kilrush, when the Earl of Ormond, who had been reinforced by a considerable body of troops from England, made his approach, but shrunk back, dismayed by the greater numbers of the enemy. The Irish, however, pressed the English so closely, that an engagement became inevitable. But the numbers and bravery of the Irish force did not make up for their want of order and discipline : they seemed to have exhausted themselves in the boldness of their first attack, which was withstood by Ormond's army. Their left wing was immediately broken ; and the right, after stoutly maintaining their ground for a considerable time, retreated to a neighbouring eminence, where they broke up, and fled precipitately in all directions. Seven hundred of their number were killed, while the loss of the English was inconsiderable. The confederate force was totally dispersed ; but Ormond, in consequence of his want of provisions and ammunition, could not follow up his victory. The Earl was loaded with encomiums by the government, five hundred pounds were voted him by the English parliament for a jewel, and his majesty was beseeched to create him a Knight of the Garter.

The war now lingered for many months, and was carried on without energy on both sides. The royalist forces were mutinous for want of pay, provisions, and clothing ; while the confederates were broken up into detached parties, each carrying on a desultory warfare on their own account. The civil war was raging in all the four provinces of Ireland. Ulster was almost entirely under the control of the confederates. Connaught was distracted, but was kept in check by the policy of the Earl of Clanricarde. Munster was now at the disposal of the confederates,—the president, Saint Leger, being shut up, with his small army, and closely besieged in Cork ; where he died, worn out by anxiety, grief, and disappointment,—and was succeeded by Lord Inchiquin, a nobleman of the ancient house of O'Brien. Finding himself surrounded by difficulties, he pressed the English parliament for supplies. They provided him



ten thousand pounds for the support of his own army; and sent Lord Forbes, at the head of a body of twelve hundred men, to his aid. But this lord, thoroughly imbued with the bigotted sectarian spirit of the age, refused to unite himself with the royal troops; he would keep company only with the devout and the "godly,"\* and would not even plunder or massacre in the company of the profane. After landing at Kinsale, and making a series of depredations in the neighbourhood, in which he made no distinction between the "rebels" and the loyalists, he re-embarked, and proceeded to Galway, where he vented his fury chiefly against the loyalist party. He failed, however, to produce a rebellion there, as he seems to have intended; and, after having defaced St. Mary's church, dug up the graves, and burned the coffins and bones of those who lay interred,† he again re-embarked, leaving behind him a general feeling of hate and indignation. Meanwhile, Inchiquin was reduced to great extremities at Cork; when he at length determined to make a desperate effort to release himself, and strike terror into the Irish forces. He collected an army of about 2,000 men, and marched against the enemy: he found them posted near Liscarrol, to the number of 5,000 foot and 500 horse;‡ and, after a severe and protracted contest, defeated them with considerable loss. Inchiquin was, however, unable to follow up his success; and continued to be reduced to the greatest straits, as before.

In Ulster, the war seemed about to be renewed with new vigour on the part of the Parliament. After protracted negotiations, the assistance of the Scottish forces was at last accepted; and 2,500 men, under the command of General Munroe, landed at Carrickfergus, which was immediately delivered into their hands. Being joined by the royal provincial forces, amounting to 1,800 foot and seven troops of cavalry, they advanced to Newry, and gained possession of that town and castle. Other towns were taken, Sir Phelim O'Neill retreating before the advance of the Scottish force, unable, from want of ammunition, to offer a successful resistance to their progress. There seemed, indeed, to be every probability of the complete break-up of the confederate forces; and Monroe was urged to pursue them vigorously, and effect their total dispersion and destruction, before they could receive their anticipated supplies from abroad. Monroe, however, had instructions to the contrary; and after putting sixty men, eighteen women, and two priests to death at Newry,|| he returned to Carrickfergus. From hence his forces made incursions into the neighbouring counties, seizing immense herds of cattle, and transporting them over to Scotland, and acting rather like a body of unprincipled freebooters, than an army in the service of the British Parliament. The Earl of Antrim, who was a Catholic and a royalist, and had acted with great vigour

\* Leland, vol. iii. p. 173.

† Cartes's Ormond.

‡ Leland.

|| Leland, vol. iii., p. 203.

against the Irish "rebels," was treacherously made a prisoner, his castle was seized, and his estates ravaged.\*

Encouraged by the inactivity of Monroe, the Irish again gathered spirit; they issued from their retreats, and appeared in the field in considerable force. The Scottish general having refused to aid the loyalist party, it was left to Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart, two English commanders, to take the field, and make head against the confederate forces. The two armies met, and, after a severe contest, the latter were beaten, with the loss of 500 men and a large number of prisoners. The English generals were, however, unable to improve their victory, though they followed it up by seizing several castles from the enemy, and garrisoning them with English troops. The Irish were reduced to great extremities; and had the parliamentary forces resolved to act against them with vigour, the war might at once have been terminated. Indeed, on Monroe, shortly after, showing some disposition to take the field and prosecute the war, the Irish chieftains held a council, and resolved to abandon a cause rendered utterly hopeless by repeated defeats and disappointments, and to fly to foreign countries, from the rage of their victorious enemies.† It was at this juncture that the celebrated Colonel O'Neill arrived from the Low Countries to their assistance.

OWEN ROE O'NEILL was grand-nephew to the famous Hugh O'Neill, one of the greatest men of his race. He had served in the Spanish armies with great reputation; and was known upon the continent as one of the most gallant and skilful soldiers of his day. He was sagacious, calm, and resolute; abundant in resources; patient and persevering; quick to discern, and diligent to improve advantages; and, above all, cautious and calculating, in a remarkable degree. These great qualities, so admirably adapting him for the position of leader of his countrymen, were all perfected in the school of experience. He also possessed, in an eminent measure, the art of winning men to his side, by his candour, generosity, and true gentlemanly demeanour. He was beloved by his friends, and admired and respected even by his enemies. The influence which he possessed over his followers, was extraordinary. He seems as if to have infused into them his own brave and generous soul, and inspired them with his own eminent virtues of humanity and moderation. His first act, on assuming the command to which he was called, was eminently characteristic of him. He denounced, in the most decided terms, the cruelties which had been practised by his kinsman, Sir Phelim O'Neill, and declared that if such barbarities

\* The Earl of Antrim (says Leland), though zealous against the rebels, was a papist and a cavalier; reasons sufficient for wasting his lands and seizing his person. The latter was effected in a manner not unusual in the earlier and more barbarous times. Monroe, with an appearance of amity and respect, visited the earl at his castle at Dunluce; was hospitably received; but, at the conclusion of an entertainment, gave the signal to his followers. The earl was made prisoner, his castle seized, and all his houses committed to the custody of the Scottish forces.—*LELAND*, vol. iii. p. 176.

† *LELAND*.

were again perpetrated, he would at once return to the continent. Such was the man who was now unanimously declared, by the northern Irish, to be the head and leader of the Catholic confederacy.

About this time the Earl of Leven arrived in the north, with a large force, which increased the Scottish army there to 10,000 men. The entire force, belonging to the government, in the province of Ulster, now amounted to 20,000 foot and 1,000 horse; so that Leven was able, had he been disposed to make the effort, at once to crush the raw levies of O'Neill. But he contented himself with addressing a letter to the Irish general, expressing his concern that a man of his reputation should have come to Ireland for the maintenance of so bad a cause. O'Neill replied that he had better reason for coming to the relief of his country than Leven had for entering England in arms against his king. As if this had been the sole object of Leven's expedition, he retired, and returned to Scotland, leaving the command to Monroe,—assuring him, on his departure, that if Owen O'Neill succeeded in assembling an army, he (Monroe) might expect a total overthrow! The Irish were much encouraged by the retreat of Leven, and proceeded to collect and organize their forces, and, while the royal and parliamentary armies remained cooped up in the towns, suffering the extremities of want and famine, the confederates were enabled to repossess themselves of many places of strength and consequence, and to range, freely and undisputed, the open country at their will. Several vessels also arrived from abroad, laden with arms and ammunition, and bringing home an immense number of experienced officers and soldiers, who had been discharged the French service by Cardinal Richelieu, and sent into Ireland to the aid of their struggling countrymen.

The Confederates, who now held possession of nearly all Ireland, resolved to organize a civil government; and in this excellent work the Catholic clergy took the lead. Although several Protestant writers have ascribed the insurrection of 1641 to the intrigues of the priests, there is no evidence whatever in support of the allegation. On the contrary, all the authentic documents of the period show, that they were not even privy to the schemes of the original promoters of the movement, and were never admitted to any of their meetings. It was only after the barbarous cruelties inflicted by Sir Charles Coote upon their order, and the repeated avowals of the agents of the government of their determination to extirpate them and their flocks, that they resolved upon throwing themselves heartily into the ranks of the confederates. Indeed, they had no other alternative: they must either resist, or be extirpated: they must either take part with the Catholic people, or resign themselves to the sword of the exterminator. Belonging also, as they did, to the Irish people,—sympathising with them,—suffering with them,—triumphing with them,—the Catholic priesthood were impelled no

less by feelings of affection and sympathy, than of duty and justice, to aid the Irish in their struggle against spiritual and civil despotism. Accordingly, in March, 1642, the Roman Catholic bishop of Ulster assembled a provincial synod at Kells, and declared the insurrection justifiable on every principle of national law and religion. Contrary to those slavish principles of passive obedience to tyranny, which had become ingrafted in the public mind, they inculcated that the right of resistance in self-defence, was not only constitutional and justifiable, but that in certain cases, of which the present was one, it was a bounden and imperative Christian duty.

A National Synod of the clergy, held at Kilkenny in the subsequent month of May, confirmed these resolutions, and declared the Irish war to be just and necessary. They ordained the abolition of all distinctions between the native Irish and the old English. They declared that they would defend and uphold the royal authority, though they would not now obey the king's orders, until they were certified by his own agents of his real intentions, believing him to be only an unwilling instrument in the hands of his enemies. They denounced neutrality, and prohibited, under pain of severe penalties, all injury or retaliation inflicted on Protestants or others adversary to their cause. They upheld the free exercise of the Catholic religion, without claiming for themselves any exclusive privilege over others; and, finally, they ordained that the local government should be carried on by means of provincial assemblies, composed of the laity and clergy, while the chief authority should be lodged in a national council, to which the others should be subordinate. Such were the chief acts of this important Catholic assembly;—how different, in their spirit from the bigotted, sanguinary, and intolerant decrees, promulgated by the "Protestant" council at Dublin! We look in vain, in the resolutions of the Catholic body, for evidences of that persecuting and illiberal spirit which has been so generally ascribed to them in this country. On the other hand, we see in them the resolutions of men, guided by an eminently charitable and Christian spirit; and, framed as if in entire forgetfulness of the bitter provocations they had received, and the ignominious insults that had been heaped upon them.

The General Assembly of the whole Nation, through means of their representatives, took place at Kilkenny in the following October. They consisted of deputies from the several counties and principal towns of every province in Ireland. This constituted the lower house, resembling the Commons house of parliament. There was also another house, analogous to our Upper house, consisting of the Irish temporal peers and prelates. Both, however, sat and deliberated in the same chamber; the lords having their places of retirement for private consultation, and the result of their deliberations being regularly communicated to the commons. The proceedings of this noble body were of the most orderly and indeed solemn description. They were highly honourable to them, and will bear

comparison with those of any other body assembled under similar circumstances. They protested that they did not assume the powers and authorities of a regular parliament, but were merely a general meeting for the regulation of the public affairs, until the present troubles should be settled. They proposed to accept the common law of England and the statutes of Ireland as their rule of government, so far as they were not contrary to the national religion or the national liberties. They declared their resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the national church (the Roman Catholic) agreeably to the great charter. The administration of public justice they assumed to themselves. To each county they allotted a council, consisting of twelve persons, who were to decide all matters cognizable by justices of the peace, pleas of the crown, and suits of debt and personal actions. From these there lay an appeal to the provincial councils, consisting of two deputies out of each county, who were to meet four times a year, and hold courts somewhat like those of judges of assize. From these again there lay an appeal to "The Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland." This body consisted of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general convention; and exercised all the functions of the executive government,—such as choosing the Sheriffs nominated by the provincial councils, commanding all military officers and civil magistrates, determining all matters left undecided by the general assembly, directing the conduct of war, and every matter relative to the interest of the confederacy.\* No fewer than nine members were to compose a council, and of those present, a majority of two-thirds was required to decide on any measure. For the honour and security of this important body, a guard was assigned, consisting of five hundred foot, and two hundred horse.

Soon after this arrangement had been completed, the provincial generals were chosen: Owen Roe O'Neill for Ulster; Preston for Leinster; Garret Barry for Munster; and Colonel John Burke for Connaught. Several of the leading men in the rebellion were purposely overlooked; particularly Sir Phelim O'Neill and Roger Moore. The death of the latter, which occurred shortly after, at Kilkenny, probably was not displeasing to the Confederates.

Great success attended the confederate forces in the course of their first campaign: Owen O'Neill defeated Monro in Ulster. Lord Castlehaven, who had been driven into the Catholic ranks by the lords-justices, together with Lord Muskerry, obtained a victory over Sir Charles Vavasour in Munster, and confined Lord Inchiquin to his garrison. Ormond could make no head against the confederate force in Leinster; and Connaught was entirely at their disposal. Such was the state of affairs, when the rebellion in England broke out, and shortly after, the relative position of parties was again completely changed.

\* *LELAND*, vol. iii, p. 163.

## CHAPTER XV.

Position of affairs in England—Commencement of the civil war—Affairs in Ireland—The Marquis of Ormond—Negociation with the Catholic confederates—A cessation made—Intolerance of the English Parliament—The cessation broken by Monroe in Ulster—Wily and selfish policy of Ormond—The Catholics make overtures to the king—Temper of the Protestant party—Revolt of Lord Inchiquin—His atrocities—Temporising conduct of Charles—Conduct of Catholics and Protestants contrasted—Irish troops sent over to Scotland and England—The confederates press Ormond to declare war against the Parliamentary troops—He refuses—Charles's duplicity—Ormond sees through it—Charles sends the Earl of Glamorgan to conclude a peace—A private treaty formed—Is published—Glamorgan seized and imprisoned—Rinuaccini, the Pope's nuncio—His unreasonable demands—Negociations of Charles.

A COMPLETE rupture had by this time taken place between Charles and his English subjects. The king had now alienated from his cause the great mass of the right-thinking, sober, and industrious people of England. From open tyranny he had proceeded to secret plotting against the popular party. He had made promises only to break them, and granted concessions only to gain time for the more effectual maintenance of his despotic authority. The Parliament found that they had a man to deal with whom no ties could bind, whose honour had been a hundred times pledged and never redeemed. The time was now come, when the people must either trust the tyrant, or conquer him; and they chose the latter alternative. The middle classes felt for their swords, and the king assembled his adherents to put them down. He erected his standard at Nottingham, and, shortly after, the first blood was drawn by Prince Rupert in the neighbourhood of Worcester. From that time the civil war raged for years with varying success,—king fighting against parliament, subjects against subjects, and often brothers against brothers,—until the star of Charles went finally down, and the people's liberties culminated in the ascendant.

The out-break of the great civil war in England placed the belligerent parties in Ireland in a new position. The Earl of Ormond, a loyalist, greatly in favour with Charles, immediately found himself in opposition to the parliament, and their creatures the Irish lords-justices; the army for the most part adhering to the royal cause. On the other hand, the lords-justices, deserted by the army, were under the necessity of denouncing them as "rebels," as they had already done the English Catholics of the Pale and the native Irish. The king invested Ormond with the sole command of the army, looking chiefly to his assistance for the reëstablishment of his power. As the parliamentary party looked to Scotland for aid to their cause, so did Charles look to his long-oppressed and persecuted Irish subjects. A consciousness of weakness now impelled the king to treat with the confederated Catholics, whom he and his servants

had so lately forced into rebellion. He was leagued with the Catholic party in England, and in his time of need he bethought himself of making allies of that portion of his Irish subjects, whom he had so repeatedly insulted and plundered, from the time of Strafford downwards. The too easily duped Catholics, imagining that the long-expected "Graces" were at last about to be granted, eagerly listened to the overtures of Ormond, who was at heart an implacable enemy to their religion.

The lords-justices strenuously opposed this proposed negotiation, on the one hand; and the native Irish, the allies of the confederates, as strongly opposed it, on the other. The former exclaimed violently against any negotiation with rebels and papists; the latter remonstrated against its extreme impolicy. The whole country was at their disposal; and most of the chief towns and fortified places were in their hands. Their army was in admirable condition, well officered, and abundantly supplied with provisions and ammunition; while that of the enemy was starved, and mutinous for want of pay. A prosecution of the war for a short period longer, promised an effectual accomplishment of the objects of their association. Why should they now accede to the demand to lay down their arms, or to treat with the enemy, when on the very eve of complete success? The negotiations with Ormond, however, went on; and the Irish, who saw that they were about to be sacrificed, protested against the treachery; but the English Catholic party formed the majority in the council, and overruled all their opposition. A cessation of arms was at length signed; the dexterous Ormond stipulating for a supply of £30,000 for the king, one-half to be paid in money, and the other half in cattle. At the same time, Ormond resisted all proposals for a final arrangement, rejecting every proposal advantageous to the Catholics, and especially to the "mere Irish," who, feeling they had been betrayed, vented their indignation on the supposed authors of their treachery. To their honour, however, they adhered to the treaty with the most religious scrupulosity.

The above arrangement, savouring, as it did, of "compromise with Popery," which was at this time hated in England with a kind of insane fervour, may be considered to have sealed the destruction of the king, at the same time that it proved the ruin of the confederates. No sooner was the cessation of hostilities made known in England, than the two houses of parliament declared against it, as part of the royal scheme for establishing Popery, and rooting up the Protestant religion. They would have no such condescensions shown to impious and barbarous idolaters! Their partizans in Dublin at the same time forwarded to them the most scandalous misrepresentations of public affairs, which the English people and parliament, too much engaged in their own desperate struggle, had not leisure, even if they had the desire, to inquire into. But they readily seized the opportunity of inflaming still

more the public mind against the party of the king, with whom the cause of popish ascendancy was now generally identified. "*God hath pleased,*" say they, in a solemn declaration, which they issued at this time, "*to bless our endeavours with such success, as that those furious blood-thirsty Papists have been stopped in the career of their cruelty; some part of the Protestant blood, which, at first, was spilt like water upon the ground, hath been revenged; their massacres, burnings, and famishings, have, by a divine retaliation, been repaid into their bosoms.*" And they go on to state that the rebels were now at their last gasp, and reduced, "*by the remarkable judgment of God,*" to so terrible a famine, that, like cannibals, they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the popish counsels at court, the king had not been persuaded to consent to this cessation.\* The Puritans did not perceive that, by using such language, and employing such measures as they afterwards resorted to, they were merely copying the intolerance which they had just succeeded in putting down. For, just as Laud and his minions had gloated over *their* sufferings, when writhing under the shears of the executioner, so were they now rejoicing over the disgraceful cruelties and tortures inflicted on their Catholic fellow-subjects. But bigotry and intolerance, blind and blear-eyed, are to be found among all ranks and sects, though they never assume so hateful and inconsistent a character as when practised by those who are themselves struggling in the great cause of civil and religious liberty.

With the views above stated, the English Parliament refused to ratify the cessation granted by Ormond; and on the landing of a body of 2,000 Irish loyalists in the north-west of England, to the aid of the king's forces there, they were confirmed in their determination. They ordered Monroe, their Scottish general in Ulster, to break the truce; and he lost no time in obeying their orders. He commenced by an indiscriminate massacre of the Irish peasantry in his neighbourhood. Shortly after, Monroe and the Scottish army under him took the Solemn League and Covenant, and were ordered by the Parliament to make war upon all who were opposed to them. The Confederates, who watched the successes of Monroe with anxiety and alarm, eagerly besought Ormond to declare the Scots "rebels," and to place himself at the head of the Catholic confederacy, and lead them against the enemy. But Ormond, who was jealous of the Catholic lords, and hated their religion, refused to accede to their propositions, and the royal interests were accordingly sacrificed. The confidence of the Catholic body in Ormond was thus shaken, and the loyalists and they continued to remain at variance, and to regard each other with suspicion and distrust. The object of Ormond now seems to have been to break up the Irish confederacy, and profit by the distraction he had caused:

\* See CLARENDON, ii., 323. LELAND, iii., 211.



accordingly, he thwarted every attempt on the part of the Catholic leaders to obtain a reconciliation with the king. Ormond had obtained a grant of all the derivative interests of the insurgents on his immense estates: a peace would have endangered the security of this grant; and therefore he was perpetually opposing obstacles to its attainment.

The Catholic confederates, in a deputation sent about this time to the king, proposed the renewal of all attainders, since the first year of Elizabeth's reign, in a free parliament,—the free exercise of their religion, and the repeal of the penal laws,—a free parliament, and the abolition of Poyning's law,—the exclusion from the Irish parliament of all who were not estated and resident in Ireland,—seminaries in Ireland, for the education of the Catholic lawyers and clergy,—a general act of pardon and oblivion in favour of all who had shared in the late war, unless in cases where acts of inhumanity had been committed by parties on either side during the contest,—together with various enactments of a kindred character and spirit. On these conditions being granted, the Catholics promised to support the king with their lives and fortunes, and to raise 10,000 men immediately, for his assistance in England. Charles, with characteristic indecision, would promise nothing, but referred the negotiation to their enemy, the Marquis of Ormond, who, as usual, put them off with excuses, and shams, and hypocritical pretences. On being pressed, he resisted every proposition favourable to the Catholics, and insisted on the continuance of the present profligate and unconstitutional parliament, which had long made itself odious to the Catholics, by its bigotted intolerance and cruelty.

A striking illustration of the temper of the Irish Protestant party at this period, was the proposal which they made, by their deputation to the king at Oxford, for the pacification of his dominions in Ireland. They required “the most rigorous execution of the statutes against recusancy, and the immediate banishment of all the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the Protestants; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the Confederates immediately dissolved; that their whole party should be disarmed, compelled to repair all damages sustained by Protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release, or discharge; that the oath of supremacy should be strictly and universally imposed on all magistrates, and that they who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which nothing should be attempted derogatory to the law of Poynings, the bulwark of the royal power, and protection of the Protestant subjects of Ireland; that the king should take all forfeited estates into his own hands, and after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the residue entirely to British planters.”\*

These demands, of the very opposite character to those proposed by the Catholics, were received by Charles in nearly the same manner. The deputation was listened to with attention, and dismissed with courtesy. Charles refused to do justice to his Catholic subjects, and at the same time he refused to carry out the projects of his Protestant subjects. After tyrannizing over all, he temporized with all, and acted treacherously towards all. The consequence was, that he lost all.

The revolt of Lord Inchiquin from the royal authority in Munster, increased the embarrassments of the king's party. This lord had long commanded there, after the death of St. Leger, though without the title of lord president. He conceived himself to merit that office, from the great services he had rendered to the king, and was greatly disappointed and exasperated when he found that the presidency had been bestowed on the Earl of Portland. He immediately entered into a secret negotiation with the English parliament, and accepted their commission of president, in opposition to that of the king. He immediately set himself diligently to work to prove his alacrity and zeal in the cause of his new masters. He made his officers and soldiers take the covenant, and bound them by a solemn oath to endeavour to effect the total extirpation of popery, and the subjugation of the Irish. He proceeded to seize Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, and drove out all the Roman Catholic inhabitants thereof, plundering them of their effects. In his crusade against popery, Lord Inchiquin did not even spare his own friends: "if he found them faulty," says Ludlow, "he hanged them up without mercy." One of his most memorable services was his barbarous exploit at Cashel, "where, having brought together an army, and hearing that many priests and gentry thereabouts had retired with their goods into the church of that city, he stormed it, and put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests from under the very altar\*." Lord Esmond, governor of Duncannon, followed the example of Inchiquin, and went over to the parliament; and the royal cause was daily becoming weaker and more hopeless.

Still Charles temporized. He knew that the confederated Catholics were willing at once to support him with their whole force, provided only he would grant them their reasonable and just demands; yet was he afraid to throw himself into their arms, knowing that it would only serve to exasperate against him still more the Protestant portion of his subjects. He held out occasional hopes, nevertheless, of granting them a repeal of the penal laws, and the Catholics accordingly continued to send him over occasional supplies to enable him to carry on the war against the English parliament. In fact, the English part of Charles's army in England was now no longer to be depended on. For, Lord Byron, one of the king's generals, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, requiring

\* CASTLEHAVEN'S MEMOIRS, &c.

supplies from Ireland, says, he "wished they were rather Irish than English; for that the English he had already were very mutinous; and being," adds he, "for the most part this country men, are so poisoned by the ill-affected people here, that they grow very cold in the service." It seems also, that the English forces that were sent from Ireland to the aid of Charles, "went with such reluctance, that the sharpest proclamations, of which there were several, hardly restrained them from flying their colours, both before and after their arrival in England\*." The parliamentary party, aware that Charles looked chiefly to Ireland for reinforcements, beset the Irish seas with their ships (for the "water-rats," as Charles had styled them, clung to the cause of the parliament), and showed no mercy to such of the Irish Catholics as fell into their hands. To give an instance of the barbarous cruelty of this period: it is stated, that of one hundred and fifty men, whom the Marquis of Ormond had about this time sent to Bristol, and who happened to be taken by Captain Swanley, commander of a parliament ship, *seventy, besides two women, were inhumanly thrown overboard on pretence that they were Irish.* Shortly afterwards, an Irish body of auxiliaries had an opportunity of reprising themselves on their enemies for this horrid act of cruelty, having taken a Scotch vessel with about fifty kirk ministers on board, on their way to preach up the cause of the Covenant in Ulster; but the Irish refused to retaliate, and contented themselves with simply making prisoners of them.

Among the more active and zealous supporters of the king's party, at this time, was the Earl of Antrim, an Irish Catholic noble. He was indefatigable in his exertions to raise troops for the royal service. He raised and armed a force of 1,500 men, and sent them over to Scotland, under Colkitto, to the aid of the Marquis of Montrose, still known in that country by the name of "the bloody Clavers." There the Irish proved of great service to the king; and we find the Lord Digby consequently urging the Marquis of Ormond "to use all possible means to assist and encourage the Earl of Antrim and his forces in the service of Scotland; "whereof the king's party," says he, "find *such admirable effects* in England." This accounts, in some measure, for the fierce vehemence which the English and Scotch people, then in arms against a bigotted and tyrannical monarch, displayed against the Irish troops then sent over to put them down, in order, as was sedulously circulated abroad, to establish Popery in the room of Protestantism—now the accepted creed of the great body of the English and Scotch people. Hence the cruel enactment of the English parliament, passed in October, 1644, "that *no quarter should be given to any Irishman or Papist born in Ireland*, that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon the sea, or in England or Wales;" together with strict orders "to the lord-general, lord-admiral, and all other officers by

\* BORLASE'S HIST. IRISH REBELLION, 177.

sea and land, to except all Irishmen and all papists born in Ireland, out of all capitulations, agreements, or compositions, hereafter to be made with the enemy; and upon taking of every such Irishman or Papist born in Ireland, *forthwith to put such person to death.*"

The confederated Catholics witnessed with alarm the progress of the English and Scottish armies in Ireland; and, smarting under the attacks made upon them by Monroe in Ulster, by Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, and by Lord Inchiquin in Munster, they besought the Marquis of Ormond, who had now been created lord-lieutenant, to declare war against them as rebels, and either take the command of the confederate forces, or permit them at once to act against his majesty's declared and open enemies. They pressed Ormond to this step the more, as they were privately assured that Charles had already furnished him with orders to the same effect. But Ormond steadily refused to take any prompt or decided step: he kept the Catholics quiet by promises, which had the effect of hoodwinking them, and enabling him to continue to draw from them regular supplies of provision for his army. When hard pressed by the confederates to take decided steps against the Ulster Scots, Ormond said, "if I take the charge of their (the confederates') army upon me, or denounce immediately an offensive war against the Scots, not ten Protestants will follow me; but rather rise as one man and adhere to the Scots."

Meanwhile Charles pressed Ormond to obtain the entire aid of the confederated Catholics at any price. Yet he did not declare this much openly. With infatuated duplicity, the now almost ruined monarch, in his *public* answer to the Marquis of Ormond's despatches, allows him to consent to the suspension of Poyning's law, but refuses to repeal the penal statutes against the Catholics, commanding him to adhere to his former answer. In his *private* letter, however, to the lord-lieutenant, of nearly the same date, he urged Ormond to a very different course. He held out the prospect, should the Irish Catholics give him effectual assistance in the suppression of the rebellion, of a total repeal of the penal statutes; but this was only to be communicated, with injunctions of strictest secrecy, to the three Catholic agents who were now in negotiation with Ormond; Lord Muskerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffrey Browne. "I do therefore command you," said the king to Ormond, in his letter of the 27th February, 1644, "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost. And though I leave the management of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning's act for such bills as shall be agreed on between you there, and the present taking away the penal statutes by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain, so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels in England and Scotland; for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience."

Ormond, however, notwithstanding these enlarged *private* powers

entrusted to him, did not avail himself of them to come to terms with the Catholic body. Perhaps he saw through the king's policy, which was to lay upon him the whole burden and odium of concessions to the Irish Catholics, else why urge his lord-lieutenant to treat upon such terms as the king dared not himself avow? It is not improbable also, that Ormond had the fate of Strafford before his eyes, and was chary of venturing his life, fortune, and all, for a master who was alike ready to sacrifice his devoted friends and his bitterest enemies. Besides, Ormond had a deep-rooted hostility to Catholicism, and had his own private interests to serve in postponing all truce with the Catholic body. We even find that at the very time that Charles was urging him to make a firm treaty with the confederates, he was privately soliciting the leaders of the parliamentary forces in Ulster, to join their forces to his in order effectually to crush them? This appears from a secret correspondence carried on between Ormond, and one Major Galbraith, an officer in the Scotch army. Monroe was also informed of his proposals for a coalition, and, it seems, was "fully affected that way." It appears, from a letter to the English parliament, signed by their commissioners, and dated Belfast, November 19th, 1645, that "Ormond desired but power and opportunity to break with the confederates, and to fall upon them, upon condition that the Covenant should not be forced upon those under his command; offering for their security, that Drogheda should be given into their hands, they giving assurance that use should not be made of it against his lordship\*."

At length, Charles, finding his lieutenant thwarting his views and disregarding his instructions, despatched the Earl of Glamorgan, a catholic peer, to Ireland, with full powers† to conclude a peace with the confederated Catholics. Ormond pretended to be highly pleased with the appointment of Glamorgan to this task, and he communicated his high approval of it to the general assembly, then sitting at Kilkenny; and, upon the presumption that he was fully authorized,

\* IRISH CABINET, p. 36.

† Abundant evidence still exists to prove that the Earl of Glamorgan, though afterwards treacherously disavowed by Charles, was fully authorized to conclude a peace with the Catholic confederates. Several letters, in Charles's own hand-writing, are yet to be seen in the British Museum, which clearly demonstrate the reality of his commission. The following is Charles's formal commission to Glamorgan, as produced by him before the confederates:—

"CHARLES R.

"Charles, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., to our trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We reposing great and especial truth and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all intents and purposes), authorize and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any to be condescended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot so well see in, as not fit for us at present publicly to own. Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant, with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment shall deem fit, in promise on the word of a king and a Christian, to ratify and prepare the same that shall be granted by you, and under your hand and seal, the said confederate Catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service. And this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant.

"Given at our court at Oxford, under our signet and royal signature, the 12th of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644."—LELAND, vol. iii, p. 258-6.

both by the king and his lord-lieutenant, the Catholics immediately concluded a peace with him. It was agreed, by a *public* treaty, that pardon should be granted for all the offences committed since the commencement of the insurrection; and by a *private* treaty it was agreed that Roman Catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, exercise their own jurisdiction, and be rendered eligible to offices of public trust and dignity. For the due performance of these articles, Glamorgan engaged the royal word. The Confederates, on their part, agreed to furnish men for the king's service in England, under the command of the Earl, and such other officers as the confederates should appoint.

The treaty was concluded; and had scarcely been ratified ere the *private* portion of it was revealed by accident. Malachias O'Kelly, titular archbishop of Tuam, was engaged in an assault upon Sligo, at the head of an Irish army, when they were attacked and routed by Sir Charles Coote. The archbishop fell in the action, and much of his baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Among his private papers was found an authentic copy of this private treaty of the Catholics with the Earl of Glamorgan. It was immediately transmitted to the English parliament, and published. The king's party, fearing that the large concessions privately made to the Catholics, might still further alienate the affections of his Protestant subjects, at once disavowed the treaty. Ormond, though privy to Glamorgan's power, had him arrested as a traitor, and charged him with *forging* the king's commission; he was committed a close prisoner to the castle of Dublin, and all the proceedings connected with the treaty at Kilkenny were made null and void. At the same time, the miserable, fickle, and treacherous Charles, to save himself, again sacrificed his devoted friend, and publicly disavowed Glamorgan's commission, in a message to both Houses of Parliament. At the very time, also, when he is publicly commanding the lord-lieutenant to "prosecute the charge begun against the Earl of Glamorgan thoroughly and diligently," he is privately commanding him to suspend the execution of any sentence against the Earl; and conveying to Glamorgan himself repeated assurances of his confidence and friendship! Shortly after this, through the connivance of the king, the Earl of Glamorgan was liberated on his own recognizance of thirty thousand pounds, and two others of his friends at ten thousand pounds each, to appear on thirty days' notice. Immediately on his release, he proceeded to Kilkenny, to urge the confederate Catholics to agree to the new terms of peace offered by the Marquis of Ormond, but in which no stipulation whatever was made for the free exercise of the Catholic religion.

About this time, a new actor appears on the stage, who, for a time, exercised considerable influence upon Irish affairs,—namely, the Pope's Nuncio, John Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo. This prelate was a man of shining abilities, of graceful and conciliating address, of eloquent speech, and of regular and austere habits;

but he was also ambitious and proud in an eminent degree, and filled with a zeal for the interests of the church, which he set above all things else, and would not allow to be overlooked for an instant, even though the cost should be the public peace and liberty. The instructions of the Pope to his Nuncio were, that a connivance was all that could at present be reasonably demanded for the Catholic religion;\* but Rinuccini, from the period of his first arrival in Ireland, would stipulate for nothing less than *its legal establishment*. He was supported in this demand by a large proportion of the Catholic clergy,† and by a large proportion of the native Irish, among whom he was exceedingly popular. The English Catholics encouraged the Nuncio in his demands, though not to the same extent; for, hearing that Sir Kenelm Digby had been sent by the queen to apply for subsidies to Rome, they solicited Rinuccini that these subsidies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the rights and interests of English Catholics be equally secured.‡ They proposed to unite with the Irish for the defence of the king, but, suspicious of Charles, who had so often deceived and betrayed his friends, they insisted on a previous concession of their demands, and full security for the performance. The English Catholics, however, were by this time afraid of the treachery of Charles. "The King," say they, in their memorial to the Nuncio, "*is not to be trusted, when his interest may tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he hath so solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the Catholics. And that there can be no reliance on his word, appears from the case of the earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he sacrificed, though sworn to protect them.*" On the arrival of the Nuncio at Kilkenny, in Ireland, a letter was presented to him by the Earl of Glamorgan, from Charles, in which the king expressed his great satisfaction at the object of his mission, and promised to ratify whatever was agreed upon between them, exhorting, however, to strictest secrecy, and stating, "When the earl and you have concerted measures, we shall openly show ourself, as we have assured him,—your friend."

These assurances only served to make the zealous prelate more hot-headed and uncompromising in his attempts to secure the complete establishment of the Catholic power in Ireland. At the assembly held at Kilkenny, to negotiate the terms of peace with the government, (though, from the warring and divided state of parties, it was now impossible to say which was the government), the Nuncio decidedly objected to the terms of the treaty, as insufficient and precarious. The Confederates, however, at last concluded a treaty, and a force of 10,000 men was raised for the assistance of Charles against his English subjects. But it was now too late!

\* LELAND, vol. iii., p. 277. † O'CONNOR'S HISTORY OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS, p. 60.

‡ LELAND, vol. ii., p. 262.

These prolonged treaties and cajoleries of Charles and his lord-lieutenant with the confederated Catholics, were brought to a close, and an alliance formed, when it was of no manner of use. Charles, who deceived and betrayed all, had also deceived and betrayed himself. All England was now in the hands of the Parliamentarians, the seas were swept by their ships, and a Catholic army was now of no use to the capricious Charles. The city of Chester, which the Irish army was destined to relieve, was already in the hands of his enemies. Even had they reached the shores of England in safety, there was no secure spot left for their descent, and no force left to coöperate with them on the side of the king. Charles accordingly himself wrote to Ormond, to countermand the embarkation of the troops, stating "that his condition was then very sad and low, by the late disbanding of his army in the west; which might have been prevented, to our most certain advantage. That he thought fit to advertise him thereof, that he might stop the sending over foot soldiers, which would be lost, if they should come, he having no horse nor ports in his power to secure them."\* In another letter to Lord Digby, he urges that "Ormond should stop any forces from coming over, and *employ them for the reducing that kingdom (Ireland) into perfect obedience*; by which," says he, "it is possible it may please God to restore me to the other two, or be *a safe retreat for myself*."

But it was not Charles's good fortune to know what "a safe retreat" was, after this period. He was now in the hands of the Scots, and no longer the despotic monarch, but the trembling prisoner of his victorious subjects.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The Irish people dissatisfied with the treaty—The Nuncio and O'Neill resist—O'Neill takes the field with a large army—Battle of Benburb—Measures of the Nuncio—Ormond joins the Confederates—The Nuncio elated with success—Ormond applies to the Parliament for aid—Surrenders Dublin to their forces, and leaves Ireland—Deplorable state of Ireland at this time—O'Neill offers to negotiate with the Parliament—Confederates renew their negotiations with Ormond—Lord Inchiquin again changes sides—The Council declares O'Neill a rebel—The Nuncio leaves Ireland—Arrival of Ormond—False conduct of Charles—His execution—and character.

THE treaty arranged between the Marquis of Ormond and the Catholic confederates at Kilkenny caused great dissatisfaction among the Irish people. The chief objections made to it were, that it did not contain a single stipulation for the free exercise of their religion, except the exemption of the Catholics from the oath



of supremacy,—nor a single provision for a free parliament, nor for the relief of those unfortunate natives who had lost their properties by iniquitous attainders, and still more iniquitous findings of office. The protest of the Nuncio against the ratification of the treaty was zealously supported by the great body of the Irish Catholics, and especially by those of Ulster, under their famous chief, Owen O'Neill. This leader had long been disgusted with the proceedings of the supreme council, and withdrawn himself from their deliberations; accordingly, he at once eagerly threw himself into the ranks of the disappointed, and protested with them against the ignominious treaty which had just been concluded by the Confederates. He assembled an army with great speed, and resolved to hazard every extremity in the defence of the civil and religious liberties of Ireland. He was the more induced to take this step, from the atrocious massacres inflicted by the Scotch forces on the peasantry of Ulster, when gathering in their harvest; the dreadful ravages committed by the army of Sir Charles Coote in Connaught; and the cruel expulsion of the Catholic inhabitants of Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal, by Inchiquin;—all of which atrocities, Ormond refused to punish or repress.

About the end of May, O'Neill had assembled an army of 5,000 foot and 500 horse, and advanced at its head towards Armagh. The Scottish general, Monroe, alarmed at this movement, drew out 6,000 foot and 800 horse, and, by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in the expectation that he would surprise O'Neill in his quarters. The Irish army, however, was posted at Benburb, about seven miles farther off, in a strong position between two hills, with a wood behind, and the river Blackwater on their right. Monroe came up with them next morning, and finding a ford in the neighbourhood, crossed the river, and advanced upon them in order of battle. Instead of coming to a general engagement, however, the Irish general contrived to waste the day in a series of skirmishes. Towards evening the position of the Scots became less favourable; and a circumstance occurred which shortly brought on a decisive engagement. Monroe had expected to be joined during the day by a considerable body of troops, to oppose which a detachment had been despatched by O'Neill, but had been unable to effect their object. This latter body now hastily returned to its main body, and Monroe, alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable number of troops which he had mistaken, as they advanced, for his own men, prepared for a retreat, and was at that moment furiously attacked by the Irish, in the full confidence of victory. The Scottish army was immediately thrown into confusion; the cavalry was at once broken, and, casting the foot into disorder, the rout soon became complete. An English cavalry regiment, commanded by Lord Blaney, was almost entirely cut to pieces. More than three thousand were slain on the part of the British, with a loss of not more than seventy on the part of the

victors. The baggage, artillery, tents, and the greater part of the arms, of the Scottish army, fell into the hands of the Irish. A great quantity of booty and provisions was also captured. Taken altogether, the victory of Benburb was one of the most decisive gained by the Irish during the war, completely fulfilling the prophecy of the old Earl of Leven to Monroe,—namely, that so soon as O'Neill had collected his forces, he would not fail to give him a very sound drubbing.

Rinuccini, the Nuncio, was overjoyed at the success of O'Neill in Ulster, and would not give him time to follow up his victory over Monroe, but suddenly called him into Leinster to oppose the peace, and overawe the confederates. He also called together a synod of such of the bishops and clergy as were under his influence, at Waterford, and proceeded to issue an excommunication against all who had been instrumental in concluding the late peace, declared them guilty of violating their oath of association, pronounced an interdict on all places where the peace had been admitted, and suspended all the clergy who preached in favour of it,\* as well as all confessors who absolved any adherents of the peace. A new oath of association was also framed, by which they engaged not to adhere to any peace but such as was honourable,—as would secure freedom of conscience and worship, and be approved by the congregation of the Irish clergy.

These violent measures, far exceeding the Nuncio's instructions from Rome, spread alarm among the ranks of the confederates, and they now gave up their cause for lost. In their extremity of distress, they applied to Ormond, who now represented the shadow of the royal power in Ireland, for aid against the Nuncio. Ormond, who was now threatened at the same time by the Irish Catholics under O'Neill, and the English Parliamentarians of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, had no alternative but to accede to the request of the confederates; accordingly he put himself at their head, and accompanied by a train of 1,500 foot and 500 horse, attended by the Marquis of Clanricarde and Lord Digby, he proceeded to meet the supreme council at Kilkenny, and was joyfully received by the inhabitants. But he could make no progress in bringing back the refractory prelates and clergy to their allegiance; nor could he obtain any decided demonstration of feeling in favour of the royal cause. While at Kilkenny, the report reached him that O'Neill, taking advantage of his absence, was about to lay siege to Dublin. He hastened back to the capital, when O'Neill marched to intercept his return, and the Viceroy narrowly escaped.

The power of the Catholic confederacy from this time seemed

\* The titular bishop of Ossory shut up, by an interdict, all the churches and houses of prayer in Kilkenny, the place where their general assembly and supreme council usually met; upon which the Marquis of Ormond sarcastically observed, "that they were a strange sort of people, who after fighting so long for liberty to open their churches, and having got it, shut them up again of their own accord, and hindered their people to resort to them."—CURRY'S REVIEW, p. 303.

laid prostrate, while the triumph of the Nuncio was complete. The people, the clergy, and the gentry, were devoted to him, and he had also at his command a victorious army. All this was too much for the vanity of the prelate to bear. He assumed a kind of royal state, and entered Kilkenny with the pomp of a conqueror. He assumed the direction of all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical; appointed a new council, himself acting as president; modelling his armies, and choosing his officers, after the manner of an absolute sovereign. He created the obsequious Earl of Glamorgan general of Munster, in the room of Lord Muskerry, whom, together with the other members of the supreme council who were promoters of the peace, he caused to be imprisoned. Elated with success, the Nuncio resolved to lay siege to Dublin, and the two armies under O'Neill and Preston, to the number of 16,000 and 1,600 horse, advanced towards the capital. They took their stations near the city with an appearance highly formidable; but in consequence of a strong spirit of rivalry between the two generals, nothing was done towards carrying on the siege with concert and alacrity.

In the meantime Ormond, feeling that he was utterly unprovided for the sustenance of an army, and that Dublin was quite unable to stand a siege, was reduced at last to such extremity as to apply to the English parliament for help—a body whom he cordially detested. But he seems to have preferred this, to calling in the aid of the Catholic confederates. "Private interest," says Mr. O'Connor,\* "as well as hatred to the Catholic religion, concurred in stimulating him to the desertion of the royal cause. Mr. Carte endeavours to palliate this treachery by zeal for the Protestant religion and the English interest,—the plain meaning of which is, that Ormond preferred the subjugation of Ireland by republican and regicide Protestants, to the dominion of its lawful sovereign, connected with the toleration of the Protestant religion." The terms for which Ormond stipulated were, a sum of fourteen thousand pounds to reimburse himself for his losses during the war, an annual pension of three thousand pounds for his wife, and permission to reside in England, on condition of submitting to the authority of the parliament. The treaty was soon completed; all the garrisons under his command, the sword of state, and the insignia of government, were delivered up to the commissioners; and a body of parliamentary troops, under Colonel Jones, amounting to 2,000 foot and 300 horse, soon after landed, and were received into Dublin. Ormond found that he would be roughly treated if he remained, and shortly after set out for England; but he had scarcely arrived there when he learned that the parliament had given orders for his apprehension; when he hastily re-embarked and escaped to France. Meanwhile, the Irish generals, Preston and O'Neill, had no sooner heard that the parliamentary forces had landed than they broke up the siege and departed precipitately from Dublin.

\* History of the Irish Catholics.

The state of Ireland was at this time most miserable. It was now over-run by rival armies, and consumed by rival factions. The people were depressed in poverty, and reduced to a state of great privation and suffering. The lands were wasted by long-continued warfare, anarchy everywhere prevailed, and the nation seemed ready to sink under its complicated miseries. There were the Parliamentary armies under Jones in Dublin, Monroe in Ulster, and Inchiquin in Munster. Opposed to them, there were the Irish armies under Preston and O'Neill. Besides these, and separate from them all, there was the confederate Catholic army of Munster, under Lord Taaffe. The Parliamentary generals soon pressed the Catholic forces opposed to them. The two armies under Jones and Preston met on Dungan-hill, where the latter was defeated with immense loss. Jones, however, could not take advantage of his victory, but returned to Dublin, laden with the spoil. Shortly after this occurrence, Lord Inchiquin fell upon the Catholic forces under Lord Taaffe in Munster, at a place called Knockoness, and obtained a great victory over him. Colkitto, or Mac Donell, with his regiment of brave Highlanders, made a tremendous resistance, but in vain. Seven hundred of their number were slaughtered, before they laid down their arms. In this battle, more than 3,000 Irish, the flower of the Munster army, were cut to pieces; 6,000 stand of arms, all the baggage and artillery, with 38 colours and standards, fell into the hands of the victors.

The army under O'Neill, now remained the only one undismayed and unbroken; yet even that chief had now become so dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Confederates, and foresaw so clearly the issue of the contest, that he offered, through his delegates, to negotiate with the English Parliament. The delegates asked for him and his followers, liberty of conscience, security of their estates, and indemnity for the past. They complained bitterly of the king's duplicity, and declared that they would have made application to the Parliament sooner, had not the men in power been obstinately determined on their extirpation.\* The Puritans, however, hated Popery too fervently to tolerate it, and the negotiation was abruptly terminated.

The repeated defeats of the Confederates so alarmed the supreme council at Kilkenny, that they resolved, if possible, to renew the treaty which had been concluded with Ormond; and, for this purpose, dispatched Lord Muskerry and Geoffrey Brown to Paris, to confer with the Queen and the Prince of Wales on the subject. On arriving at Paris, they earnestly entreated that Prince Charles should at once come over, and place himself at their head. This was refused; but they were informed that an influential nobleman would soon be sent over, to take the command of the royalist party, who would give every satisfaction. It afterwards turned out that

\* TAYLOR'S CIVIL WARS IN IRELAND, vol. i. p. 310.

the person meant was the Marquis of Ormond, who had apologized to the royal family for his conduct, had again vowed fidelity, and was again about to be entrusted with the government of Ireland.

About this time, Lord Inchiquin, who had revolted from the side of the King to that of the Parliament, at the beginning of the war, and who had since then been engaged in desolating and devastating Munster with his forces, again showed symptoms of revolting from the side of the Parliament to that of the Royalists. He had just been distinguishing himself by his cruelties at Cashel,\* which city he had just stormed and plundered, slaughtering the inhabitants and killing a number of priests, and afterwards putting to rout and destroying by the edge of the sword 8,000 of the Confederate troops under Lord Taaffe. However, through caprice, or discontent, or policy, Inchiquin again resolved to change sides, and the Anglo-Catholic party hastened to welcome him to their ranks. A secret negotiation was entered into; and while this was going on, some English officers in the towns of Cork and Youghal, suspecting the designs of their leaders, resolved to seize on those towns for the Parliament. But Inchiquin discovered their designs, and immediately cast them into prison. He was thus prematurely obliged to avow himself, before his arrangements were completed. A cessation, however, was entered into between him and the confederates, who stipulated for the support of the troops of Inchiquin, and surrendered to him two whole counties of which they had retained possession notwithstanding their disasters. He now engaged, together with Taaffe and Preston, to support the King's rights, and obey his lord-lieutenant. O'Neill and the Nuncio were excluded from this arrangement; indeed, they strongly protested against it, as a betrayal of the interests of Ireland into the hands of its enemies. The Confederates forthwith proceeded to treat O'Neill as a rebel, and the combined forces of Inchiquin, Preston, and Clanricarde were pressed against him; but he carefully avoided coming to an engagement, and retreated to Ulster with his forces, when he was proclaimed a traitor by the supreme council.

\* "Without any opposition from Taaffe," says Leland, "he (Lord Inchiquin) continued his victorious progress, and advanced against the city of Cashel. The inhabitants fled to their cathedral church, seated on a rock well fortified, and provided with a strong garrison. Inchiquin proposed to leave them unmolested, on condition that they would advance him £3,000, and a month's pay for his army. But, as this proposal was rashly rejected, he took the place by storm, with considerable slaughter both of the citizens and soldiers. Here he gained a prodigious booty; yet still insufficiently provided for continuing in the field, on the approach of winter, he dispersed his army into garrisons. In storming the rock of Cashel, about twenty ecclesiastics had fallen in the indiscriminate slaughter; an incident shocking to the Nuncio, who inveighed against this sacrilegious cruelty, and clamoured for revenge."—LELAND, vol. iii. p. 316.

"The Earl of Inchiquin," says TAYLOR, "was the lineal descendant of the royal race of the O'Briens; but there never was a scourge of Ireland animated by a greater hatred of his countrymen. Whether fighting for the king or the parliament, (and he changed sides more than once), he was invariably the bitter enemy of his countrymen, and the savage profaner of the religious edifices in which the ashes of his own ancestors reposed. His name is preserved in the traditions of Munster, as the symbol of every thing that is wicked and terrible. Nurses scare their children by the threat of calling *black Murrough O'Bryan*; and the superstitious peasant tells of the curse that he brought upon his family, and the failure of male heirs to the title of Inchiquin."

The influence of Rinuccini, the Nuncio, was now rapidly on the decline. He denounced the cessation with Inchiquin as a profane betrayal of the church; and he thundered forth his sentence of excommunication against all who favoured it; but, from being too often repeated, these terrors of the church had now lost all their power, and the confederates completely disregarded them. They even drew up an appeal to the Pope against the Nuncio's censures, which was supported by a large majority of the Irish clergy. Shortly afterwards, at a general assembly held at Kilkenny, they drew up a public charge against the Nuncio, "representing the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually, for three years, acting within the kingdom, to the unspeakable debasement of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome." The clergy now almost entirely abandoned him, and he was urged to leave Ireland; at the same time he was summoned to Rome, in order to answer for his imprudence, intemperance, and disobedience to instructions. He shortly afterwards left Ireland, to the great joy of many; and, instead of being honoured with a cardinal's hat, as he had expected would be the result of his important mission to Ireland, he was severely censured by the Pope,\* and banished to his bishoprick and principality of Fermo, where, worn out with ennui and disappointed hopes, he soon after died of grief.

Ormond again arrived in Ireland, as the King's lord-lieutenant. He landed at Cork on the 29th of September, 1648, and was hailed with considerable demonstrations of joy. The interests of Ormond were now concerned in the reëstablishment of the royal authority, for he had nothing whatever to hope from the Independents. He accordingly resolved to devote himself entirely to the King; and, that the freedom of religion should no longer be an obstacle, he concluded a treaty with the supreme council, stipulating for the repeal of the penal laws. In return for this, the confederates conferred on him the chief command of their troops; but, as they could not all at once repose entire confidence in a man who had already betrayed them into the hands of their enemies, they appointed Commissioners of Trust, to control his public operations.

While the negotiations were yet pending, Ormond received several letters from Charles†, who was now a prisoner at Newport, Isle of Wight, urging him to conclude the treaty with the

\* "*Temerare te gessisti*," or, "Thou hast conducted thyself rashly," were the words addressed by the Pope to him, on his return.—BORLASE'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, p. 246.

† The following letters of Charles to Ormond are not a little interesting and instructive, taken in connection with the events of the period:—

"ORMOND—Lest you might be misled by false rumours, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty; but such a one, as if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore, I must command you two things: first, *to obey all my wife's commands*; then, *not to obey any public command of mine*, until I let you know I am free from restraint. Lastly, *be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for that they will come to nothing*. This is all at this time from

Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

"Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Oct. 10, 1648."

CHARLES R.

Irish confederates. At this very time, Charles himself was engaged with the parliament in the treaty of Newport, by which he agreed that an act should pass, rescinding all cessations and treaties with the Irish, and investing the houses with a full power of prosecuting the war in Ireland. Yet, he writes to Ormond directing him to take no notice of these *public* commands of his, but only to obey the queen and his own *private* instructions. "Be not startled," said he, "at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for they will come to nothing." Charles, false and treacherous to the last, only a few days after he had communicated these pressing instructions to Ormond, declared to the parliamentary commissioners, who remonstrated against Ormond's renewed treaty with the Irish,—"*Since the first votes passed for the treaty, (between the king and parliament,) in August, I have not transacted any affairs concerning Ireland, but with you, the commissioners, in relation to the treaty itself!*" But the period of this monarch's falsehoods and prevarications was now fast drawing to a close. Before Ormond's treaty with the confederates could be finally concluded, Charles had been tried by his parliament, and executed on the scaffold.

And thus perished a king whose entire reign was one long crime against the liberties of the people. He began his sway in Ireland, as in England, by a system of public plunder and extortion. Under the name of "The Graces" he sold justice to the Irish Catholics, pocketed the money, and then meanly cheated the buyers out of their purchase. Like his father, James, he confiscated Irish lands by wholesale, without the shadow of a pretence. But, as he found his dangers in England to increase, he ceased his open plunder in Ireland, and betook himself to secret fraud. He now looked to the Irish Catholics as a means of trampling down his English subjects, but still he refused them justice. He openly denounced the Irish as "rebels," demanded to be led against them with an army, and yet secretly plotted with them for aid. He made promises only to break them. He offered terms only to gain time. He became generally distrusted, as it was found that he was alike ready to destroy the most devoted of his friends, and the bitterest of his foes. He sacrificed Strafford, whose life had been spent in his service; he sacrificed the bishops, who had stood by him in all his troubles; and he sacrificed the Earl of Glamorgan, his own messenger to Ireland, commissioned under his own hand, and abandoned him to his fate. The public professions made by Charles during his life, consti-

"ORMONDE—I hope before this, mine, of the tenth of this month, will have come to your hands. I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you; likewise, to command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall, under my own hand, give you other commands. And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not, but pursue the way that you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way; because, otherwise, it may be inconvenient to me and particularly to Inchiquin. So being confident of your punctual observance of these my directions, I rest  
Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

"Newport, Saturday, 28th Oct., 1648."

CHARLES R.

tute a body of evidence of the most damning character. They prove him to have been a dissembler, a hypocrite, and a betrayer. Though canonized by our established church, yet the events of his reign prove that he just knew enough of religion to be a bigot, and of state craft to be a despot. He was faithless towards his friends, and deceitful towards his enemies,—obstinate yet fickle; proud yet mean; frank and conciliating in manners, yet false, hollow, and deceitful. His entire reign was a plot against the public liberties; and he ended by gradually sinking into the pit which he had dug for others. Charles played a desperate game, and he lost it; and the result now stands written in characters of blood on the page of history, a wholesome lesson to tyrants for all time to come.

It is not a little remarkable, that the people of Ireland, who had been so repeatedly cheated, plundered, and insulted, by Charles and his agents, in the course of his reign, should have stood by him and fought for him to the last. The Irish catholics were found ready to sacrifice themselves for him, who would never do any thing for them, save to fleece them. What their recompense was, will be found from succeeding chapters.

## CHAPTER XVII.

**The Commonwealth—Their measures for Ireland—Oliver Cromwell appointed Lord Lieutenant—The Levellers—Cromwell sets out from London—Position of affairs in Ireland—Ormond's position and difficulties—Defeat of Rathmines—Cromwell reaches Dublin—The siege and massacre of Drogheda—Cromwell's account—Religion and war—Cromwell's excuse for his cruelty—His triumphal march through the country to Wexford—Ross taken—Gallant defence of Duncannon—Cromwell crosses the Barrow—Position of Owen Roe O'Neill—Ormond negotiates with him—A treaty formed—Reinforces Ormond's army—Death of O'Neill—His character—Ormond prepares to attack Cromwell—Raises the siege of Waterford—Situation of Cromwell's army—Defection of Lord Broghill—Revolt of the southern towns to the Parliament—Cromwell goes into winter quarters.**

THE Commonwealth had scarcely been established, and the affairs of England reduced to something like order, when the Council of State directed its attention to the distressed and distracted state of Ireland, with the view of again reducing it under subjection to the English Parliament. The Irish armies now held possession of nearly the entire country, and overran it to the very gates of Dublin. Charles II. had been proclaimed by Ormond, and it was said that that prince himself was immediately about to start from Paris for Dublin, to take the command of the Irish forces. The Parliament now resolved on the reduction of Ireland, and motions were made in the house for a powerful army to be sent into the country, for the chastisement of the "Popish rebels," and the relief of the Protestant party.

The first practical step which the council adopted was to confer



the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland upon Oliver Cromwell. This iron-nerved man had already eminently distinguished himself in the course of the civil war, on the side of the Parliamentarians; and it was to his activity, courage, and energy, that the disastrous overthrow of the royalists at Marston Moor and Naseby was chiefly to be attributed. Such was the miserable state of affairs in Ireland, that the Council had no hopes of retrieving them, save by the aid of their victorious general. Cromwell himself seems already to have begun to entertain those ambitious views which ended in his assumption of the supreme power; and he undertook the management of the Irish war, believing it might add to his future power and consequence. It is not improbable, also, that the Parliament wished to get rid of the more violent and ungovernable part of the army, known by the name of the "agitators" and "levellers"—men whose principles and opinions were supposed to correspond to these opprobrious designations. The Levellers imagined themselves to be delegated by God himself to purge the land from its manifold iniquities, and to establish "the dominion of the Lord and his saints upon the earth." They were for the most part gloomy enthusiasts and bigotted fanatics, puffed up with spiritual pride, and holding in supreme contempt the men and the ways of "the world."

It would be a gross mistake, however, to suppose that the Puritans of the Commonwealth were nothing more than this. "The men who roused the people to resistance," says an eloquent writer\*—"who directed their measures through a long series of eventful years,—who formed, out of the most unpromising materials, the finest army that Europe had ever seen—who trampled down king, church, and aristocracy—who, in the short intervals of domestic sedition and rebellion, made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth—were no vulgar fanatics." With all their whining and groaning, their uncouth names and visages, their close-cropped hair and unshapely garments, these men brought to civil and military affairs a cool judgment, a resolute purpose, and a terrible and destructive bravery.

Many of the more hot-headed and fanatical of the men intended for the subjugation of Ireland, when they had assembled at Bristol and discerned the object for which they were to be sent out of England, began to murmur bitterly, and at last unanimously refused to embark. Their preachers, however, went among them, and so worked upon their spiritual pride, by pointing out to them the great mission which they had to accomplish "for the Lord," in the overthrow and extirpation of the Irish Papists, whom they were to deal with, as the Canaanites were dealt with by the children of Israel—that what they had formerly regarded with extreme reluctance and even absolute aversion, they now embraced with the most ardent zeal and enthusiasm.

\* MACAULAY, in the *Edinburgh Review*: Art. Milton.

Cromwell himself, according to the fashion of the times, did not enter upon his new service, until he had made a great show of religious deliberation. When the appointment was offered him, he hesitated, and then requested that two officers from each corps might meet him at Whitehall, and "seek the Lord in prayer." He only condescended to assume the office of lord-lieutenant, when he had learned it was the will of heaven that he should do so !\* Before he set out also, there was a large assembly of his friends at Whitehall, when three ministers invoked a blessing on his banners, as going forth to fight the battle of the Lord against the Papists of Ireland. After they had finished, three officers, Goff, Harrison, and Cromwell himself, proceeded to expound the scriptures, which they did, it is said, "excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion." When this ceremony had been concluded, the lord lieutenant set out on his journey. "He went forth," says a writer of the day, "in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen, himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares of whitish grey, divers coaches accompanying him, and very many great officers of the army ; his life-guard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire in stately habit, with trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing ; of his life-guard many are colonels ; and, believe it, it's such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world."

The army, at the head of which Cromwell set out virtually to reconquer Ireland, consisted of 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse, chiefly consisting of the veterans whom he had himself taught to conquer every enemy. He was also provided with a plentiful supply of provisions and ammunition, and a military chest containing £100,000 in money. Cromwell was himself allowed £3,000 in the name of outfit ; £10 a-day as general while he remained in England, and £2,000 per quarter, besides his pay in his new office. Ireton accompanied him as second in command.

We now return to the position of affairs in Ireland, where Ormond had hitherto been pursuing a successful career. More than three-fourths of the island now acknowledged his sway ; and during the past year he had succeeded in reducing Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, and Trim. Only Dublin, the capital, and Derry in the north, now held out against him ; and towards the former city he now resolved to lead the combined forces of the Catholics and Royalists, hoping to wipe out the disgrace he had incurred through his former surrender of it, by reducing it once more under the king's sway. Yet the position of Ormond, though he had been thus far successful, was not without great difficulties. He had to reconcile parties and factions who for eight years had been waging bitter and exterminating war against each other. And

\* Forster's *Life of Cromwell*. Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, vol. i. p. 204.

besides this, he had to inspire with confidence in himself, men whom he had by turns cajoled, betrayed, and abandoned. .

Ormond, conscious of the inherent weakness of his army from the dissensions which prevailed among his generals, and aware of the great military talents as well as the popularity of Owen O'Neill, endeavoured to treat with this leader and attach him to the royal cause. But the implacable hatred which the Anglo-Irish Catholics bore to this gallant chief, blasted all hopes of a common union against the parliamentary forces. Ormond was now strong only inasmuch as all other parties were weak. Jones, the English general, was pent up in Dublin, and in risk of being famished by a blockade. In this state of affairs, Ormond felt the necessity of making a vigorous effort for the royal cause, and resolved accordingly on striking at the capital, Dublin. After gaining some decided successes over the Parliamentary troops, he resolved on encompassing Dublin on all sides; and with this view he crossed the Liffey with his army, and encamped at Rathmines, proposing to extend his works to the east, so as to command the mouth of the river.

Here the negligence and incapacity of Ormond exposed the confederates to a decisive and irreparable defeat. It was first resolved to secure and fortify the village of Baggatrath, which commands a meadow close to the town, from which the garrison procured forage for their horses. Owing either to gross neglect on the part of the officer to whom this duty was appointed, or, what is equally probable, to treachery, the important position remained unoccupied for some time; and the works were scarcely begun, when the garrison, aware of the importance of the place, resolved to make a vigorous assault upon it. Ormond, however, like a careless general, instead of guarding himself against surprise, or bringing up his army to cover his works, went to sleep! He was awakened by the noise of his own troops driven into his lines; they had been beaten out of Baggatrath by the garrison forces. By the time he had got on horseback, and gone a hundred yards, he found the horse flying in all directions, and the right wing completely broken. He hurried to the left, and there, too, the panic had reached: the troops were flying in disorder, without so much as discharging their pieces on the enemy. Thus Jones, to his own great surprise, instead of a mere successful sally, found himself the gainer of a complete victory. About six hundred were slain; fifteen hundred privates, and three hundred officers, were made prisoners, many of whom were cruelly butchered, even after they had accepted quarter and laid down their arms. The artillery, baggage, tents, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victors. Cromwell was informed of this victory of Rathmines, when on board the *John*, in the port of Bristol, about to set sail for Dublin; and he speaks of it, in a letter to Mr. Major, as "*an astonishing mercie* so great and seasonable, as indeed we are like to them that dreamed."

Cromwell set sail with his army, and reached Dublin on the 15th of August, 1649. There he rested two weeks, to allow his men to prepare for the labours of the campaign. He then resolved to commence the war by an attack on Tredagh, or Drogheda. Ormond who had suspected that this would be the first point of attack, from its exposed situation, as well as from its great consequence in opening a communication with the northern provinces, had strongly fortified it, and committed it to the government of Sir Arthur Aston, a gallant and intrepid Catholic officer. This garrison was increased by 2,000 foot and 300 horse, all picked men, together with many officers of high reputation. A full proportion, also, of provision, ammunition, artillery, and all the muniments of war, was also furnished to the garrison; and, thus provided, Ormond deemed Drogheda secure from all the attacks of the roundheads. He indulged the hope that the numbers of the enemy would be greatly diminished by their unsuccessful assault, and by the severities of a protracted siege. This, however, Cromwell was resolved not to undergo. His eager intrepidity disdained all protracted negotiations; besides, he had no time for carrying on a lengthened war, the affairs of England being yet in a most insecure state. Accordingly, he determined to carry it by a desperate assault.

Arrived before the town, Cromwell immediately summoned the governor to surrender, which was refused. Some delay occurred in the arrival of the artillery from Dublin, but no sooner had it come up, than he commenced thundering against the walls, and speedily effected a breach. He now determined to take the place by storm. Twice did his bravest men mount the breach, and twice were they repelled with great slaughter. Cromwell rallied them to a third effort, and himself led the assault. A terrible struggle ensued, but the impetuosity of the besiegers bore down every opposition, and they were at last successful. Colonel Wall being killed at the head of his regiment, his soldiers threw down their arms, on the promise of quarter; and Cromwell and his men now rushed into the town. The garrison, however, was not yet subdued. They had thrown up three intrenchments behind the walls, and defended every inch of ground, fighting bravely and desperately at the corner of every street. At last, the town was completely in the hands of the enemy, and all resistance ceased. A dreadful slaughter immediately ensued. Cromwell, with an infernal coolness, issued his orders for the massacre of the entire garrison, and they were accordingly indiscriminately put to the sword. A number of the inhabitants—soldiers, officers, priests, women, and children—took shelter in the great church of the town, where they imagined they would be safe from the fury of Cromwell's soldiers. But the sacredness of the place did not save them from destruction: they were butchered like the rest. The brave governor Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Edward Verney, Colonels Warren, Fleming, and Byrne,

together with all the officers, were put to the sword, though they had been promised mercy when they laid down their arms. The horrible slaughter continued for several days: it is said that for nearly a week the streets of Drogheda ran with blood. Thirty only of the brave defenders of Drogheda survived; and these, even more luckless than the rest, were shipped off as slaves to the plantations in Barbadoes.

Lest our statement of the above transaction may appear exaggerated, we shall give Cromwell's own account of it, in a dispatch written on the spot, immediately after the town had been taken. After describing the desperate resistance of the enemy, admitting that "through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss;"—he adds, that his veterans were induced to make a second attempt, "wherein," says he, "God was pleased to animate them so, that they got ground of the enemy, and, *by the goodness of God*, forced him to quit his intrenchments, and after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both horse and foot, and we foot only within the walls, the enemy gave ground, and our men became masters." Then he adds, having effected a passage for his cavalry into the town, "the enemy retreated, diverse into the Mill-Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceeding high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed; the governor, Sir Arthur Aston, and diverse considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword; and indeed, *being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men.* Diverse of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday,—these being summoned to yield to mercy, refused; whereupon *I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's church to be fired.* The next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, till their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men: when they submitted, *their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes;* the soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and *shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.* I believe *all the friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two*, the one of which was Father Peter Taaf, brother to the Lord Taaf, *whom the soldiers took the next day and made an end of;* the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that

the officers in that town had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar, but that did not save him."\*

Such was the siege and butchery of Drogheda—the successful issue of which Cromwell, in his dispatches to the Parliament, ascribes “to God alone”! characterising it as “a marvellous great mercy.” It is indeed horrible to find the name of the Most High so often employed by legalised destroyers, to give a sanction to their works of carnage. The Mahomedan conqueror puts a whole nation to the sword, and straightway he falls on his face and cries, “*Allah, il Allah! God is great!*” The Imperial Catholic tramples down the population of the richest and most fertile countries in the world, and then goes in procession to the magnificent cathedral, where, amidst the hallelujahs of a thousand choristers, he gives praise to God, as the worker of all this cruelty! And the avenging Protestant, mad with fury and fanaticism, immolates crowds of defenceless beings, and while still reeking with the blood of slaughtered women and children, he turns up his eyes to God, and returns Him thanks for the “*marvellous great mercy!*” “*I wish*”—thus runs the conclusion of Cromwell’s dispatch to the Parliament—“*I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom the praise of this mercy belongs.*” And the Parliament responded to the call of Cromwell, for it forthwith appointed “A Thanksgiving Day” to be held throughout the nation, to celebrate the triumph of Protestantism amidst the blackened walls and the mangled corpses of the ill-fated inhabitants of Drogheda!

The excuse made by Cromwell for these horrible atrocities, as appears from a subsequent part of the same dispatch, was, that those whom he had put to the sword had been concerned in the massacre of 1641. Whereas the fact was, that the garrison of Drogheda consisted chiefly of *English* troops; for Ludlow assures us, that when Cromwell arrived at Dublin, the royalists “put most of their army into their garrisons; having placed three or four thousand of the best of their men, *being mostly English*, in the town of Tredagh, and made Sir Arthur Aston governor thereof.” But even if the garrison *had* been Irish, that was no excuse whatever for the horrible barbarity committed by Cromwell. And though the men *had* been engaged in the “massacre” of 1641, certainly the women, children and priests were not; yet these, together with the garrison, were indiscriminately and brutally put to death. Another reason, which is the more probable one, is, that Cromwell, who had no time to lose in Ireland, expected by this means to strike terror into the minds of the Irish, and, as it were, paralyse them by the very sound of his name. That this was the real secret of Cromwell’s bloody policy, appears from his own confessions. In one of his letters, written after the taking of Drogheda, he says,

\* Forster’s Life of Cromwell. Lardner’s Cyclopædia, vol. i., p. 270-1.

"I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that *it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future*; which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions as cannot otherwise but work remorse and regret."

Cromwell's anticipations proved well-founded, as to the effects of this policy of terror. His army now marched through the country in a kind of grim and bloody triumph. Castles and towers threw open their gates at his approach. Towns were delivered up to him without a struggle. Trim and Dundalk at once surrendered; and directing his course southwards, he met with not the shadow of resistance, until he arrived at Wexford, before which place he sat down on the first of October. Ormond had contrived to throw into the town about 2,000 of the best Catholic troops, so that it did not want for defenders. But such provision was of but little avail against secret treachery. Cromwell first summoned the governor to surrender; and being refused, he at once opened his batteries upon the town. Scarcely had the firing commenced, when Strafford, the governor, betrayed the castle to the besiegers; and, admitting a body of Cromwell's men, the town was immediately in their hands. Another massacre took place, similar to that at Drogheda; Cromwell ordering that no quarter should be given, and thus glutting the anti-popish passions of his soldiery. No distinction was made between the armed soldier and the defenceless townsman. Women as well as men were ruthlessly put to the sword. Three hundred shrieking women, who had gathered round the great cross which stood in the street, in the hope that Christian soldiers would be restrained by this emblem of mercy from taking their lives, were all slaughtered in one mass.\* The governor, Sir E. Butler, with some others, attempted to escape by swimming their horses over the Slaney. A few succeeded, but the greater number were drowned, including the brave governor himself. The loss of Cromwell was not more than thirty men; that of the besieged at least 2,000. The following is Cromwell's own account of the affair in his dispatch to the Parliament:—"Upon Thursday the 11th instant, (our batteries being finished the night before), we began to play betimes in the morning, and having spent near a hundred shot, the governor's stomach came down, and he sent to me to give leave for four persons intrusted by him to come to me, and offer terms of surrender; which I condescending to, two officers with an alderman of the town and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions inclosed, which for their abominableness, mani-

\* "No distinction was made between the armed soldier and the defenceless townsman. Even women were put to the edge of the sword. Three hundred of the latter flocked round the great cross which stood in the street, hoping that Christian soldiers would be so far softened by the sight of that emblem of mercy, as to spare the lives of unresisting women; but the victors, enraged at such superstition, and regarding it perhaps as a proof that they were Roman Catholics, and therefore fit objects for military fury, rushed forward and put them all to death."—FORSTER'S *LIFE OF CROMWELL*, vol. i., p. 272.

festing also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to your view, together with my answer, which indeed had no effect : for whilst I was preparing of it, studying to preserve the town from plunder, that it might be of more use to you and your army, the captain who was one of the commissioners, being fairly treated, *yielded up the castle to us* : upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the enemy quitted the walls of the town, which our men perceiving, ran violently upon the town with their ladders, and stormed it. And when they were come into the market-place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them, *and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfulls of the enemy attempting to escape, being overprest with numbers, sunk, whereby were drowned near three hundred of them.* I believe in all there was lost of the enemy *not many less than two thousand, and I believe not twenty of yours were killed from first to last of the siege.*" Towards the close of the same dispatch, he says, "This town is now so in your power, that of the former inhabitants, *I believe scarce one in twenty, can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them have run away, and many of them were killed in this service.....* Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy, for which, as for all, *we pray God may have all the glory*"!

From Wexford Cromwell passed on to Ross, a town then of considerable importance, situated on the river Barrow, and immediately laid siege to it. After three days, the town was surrendered; the garrison obtaining honourable terms, were permitted to retire to Kilkenny with their arms and baggage. In this case, the articles of the treaty were respected.\* At the same time that Cromwell laid siege to Ross, he dispatched his son-in-law, Ireton, with a strong party, to invest the fort of Duncannon. Here he met with a stout and successful resistance. The fort was invested only on the land side, and the Earl of Castlehaven, one of the Confederate generals, contrived to send into the fort, by means of ferry boats, eighty horses, from the oppose side of the bay.. Upon these, some of the best men in the garrison were mounted, and at daybreak they made a vigorous sally on the besiegers. Ireton's army, believing that they were attacked by some new forces—for they knew there were no cavalry in the fort—surprised and panicstruck, fled precipitately, leaving a considerable part of their artillery behind them. On reaching the main body, they found Cromwell engaged in transporting his troops over the Barrow, by means of a bridge of boats,—a proceeding which was both novel and

\* "A circumstance," says Forster, "claims our notice in the terms of this surrender, which proves how thoroughly Cromwell had now entered into rehearsal for the protectorate. He consented to give up the town, on condition of being permitted to march out with the honours of war, and to assure the inhabitants that their private property would be respected. An attempt was made to secure the free exercise of religion, on the usual plea of liberty of conscience. Cromwell replied, "I meddle not with any man's conscience; but if *by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass*, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of."—FORSTER'S LIFE, p. 272.



alarming to the Irish forces assembled to oppose him. Ormond made preparations to dispute the passage; and his Irish troops, especially the reinforcements which had just been sent him by Owen Roe O'Neill, clamoured for battle. But Ormond, who was inferior to Cromwell in vigilance, in military skill, as well as in numbers, retired without a struggle, and Cromwell pushed on towards the city of Kilkenny:

The real friends of Ireland had long before this foreseen that the issue of the present contest depended, in a great measure, on the fate of Owen O'Neill's army. This noble patriot, it will be remembered, had been treated with great indignity by the Catholic confederates, as well as by Ormond, whose first act, on resuming the government of Ireland for the king, had been to declare him a traitor. It may naturally be supposed that O'Neill, whose sole object in taking up arms had been the liberation of his country, felt this malicious and insulting treatment with great keenness. Yet he did not allow his wounded feelings to interfere, on this occasion, with his duty to his country. When ruin seemed impending over Ormond and the confederate party, he generously interposed and lent his hearty aid to rescue them from destruction. Cromwell, who was aware of the great popularity of O'Neill among the Irish people, and who calculated upon the provocation which he had received from the confederates, in the hopes of drawing over the Irish chief to his party, made him highly advantageous offers; but O'Neill, equally superior to motives of resentment and personal interest where the fortunes of his country were at stake, refused to come to terms with the English general, and declared that he could do nothing that was prejudicial to the crown of England.\*

At the same time Ormond, in the desperate state to which the royal cause was reduced, resolved to make overtures of reconciliation with O'Neill. He was now thoroughly sick of the jealousies and distrusts of the confederates, who would neither do any thing themselves nor allow others to adopt the necessary measures for the preservation of their country. Disregarding their implacable hostility to the Ulster chief, Ormond dispatched a messenger to him with favourable propositions, which O'Neill accepted. Assembling his officers, he described to them the prostrate condition of the Irish people, and urged the necessity of burying all private feelings and personal considerations, in one common effort for the emancipation of their country. "Gentlemen," said he, "to demonstrate to the world that I value the service of my King and the interest of my Nation as I always did, I now forgive the supreme council and my enemies their ill practices and the wrongs they did me. I will now embrace that peace which I formerly rejected out of good intent."† At this time, however, O'Neill was fettered by a treaty which he

\* O'Connor's *History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 70.

† O'Neill's *Journal*, p. 521.

had concluded with Monroe, the Scotch general, in Ulster. But so soon as it had expired, without waiting for a ratification of the terms which Ormond proposed to him, he despatched his lieutenant-general, O'Farrell, to the aid of the Confederates, with a force of about 4,000 men, advising at the same time to avoid an engagement without a certain prospect of success, as "the passes and the season," he added, "would defeat Cromwell without hazard."\*

O'Neill himself, with the main body of his army, proceeded by slow marches to join the royal forces. But he was fated never to reach his destination; for he was attacked on the journey by a "defluxion of the knees," supposed to have been occasioned by a pair of poisoned boots prepared for him by one Plunkett, an agent of the confederates. This illness, however, did not prevent him from proceeding on his march: he had himself carried in a litter at the head of his army, which considerably exasperated the malignity of his complaint, and, after lingering for a short time, the mortal disease terminated his life at Clough-Oughter Castle, on the 6th of November, 1649, to the great grief of his men, and amidst the general lamentations of the Irish nation. With O'Neill, indeed, perished the last hope of the Irish cause. There was now no other leader in Ireland fit to contend with the Herculean spirit of Cromwell. O'Neill's thorough knowledge of the country,—his great popularity among the Irish people, and the readiness with which they furnished him resources of all kinds,—his admirable talents for protracting a war, as well as for discerning and taking advantage of an enemy's mistakes,—would have enabled him to contend with Cromwell on more than equal terms, and most probably to overcome him. At a juncture so critical, the loss of O'Neill was an irreparable one, as the issue soon proved.

Owen O'Neill was a true hero, in every sense of the word. He was brave, virtuous, generous, and merciful. In a time of gross cruelty, he was humane and compassionate. Though his trade was that of war, his arm was ever found raised on the side of freedom and justice. He never stained his hands with the blood of the innocent and defenceless. At the risk of alienating his kinsmen, on assuming the command of the Ulster forces, he severely censured the excesses of his uncle, Sir Phelim O'Neill, and declared that if such things continued to be enacted, he would at once throw up the command and leave the country. He considered that even all the provocation and insult which the native Irish had suffered, furnished no excuse for the perpetration of cruelty upon their enemies. He preserved inviolate every treaty, he fulfilled every promise. Though he had an army of intractable and often ill-disciplined men under his command, yet he succeeded in all his enterprises. † He kept

\* Carte's Ormond, vol. ii, p. 83.

† "His only error," says Dr. Taylor, "was, that he did not treat the council of Kilkenny as Cromwell afterwards did the British parliament, by dispersing, at the point of the bayonet, an imbecile assembly whose folly and stubbornness were manifestly accelerating the ruin of the

his army together for eight years, in an impoverished and devastated country, without any other supplies than those which he derived from his own fertility in resources. O'Neill's remains were interred in the abbey of Cavan, and it is to the disgrace of his countrymen that no memorial has yet been erected there to mark the place where the ashes of the gallant hero lie buried.

The death of O'Neill at this juncture was more keenly felt from the obvious incapacity of Ormond to conduct the war. His refusal to attack Cromwell on his passage of the river Barrow, greatly shook the confidence of his soldiers, and only served to increase the general distrust with which he was now regarded. The fortified towns, fearing treachery, refused to admit his soldiers into their garrisons; consequently many of them were exposed to the assaults of Cromwell's terrible army. After Cromwell had crossed the Barrow, Ormond retreated before him to the city of Kilkenny. Here he was joined by the main body of O'Neill's Ulster army, in fine condition. So powerful a reinforcement encouraged Ormond to take the field with the design of meeting the enemy. But Cromwell, who had marched to within five miles of Kilkenny, suddenly changed his mind, crossed the *Sure* with his army, and marched to besiege Waterford. Ormond pushed on after him, and succeeded, with considerable difficulty, in prevailing upon the citizens of Waterford to receive 1,500 of the Ulster troops into the town. He then returned to Carrick-on-Suir, which he had left a part of his army to reduce, but they were compelled to abandon it for want of artillery.

Ormond now resolved to concentrate his forces and raise the siege of Waterford. He reached the place, after a tedious march, "through a country filled with terror; the inhabitants collecting their wretched effects, abandoning their habitations; peasants, citizens, women, children, all flying different ways, to find some shelter from the English army." On reaching Waterford, he found the enemy in considerable terror at his approach; and from a hill overlooking Cromwell's camp, he saw the Parliamentary army in full retreat, and in such a state of confusion, that an attack in their rear at that time could scarcely have failed to prove successful. Cromwell's soldiers, also, were so wasted by fatigue and sickness at this time that they were ill able to resist the attack of an army so healthy and vigorous as that of Ormond. But again the same indecision and suspicion marred the cause of the royalists and catholics. In order to attack Cromwell, it was necessary that Ormond's force should pass through the city; but the citizens refusing him admission within the gates, until it was too late, the opportunity of attacking the enemy was irretrievably lost. It was

country. But O'Neill was too nobly minded to effect even a good purpose by criminal means, and his virtues even served to injure the cause which he supported, since a reverence for good faith kept him from taking the only measures which would ensure its success."

\* *IRELAND*, vol. iii, p. 356.

shortly afterwards discovered that the treacherous Earl of Antrim who was plotting for the government of Ireland in place of Ormond, was at the bottom of this secret hostility of the Waterford citizens. He also forged articles of agreement between Lord Inchiquin, and Jones, the governor of Dublin, and at the same time he opened a communication with Cromwell, encouraging him to various designs against the royalist party.

After Cromwell had raised the siege of Waterford, he found himself with his army in a very dangerous position. His troops were in the midst of a hostile and difficult country; they were harassed by marches and counter-marches in the depth of winter; they were destitute of quarters, and almost of provisions, and disheartened not only by repulses, but by disease and hunger. In a letter to the parliament, craving for help, Cromwell at this time says, "I tell you a considerable part of your army is fitter for an hospital than the field; if the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitike to have writ this: they know it, yet they know not what to doe." Cromwell also presses parliament for the necessary supplies, of which they had run short, "I desire," said he, "that the charge of England as to this war may be abated as much as may be, and as we know you do desire out of your care to the commonwealth; but if you expect your worke to be done, (if the marching army be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented), indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned in *the speedy reduction of Ireland*. The money we raise upon the counties maintains the garrison forces, and hardly that; if the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect but to have a lingering businesse of it?"

At this time, when all appeared so dark to Cromwell and his army, the sudden revolt of the parliamentary faction throughout the chief towns of Munster, relieved them from all their difficulties, and afforded them secure quarters for the winter. This was chiefly brought about through the instrumentality of Lord Broghill, fifth son of the Earl of Cork, who had been brought up in the strictest discipline of the English Puritans. At the beginning of the war, he had taken part against the Confederates, and displayed no small vigour and ability in the field. At the peace of 1646, he withdrew from Irish affairs, being indignant at the legal toleration of Popery, which he detested with all a Puritan's hatred. He continued, however, to correspond with Ormond, and at his instigation, undertook a journey to Holland, to persuade the king to come over in person to Ireland. Lord Broghill having occasion to pass through London on his way, Cromwell, then in the metropolis, preparing for his Irish expedition, learned the object of his journey, and surprised his lordship by a visit,—informing him that all his designs were known to the Council of State, that orders were already issued for his arrest and imprisonment, but promising that if his lordship

would join the cause of the Parliament, no disagreeable oaths would be imposed on him, and that he should immediately be invested with honourable command. Broghill needed but little persuasion : he consented to serve under Cromwell against his old friends, and on his arrival in Ireland raised a strong force among his friends for the aid of the Parliament. He also opened a secret communication with the Protestants in all the southern towns of Munster, and in a short time they were ripe for a general revolt from the royal and confederate authority. It was at the juncture at which Cromwell had now arrived, that the sudden defection took place. Lord Broghill, taking advantage of Lord Inchiquin's absence, marched southwards with only a small detachment of troops, and the strong garrisons of Youghall, Kinsale, Bandon, and even Cork, threw open their gates at his approach. Dungarvan also was reduced by Cromwell, after a short resistance ; and thus, at the time of his greatest need, the parliamentary general obtained commodious quarters for his harrassed and diseased forces, without conducting them by a tedious and dangerous march to Dublin.

This sudden defection, at so critical a juncture for Cromwell, and when he seemed on the eve of defeat and destruction, completely dissolved the power of the royalist party, and extinguished all remains of confidence between the Catholic and Protestant loyalists, and between the Irish and Anglo-Irish confederates. The towns now shut their gates upon Ormond and his army, and would not allow them to enter, even to save them from assault. Waterford continued exceedingly obstinate ; and Ormond approached the city with his army with the intention of remonstrating with the authorities. On his arrival, he found O'Farrel, the Ulster general, flying in disorder, from an unsuccessful attempt to recover the fort of Passage, which Cromwell had taken and besieged. He entreated to be allowed to march to the succour of the Irish general ; but the authorities of Waterford peremptorily refused to let him pass through the city to his aid ; and nearly half the detachment sent against the fort was cut off before Ormond and a few of his retainers could hasten by a circuitous rout to their assistance. The citizens also refused Ormond permission to quarter his forces in huts outside the walls of Waterford while he reduced the fort, which he considered of great importance. But he was again refused, and dismissing his soldiers to their winter-quarters, he gave up the campaign in despair.

With the exception of Kilkenny and Clonmel, most of the garrison towns in the south now refused submission to the royal authority. Leinster was completely in the hands of the Parliamentarians ; and all Ulster acknowledged their sway, with the exception of the forts of Claremont and Enniskillen. The prospects seemed so gloomy for the royalists, and Ormond found his party so broken up by dissensions and rivalries, that he wrote to the king, entreating permission to retire from the government of his affairs,

and to resign his powers into other hands, if he should find himself unable to further the royal cause. Charles, however, refused his consent. And thus did matters stand at the close of the campaign of 1649.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Cromwell re-opens the campaign—His renewed successes—Kilkenny taken—Siege of Clonmel—Its desperate defence by Hugh O'Neill—The siege is converted into a blockade—Defeat and death of the Bishop of Ross—Surrender of Clonmel—Cromwell's departure for England—Cromwell's memory among the Irish—His policy—The Anti-popish spirit of his army—Hereditary in our own day—Condition of the Royalist party—Their disasters—General distrust of Ormond—Is refused admission into Limerick—Base conduct of Charles in reference to the Irish Catholics—Successes of the Parliamentary generals—Waterford taken—Ormond leaves Ireland—Dilemma of the Catholics—Campaign of 1651—Limerick besieged and taken—Ireton's barbarous treatment of his prisoners—The executions—Death of Ireton—Ludlow succeeds him—The war prosecuted—Galway taken—Emigration of the Irish soldiers—Conclusion of the war—The retrospect—Dreadful condition of the people.

CROMWELL allowed his army to rest only six weeks in their winter quarters. He took the field early in February: and again his efforts were followed by a success almost without parallel. He bore down every thing before him. Stronghold after stronghold fell into his hands. His first attempt upon Kilkenny, however, was unsuccessful. He was induced to approach that place by the offer of Colonel Tickle to deliver it into his hands. But the plot was discovered in time to display such an appearance of defence, that Cromwell on perceiving it again retired with his force. Tickle himself was put to death. But the fate of Kilkenny was only suspended. For, Cromwell, drawing together all his forces from the towns in which they had been quartered, was soon after enabled to invest it with a considerable army. In the meantime, he had taken Callan and Gowran, after a short resistance. The towns of Cashel and Fethard, including the castle of Cahir, yielded to him without opposition. The following is Cromwell's own account of this portion of the campaign:—"I marched from Roghill Castle over the Shewer with very much difficulty, and from thence to Fethard, almost in the heart of the county of Tipperary, where was a garrison of the enemy. The town is most pleasantly seated, having a very good wall with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortifications. \* \* After almost a whole night spent in treaty, the town was delivered to me the next morning upon terms, which we usually call honourable, which I was the willing to give, because I had little above 200 foot, and neither ladders nor guns, nor anything else to force them that night. There being about seventeen companies of the Ulster foot in Cashel, above five miles from thence, they quit it in some disorder, and the sovereign and the aldermen since sent to me a petition, desiring

that I would protect them, which I have also made a quarter. From thence I marched towards Callen, hearing that Colonel Reynolds was there with the party before mentioned; when I came thither I found he had fallen upon the enemy's horse, and routed them, being about 100, with his forlorne, took my Lord of Ossory's capt.-lieutenant, and another lieutenant of horse, prisoners; and one of those who betrayed our garrison of Eniscorfy, *whom we hanged*. The enemy had possessed three castles in the town, one of them belonging to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about 100 or 120 men, which he attempted, and they refusing conditions seasonably offered, *were put all to the sword*. Indeed some of our soldiers did attempt very notably in this service, I do not hear there were 6 men of ours lost. Butlear's castle was delivered upon conditions for all to march away, leaving their arms behinde them; wherein I have placed a company of foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of my lord Colvil, the place being six miles from Kilkenny. From hence col. Reynolds was sent with his regiment to remove a garrison of the enemies from Knocktofer (being the way of our communication to Rosse), which accordingly he did. We marched back with the rest of the body to Fethard and Cashel, where we are now quartered, having good plenty both of horse meat and man's meat for a time; and being indeed, we may say, almost in the heart and bowells of the enemy, ready to attempt *what God shall next direct*. And *blessed be his name only for this good successe*; and for this, that we do not finde that our men are at all considerably sicke upon this expedition, though indeed it hath been very blustering weather."

The plague was raging in the south of Ireland when Cromwell laid siege to Kilkenny. The garrison had been considerably reduced by its ravages; and at the time that Cromwell sat down before it, did not amount to more than 450 men. The governor, Sir Edward Butler, nevertheless, made so gallant a defence, that he had almost compelled the besiegers to retreat. A breach was made, and an assault ordered, but it was repelled with great loss to the assailants. The second attack was attended with no better success; and Cromwell was meditating a retreat, when he received a message from the mayor and citizens inviting him to stay, and they would admit him into the town. A third assault was made, and again defeated with great loss; but the garrison being now much weakened, and despairing of any assistance from Lord Castlehaven, at the same time that Ireton came up with great reinforcements to Cromwell, the governor entered into terms with the besiegers, and a capitulation took place. The garrison received the most honourable conditions: they marched out with arms and baggage, Cromwell complimenting the officers and soldiers on their gallant defence of the place, and declaring that but for the treachery of the civic authorities, he would have raised the siege.

From Kilkenny Cromwell marched to invest Clonmel, where he

met with a still more determined resistance. This place was garrisoned by a detachment of the Ulster Irish, about 1,500 strong. They were commanded by a brave officer, Hugh O'Neill, who, in this struggle, proved himself worthy of the illustrious name he bore. Cromwell having sent him a summons to surrender, which was treated with scorn, the cannon was set a-thundering against the walls, and, ere long, a practicable breach was effected. An assault was now ordered, but was resisted with such valour by the besieged, that the English were compelled to retire after a loss of not less than 2,000 men.\* Another attack was resolved upon, but Cromwell's infantry had suffered so much in the first assault that they refused to advance a second time, and an appeal was made to the cavalry. A volunteer storming party was soon formed under the command of Colonel Culin, and preparations were made for a second attack more desperate than the first. Meanwhile the besieged were not idle. Every preparation was made for resistance. The breach was fortified, and rendered as difficult to the assailants as possible; and within it, at the head of the street, O'Neill erected a new wall which completely commanded the opening through which the besiegers must enter. He also lined the adjacent houses with his best marksmen. The assault at length took place, and it was fierce, bloody, and destructive. The men fought hand to hand, and foot to foot, with terrible fury. At length the assailants succeeded in driving the Irish from the breach, and they rushed into the town over the dead bodies of their comrades. But here new obstacles met them for which they were not prepared. The wall raised by O'Neill obstructed their further progress: they were placed in a *cul-de-sac*, exposed to a heavy fire of musketry from the adjoining houses, and had a bold and determined enemy in front of them. The Colonel of the assailing party was already killed, together with most of the commanding officers. Lieutenant Langley, who was one of the first to volunteer for the service, had his left hand cut off by the blow of a scythe. Most of the men were either killed or wounded. The survivors had no alternative but retreat, and they were again driven through the breach, terribly shorn of their numbers. Cromwell did not venture on a third assault, but converted the siege into a blockade, and determined to accomplish by famine what he could not accomplish by force.

Cromwell was now eager to return to England, where events were taking a new turn, and danger was anticipated from an invasion from Scotland headed by the king in person. He, therefore, fretted and fumed at the obstinate defence of Clonmel; and pressed Lord Broghill and others to hasten to his assistance. O'Neill also, on his part, pressed Ormond and the Catholic lords to come to his aid. But Ormond, anxious and indefatigable though he proved himself, was defeated in all his attempts by the commissioners of trust, who refused to co-operate with him for the rescue of

\* IRELAND.



O'Neill and the relief of Clonmel. He prevailed, nevertheless, on Lord Roche, to collect a body of troops in the south, in which he was assisted by the Catholic bishop of Ross. This body, though numerous, was ill-disciplined, badly armed and appointed, and therefore unable to take the field against the veteran troops of the parliament. It was therefore no matter of surprise that Lord Broghill, who had been sent against them with a select body of troops, encountered and defeated them with great ease. Lord Roche himself escaped through a morass, with the greater part of his forces; but the Bishop of Ross was taken prisoner in the engagement, and afterwards put to death under circumstances of great atrocity. The following is the relation of the Protestant historian Leland:—"A man so distinguished in his opposition to the parliamentarians could expect no mercy: Broghill, however, promised to spare his life, on condition that he would use his spiritual authority with the garrison of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose he was conducted to the fort; but the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear of death, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution (he was forthwith hanged). His enemies could discover nothing in his conduct but insolence and obstinacy, for he was a papist and a prelate."\*

The siege of Clonmel had now lasted two months, and the garrison of the brave O'Neill, though unsubdued, were reduced to great extremities. Provisions were entirely exhausted, and almost the last charge of powder had been spent. Finding it impossible to protract the siege any longer, the general withdrew his forces during the night, without being discovered by Cromwell; and on the following day, the townsmen treated with the besiegers, and surrendered the place on very favourable conditions. Thus ended the siege of Clonmel, one of the best contested struggles during the war. An eminent English commander, who assisted in that action, reported: "We found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy our army had encountered in Ireland; and it is my opinion, and that of many more, that no storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly contended, hath been seen in these wars, either in England or Ireland." Immediately after the surrender, Cromwell proceeded to Youghal and embarked for England, leaving the prosecution of the war to his son-in-law, General Ireton.

Cromwell left behind him a name in Ireland, which is mentioned with horror down even to the present day. "The curse of Cromwell light on you!" or, may you suffer all that a tyrant like Cromwell would inflict,—is one of the most blighting imprecations which an Irishman can use. The massacres of Wexford and Drogheda are yet green in the memory of the people of Ireland; and not only is

\* LELAND, iii., p. 362-3.

Cromwell hated as the author of these horrible atrocities, but, as if these were not enough, he is also denounced as the author of numberless cruelties and acts of destruction in places that he never so much as visited. In almost all parts of Ireland, traditions are preserved of the atrocity of the "bloody Cromwell," and ruins are pointed out, hundreds of miles distant from the tract of country to which his operations were confined, as the work of this cruel and exterminating destroyer. It would seem as if upon his memory were thrown the infamy of all the crimes which the Royalists, Confederates, and Puritans had committed, even before he dreamed of coming to the country. The atrocities, also, of the parliamentary army, which he left behind him to complete the subjugation of the country, seem all to have been set down to the account of the "bloody Cromwell." "This is partly owing," says Dr. Taylor, "to the artifices of those who wished to persuade the Irish, in a subsequent generation, to take up arms in defence of the House of Stuart; and still more to the conduct of his soldiers and their descendants, who so long swayed the destinies of Ireland."

With all his cruelty, Cromwell, in certain cases, manifested a whimsical concern for the security of the lives and properties of the peaceable inhabitants of the country which he passed through; though this may have been good policy, and more in order to preserve strict discipline among his men, than out of regard to the security and well-being of the Irish peasantry. Thus, before he left Dublin with his army for Drogheda, he published two proclamations, forbidding his soldiers, on pain of death, to hurt any of the peaceable inhabitants, or to take provisions, or any thing else from them, without paying in ready money. And this order was so strictly executed, that, on the march to Drogheda, Cromwell ordered two of his private soldiers to be put to death, for stealing from an Irishman two hens, which were not worth sixpence! The policy of this step was soon obvious; for, ere long, upon the repeated assurances made by Cromwell and his officers, of protection and safety, both in life and liberty, civil and religious, "that all the country people flocked to them, with all kinds of provisions; and due payment being made for the same, his army was much better supplied than even that of the Irish ever had been."\* It would appear that the confederates were much less scrupulous in their seizures of the property of the Irish peasantry. The army of Lord Inchiquin was especially reckless; being composed chiefly of descendants of English settlers, who, though Catholics, and fighting on the same side as the native Irish, still detested them quite as much as Cromwell's puritans ever could do. Their leaders were proud of their Norman descent, and had a supreme contempt for the "mere Irish," whom they treated as serfs and outcasts. Hence their hostility to Owen Roe O'Neill and his Irish army, and

\* Carte's Ormond, vol. ii, p. 90.

their refusal to accept their co-operation until they felt themselves within the iron grip of the parliamentary general.

Much of the cruelty perpetrated by Cromwell's army was to be traced to the fiercely anti-popish spirit which then prevailed, and which was found embodied in all its intensity in the troops purposely set apart by the Parliament for the invasion of Ireland. Inflamed by the pictures of Popish cruelty set before them by their preachers, filled with the idea that the object of the "Papists" was to extirpate Protestantism in England, and to establish Romanism in its stead, and aggravated by the grossly false accounts published in England of the alleged Protestant massacre in Ulster,\*—the fanatics of Cromwell's army entered Ireland breathing fire and slaughter against the people, their leader telling them that they were to be treated as the Canaanites were by Joshua, their preachers enforcing upon them that the sparing of the Papists was a heinous sin, and urging them to the slaughter, "even as Samuel had hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord at Gilgal." The first effects of these horrible exhortations were, as we have seen, the indiscriminate slaughters of Drogheda and Wexford; and the same ruthless and exterminating policy continued to be persisted in long after Cromwell had taken his final departure from Ireland.

It is to be remarked that the same horror of "Popery" has descended down to the present day, and is almost invariably found to be the greatest in those who are the most ignorant of what popery consists. In the same way, episcopacy is hated in Scotland, from being the chief persecuting religion known to the people of that portion of the united kingdom. As the English "orthodox" breathe hatred of "popery," so do Scotch Presbyterians express a horror of "black prelaty,"—religions which, to both these people, are known chiefly by name. Thus, not only do professions of faith, but also hatreds of faith, become traditional and hereditary. Christians misconstrue the leading injunction of their Lord and Master, which is to "love one another;" their acts more generally denoting that they regard each other with an entirely opposite feeling.

We again return to the progress of events in Ireland, after the departure of Oliver Cromwell. The royalist party still held

\* The great discrepancies in the accounts of the Protestant historians, as to the number of Protestants who were destroyed during the insurrection, shew that their computations were founded entirely on fancy. For instance, Clarendon estimates the number at from 40,000 to 50,000; Sir John Temple at 150,000; Milton, in the second edition of his "Iconoclastes," at 154,000; there being at that time, according to the computation of Sir William Petty and others, not more than 200,000 Protestants in Ireland. Warner, a Protestant clergyman and historian, states, "upon positive evidence collected in two years after the insurrection broke out," that the number amounted to 2,109; on the reports of other Protestants, 1,618 more; and on other testimony, 300 more; making in all 4,028. In fact, the thing seems for the most part a mere fiction; for there is not the slightest mention of it in the dispatches of the Lords-Justices still preserved. But "the great Irish massacre" suited the purposes of the Parliament in carrying on the war against the king, by inflaming the minds of the people against the "bloody and exterminating Papists," at whose head Charles was supposed to be placed. In fact, as is asserted by Dr. Warner, "it is easy enough to demonstrate the falsehood of the relation of every Protestant historian of this rebellion."

possession of a large part of Ireland. The entire province of Connaught acknowledged the king's sway, together with a large part of Munster. Waterford, Galway, and Limerick still remained in their hands—places of great strength and importance, which, if well supplied by sea, might maintain a war against the whole kingdom. They also held the strong forts of Sligo and Duncannon, and the castles of Carlow, Athlone, Nenagh, and Charlemont. The royalists were also supported by the great body of the Irish people, as well as their chiefs and nobles; and in numerical force far outnumbered their enemies. But, unfortunately, there was neither order, union, nor coöperation, among the royalist parties; and faction, discord, and ill-management, did for Ireton far more than all his military force could have accomplished.

The first grievous failure of the royalists, after the departure of Cromwell, was in Ulster; where the Irish, in conjunction with the British royalists of that province, attempted to recover it from the hands of the parliamentarians. The royalists and the natives, however, fell out among themselves,—the Irish refusing to follow any leaders unless chosen by themselves, and the British fearing that their proposed allies cherished some secret design for their extirpation. The design was thus defeated; but the Irish nevertheless chose for their own general, Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, a man totally unfitted by education and experience for the command of an army, especially when matched with such skilful opponents. Soon after his election, the Bishop, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, ventured, with inferior numbers, to attack Sir Charles Coote, who was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny. The result was as might have been expected. The Irish army was defeated with great slaughter, and the Bishop himself was taken prisoner. We need scarcely add that he was shortly after hanged, by the order of Parliament, which made a point of never sparing an ecclesiastic taken in arms against them. The victors then proceeded to lay siege to Charlemont, which they took after a short but brave defence; and now, almost the whole of Ulster was in the hands of the parliamentary army.

Ormond, now hemmed in by difficulties, which he had no means of overcoming, endeavoured to throw himself into the city of Limerick, as the next place which would probably be attempted by the parliamentary army. But in proposing to the citizens to receive a strong detachment of his army, such was their distrust and hatred of the lord-lieutenant and the troops under his command, that they immediately rejected his proposal; and not only this, but they even meditated to seize his person. Ormond, who was now sick of the contest, proposed leaving the kingdom; but the commissioners of trust, who saw the ruin of the Irish cause in this step, prevailed on him to remain, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to re-establish his authority. An assembly of the bishops was called together at Loughrea, and they declared that they would do

what they could to root out of men's hearts all jealousy and disaffection of the marquis. A deputation of their number was appointed to prevail on the citizens of Limerick to accept a garrison, but altogether without success. They even refused to treat Ormond with the ordinary forms due to his station; when, mortified at the result, he retired with the bishops to Loughrea. Shortly afterwards, the parliamentary general offered to treat with the citizens, on favourable terms,—promising them the free exercise of their religion, the enjoyment of their estates, churches, and church livings, a free trade and commerce, and exemption from a garrison, provided only they would allow him a free passage through the town, with his army, into Clare. The propositions were, however, at once rejected; and again Ormond felt encouraged to approach, and drew his forces to Clare, within about twelve miles of Limerick. While here, Ormond received a respectful deputation from the magistrates of the city, inviting him to visit Limerick, and regulate its garrison. He consented; but when he had approached the walls, a friar named Wolfe, heading the populace, seized the keys of the gates, and forcibly opposed his admission. In the midst of the tumult, the magazines were broken open, and the corn distributed among the multitude.

The obstinacy of Limerick was imitated by the town of Galway, which also refused to admit any garrison but such as should be commanded by their own magistrates. The excuse was, the treacherous disposition of Ormond, and the suspicion which generally prevailed, that he was in league with the Protestant royalists to betray the Irish a second time into the hands of the parliamentarians. These suspicions were increased by the intelligence which now arrived from Scotland, where the young king, Charles (afterwards known as "the Second") had arrived, and at once signed the Covenant,—publishing a declaration, "that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant; and that he did detest and abhor all popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy; resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow those, in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power." At the same time, Charles hypocritically and basely, but Stuart-like, declared, that all the bloodshed of the late war was to be charged to his father, who had committed a great sin by marrying into an idolatrous family. Charles also (who afterwards proved the greatest libertine in England) promised repentance for his past life, which had been a course of enmity to God's work, and expressed a deep sense of his former prejudices against the cause of true religion. With reference to the peace of 1649, which he had concluded with the confederates at the Hague, at the same time expressing his determination to re-animate his Irish adherents by his presence, he now expressly pronounced it to be null and void; adding, that "he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it,

and of allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion; from which he did, from his heart, desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord; and for having sought unto such unlawful help, for the restoring of him to his throne." At the same time, Charles dismissed some of his most faithful Irish adherents from about his person; among others, Daniel O'Neill, nephew to Owen Roe, who, though a Protestant, was exposed to the peril of an ignominious death, by following the fortunes of his master. As it was, sentence of perpetual banishment was pronounced upon him, to which was attached the penalty of death should he ever after be found in the country.

These measures greatly exasperated the native Irish, and led to increased jealousy and hatred of the Marquis of Ormond, who was supposed to be accessory to them all. The Catholic bishops and prelates, in this crisis, assembled at James' Town, to concert measures for the public safety. They sent a deputation to Ormond, to represent to him the general distrust of the people, and to urge that he would resign the royal authority, and deposit it in the hands of persons possessed of public confidence. Two days after, they published a declaration against the lord-lieutenant, filled with severe charges as to his public conduct. At the same time, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all who should enlist with, assist, or supply him and his troops, unless under the pressure of inevitable necessity. They then proceeded to levy forces by their own authority, so that Ormond had now a new enemy to contend with, in addition to the Parliamentary armies. But it was impossible for resistance to go on much longer in such a distracted state of affairs.

General Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, who had been left in command of the parliamentary army, was now enabled to range at will over almost the entire kingdom. Shortly after the surrender of Clonmel, Trecrohan fell into his hands, together with the great stores of artillery and ammunition that it contained. Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other strong places, fell into the hands of Huson, the republican general; the strong fort of Duncannon also fell almost without resistance. Carlow was invested by Sir Hardress Waller, and bombarded with his artillery. After a short resistance, Captain Bellew, the governor of the castle, surrendered on favourable terms. The garrison marched out with the honours of war; but there are grounds for suspicion that its surrender was effected by treachery. "This treachery," says Carte, "was now universal, arising sometimes from the fears of the inhabitants, and sometimes from the corruption, avarice, or cowardice of the garrisons of the towns, and was the cause of the loss of the castle of Catherlogh."

The city of Waterford, also, which was commanded by Preston, soon after shared the same fate. The manner in which it was taken was singular. It seems that two brothers, named Croker, (whose

descendants are still found in the neighbourhood), belonging to the parliamentary army, were sent with thirty musketeers to set fire to a few houses in a suburb. A great smoke was raised, and the Irish, alarmed, fled, leaving some of their ladders on the ramparts. The bold idea suddenly struck one of the Crokers, that "it would be a brave thing, if they should set upon the town and take it." No sooner said than done. Calling their thirty men together, they mounted the wall, and rushing into the town, hallooing and firing as they advanced, their numbers being meanwhile concealed by the smoke of the burning suburb, the inhabitants believing the whole English army to be upon them, abandoned the city to the besiegers. One of the Crokers was killed; the other opened the gates to the besieging army, and was shortly afterwards invested with the valuable estate of Sir Walter Coppinger, an Irish Catholic whose property was confiscated by the parliament.

Ormond resisted the progress of Ireton's army as well as he could, with the few troops that he was able to muster. At last, he prepared for his departure, finding that he could no longer be of service to the royal cause. After transferring his power to the Marquis of Clanricarde, he embarked at Galway, in December, in a frigate provided for him by the Duke of York, and, accompanied by Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and several others, set sail for France, and arrived there after a tempestuous and dangerous voyage.

The season was now far advanced, and the campaign almost brought to an end. Ireton, however, advanced to Limerick, with the view of blockading it; but Lord Castlehaven had thrown reinforcements into the city, and it was able for the present to bid defiance to the enemy. Ireton, therefore, retreated, after seizing most of the strongholds in the neighbourhood, and retired into winter-quarters. The chief part of Ireland was now in the hands of the parliamentary army, though Connaught and a considerable part of Munster still remained in the power of the Irish. They had still, therefore, the means of carrying on a formidable warfare; they had an able Catholic general, and a by no means inconsiderable army at their disposal. But the fatal spirit of faction still prevailed, and poisoned all the sources of the Catholic strength. The bishops and prelates now wished the war to be carried on without regard to the royal authority, but solely in reference to the maintenance and defence of their religion. Some were for calling in the aid of a foreign power, to prevent the utter ruin of the nation, and a negotiation was actually entered into with the Duke of Lorraine, to invest him with the dignity and power of "Protector Royal" of Ireland: \* others were for submitting to the parliament

\* Towards the close of the war, such were the straits to which the confederates were reduced, that the Marquis of Clanricarde was induced to receive the sum of £20,000 from the duke's ambassador, upon a mortgage of Galway and Limerick; but, before any further steps could be taken, these towns were in the hands of the parliamentary army.

on terms; and others, among whom was Lord Clanricarde, were for maintaining the royal authority at all hazards. At the assembly which was held at Loughrea, after the departure of Ormond, Ireton forwarded to them his proposals for peace, urging the Catholics to abandon their desperate cause, and to treat with the parliament, which would grant much more favourable conditions to the nation than to particular individuals. These proposals were the subject of long and earnest debate. Nicholas French, bishop of Ferns, in a speech, full of pathos, depicted the miseries, weakness, and distractions of the country, and pressed the necessity of coming to an accommodation. His counsel, however, was neglected, and the idea of a treaty with the enemy was soon completely abandoned.

Ireton opened the campaign of 1651 with great vigour, and determined to bring the war speedily to an end. After receiving considerable reinforcements from England, he took the field, and resolved to commence with the siege of Limerick. But in order that Limerick might be invested on all sides, it was necessary to penetrate into Connaught; accordingly Sir Charles Coote was ordered to advance from his position in Ulster towards Sligo. The Irish hastened to the relief of this place, but Coote suddenly drawing off his men, crossed the Curlew mountains, penetrated southwards, and invested Athlone. Before Clanricarde could collect his forces, and march to its relief, this town was taken; and Coote, pursuing his advantages, was now in full march upon Galway. In the meantime Ireton, having concentrated his forces at Cashel, advanced towards the Shannon, opposite Killaloe, with the intention of crossing it. Castlehaven had posted a strong body of Irish under Colonel Fennel to defend the passage; but instead of doing so, this officer treacherously abandoned the post without firing a shot, and Ireton, having thus obtained possession of the town and secured a safe and easy communication with the county of Clare, the English troops crossed the river and burst rapidly into the western province; when, having made the necessary preparations, the siege of the city of Limerick was commenced in regular form.

Hugh O'Neill, the brave defender of the town of Clonmel, was the commander of the garrison of Limerick. He was appointed to this post by the citizens themselves, who refused to admit within their walls either Lord Castlehaven or the Marquis of Clanricarde, who offered to take the command of the city in person. The siege was prosecuted with great vigour by Ireton, and the defence was conducted with equal bravery by the gallant O'Neill. He infused his own spirit into the garrison and the town's people, who emulated each other's deeds of daring and valour. Several sallies were made, in which large numbers of the besiegers were slain. An attempt was made by Lord Muskerry, one of the Irish leaders, to relieve the city; and he advanced towards it with a strong party from the county of Kerry. Lord Broghill marched to oppose him, and after



a severe struggle, well maintained on both sides, Muskerry was compelled to retire with considerable loss.

Six months had now passed in the siege of Limerick, winter was at hand, but as yet Ireton had made no impression on the strength of the city. Nor did he seem likely to do so; for the severity of the season, and the plague, which now raged among his army, as well as in the garrison, must soon have obliged him to abandon the enterprise. It was at this juncture that treachery and faction accomplished against O'Neill what Ireton and all his army could not effect. A correspondence had for some time been maintained between the besiegers and a party of the citizens, by means of those Irish who had already compounded with Ireton. A surrender was proposed, and pardon was proffered to all but twenty-four, including the Bishops of Limerick and Emly, together with most of the leading Roman Catholic clergy, then within the walls. The bishops protested against being thus barbarously sacrificed, and O'Neill determined to hold out to the last. The clergy proclaimed sentences of excommunication against those who proposed to surrender on such terms; but in the hour of terror their authority was neglected. Fennel, the same traitor who had abandoned the pass at Killaloe, at the head of a riotous mob of soldiers and citizens seized the two forts, called St. John's Tower and Prince's Mill, and turned their cannon on the town. He then sent commissioners to treat with Ireton, and on the 27th of October, a treaty was signed, granting to the inhabitants their lives and property, with the exception, by name, of twenty-four individuals, including the brave governor, O'Neill, "who had opposed and restrained the deluded people from accepting the conditions so often offered to them." Limerick was then delivered to the Parliamentary general, "for the use of the Parliament and the Commonwealth of England." \*

Ireton, on taking possession of the city, immediately proceeded to execute vengeance on the leaders of the Irish, and the opposers of the English government. The Bishop of Emly,† one of the most active and resolute soldiers of the garrison, was seized and instantly executed. Friar Wolfe, the leader of the populace, when

\* Nov. 29, 1651. The parliament approved of the articles of Limerick. They gave the messenger one hundred pounds who brought news of the surrender; and ordered the next Lord's day to be a day of thanksgiving.—*MEMORIALS OF ENGLISH AFFAIRS.*

† Terence Albert O'Brien was a friar of the Dominican convent in Limerick, a Doctor of Divinity, elected provincial of that order in 1643, and appointed Bishop of Emly in 1644. He was so active in persuading the Irish to hold out against Cromwell's forces, that Ireton, during the siege of Limerick, offered him forty thousand pounds to desist from his exhortations, and quit the city with a passport to any other kingdom. He refused this offer heroically, in consequence of which he was exempted from pardon, tried, and condemned to be beheaded. He bore the sentence with resignation, and behaved to his last moments with manly fortitude. He addressed Ireton with a prophetic spirit, accusing him of the highest injustice, threatening him with life for life, and summoning him to the tribunal of God in a few days. Ireton caught the plague in eight days, and died soon after, raging and raving of this unfortunate prelate, whose unjust condemnation he imagined hurried his death. The Bishop of Emly was executed on the eve of All-Saints day, and his head was fixed on a pike, at the top of a tower, near the centre of the city.—*BOURKE'S HIBERNIA DOMINICANA.*

they excluded the Marquis of Ormond from the city, was found concealed in the pest-house, and immediately beheaded. General Purcell and many more were executed at the same time. Indeed, of all those who had been excepted from mercy, only O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick, and O'Neill, the governor of the city, were spared. The former escaped in the disguise of a private soldier, when the garrison marched out. The brave O'Neill, whose conduct was calculated to excite the admiration of every soldier, was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death. O'Neill defended himself by saying that he had taken no part in the original conspiracy, that he had been invited into Ireland by his countrymen, and had always acted the part of an honourable enemy. Ireton, however, was bent on his execution, and had sentence of death recorded against him; but some of the officers, more generous than their chief, protested against the sentence, and represented the odium which such an execution would bring upon the English name abroad; when at last Ireton agreed to take the verdict of a second trial, and the life of O'Neill was spared by a single voice.

In addition to the above executions, the traitor Fennel had also his reward; for he was almost immediately apprehended and tried for several murders he had committed; and he was condemned to death and executed shortly after the surrender of the city. This wretch had even the effrontery to plead his treachery to his own country at Youghall, and more recently at Killaloe, as recommendations to the favour of the parliamentary general; but not all his infamy could save him from the fangs of the executioner. Geoffry Browne also, who had taken an active part in Irish affairs during the period that the Nuncio was in Ireland, and had occasionally acted as emissary to the court of Charles in Holland, was apprehended on his return from Brussels, and, like the rest, condemned and executed.\*

According to the terms of the treaty, the garrison, having first laid down their arms, were allowed to march out of the city unmolested. The spectacle of their departure was a most awful one. The men exhibited marks of the most dreadful suffering. They were wounded, diseased, famished, and destitute; yet were they unsubdued. Ludlow, in his Memoirs, says that the troops in marching out of the city, had more the appearance of skeletons

\* "He pleaded," says Ludlow, "that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for, the liberty and religion of his country." The deputy replied, that "Ireland being a *conquered country*, the English nation might with justice, assert their right and conquest; that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reason: notwithstanding which, they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, and robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased with their money. That, touching the point of religion, there was also a wide difference between us; we *only* contending to preserve our natural right therein, *without imposing our opinions upon other men*; whereas they would not be contented, unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their imposition, on pain of death." These men of *tolerant* principles, it seems, thought this a *full refutation* of the prisoner's plea.—LELAND, vol. iii., p. 390.

than of men ; some of them dropping dead of the plague as they staggered along ; while the bodies of many were left disinterred in the yard of St. Mary's church, where the soldiers were ordered to deposit their arms.

The war was now fast drawing to a close. The Irish armies were scattered and nearly destitute ; and almost the only strong place now remaining in their hands was the town of Galway. Ireton summoned it to surrender, and while the citizens were meditating about the terms, Ireton caught the plague, and died at Limerick on the 26th of November. The citizens of Galway immediately grew resolute at this event, and refused to surrender. They invited the Marquis of Clanricarde to take the command, promising all obedience to his authority. But Ludlow, who succeeded to the command of the parliamentary forces, on Ireton's death, gave them no time to rest and prepare for the conflict. Early in the spring of 1652, he took the field, and vigorously prosecuted the war. Sir Charles Coote laid siege to Galway, and almost immediately the place was deserted by the governor, Preston, who fled by sea ; when the city was delivered up to the astonished besiegers almost without an effort.

Several other towns, of smaller note, were immediately after reduced without difficulty, and the signs of resistance became more faint from day to day. A few of the Irish leaders, with small bodies of ill-appointed men, still maintained a kind of guerilla warfare in the woods and wilds ; but these were soon compelled to yield to the parliamentary troops. Sir Phelim O'Neill, who played such a prominent part at the commencement of the war, again appeared in Ulster, and, in conjunction with the Marquis of Clanricarde, captured the forts of Ballyshannon and Donegal, which, however, were soon after retaken. Sir Phelim himself fell into the hands of the enemy, and was shortly after executed. Lord Mayo, in Connaught, and Colonel Bagnal in Munster, were also condemned to death, for "murdering the English." Commissions were issued in the various provinces, to try the more distinguished of the prisoners who had been made, and of these about 200 were condemned and put to death. Several of the more distinguished of the Irish chiefs, among whom were the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Earl of Westmeath, Colonels Fitzpatrick, O'Dwyer, and others, compounded with the government, and were allowed to depart with their troops into the service of foreign powers at peace with England. It is computed that not fewer than 27,000 men\* left Ireland in the course of one year (1652), to fill the armies of Europe with complaints of England's cruelty and admiration of their own valour. By means such as these, all resistance was soon brought completely to an end ; so that, on the 26th of September, the English parliament declared that "the rebels in Ireland were

\* Borlase's Irish Rebellion. Dalrymple, in his *Memoirs of Great Britain*, states the entire number who emigrated to the continent at this period at 40,000 men.

subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended ;” and forthwith they set about dividing the land as a spoil among themselves.

Let us now pause for a moment, and look back upon the dreary region that we have passed. Ten years of civil war, during which we find leaders and their followers repeatedly changing sides ; at one time in close alliance with each other, at another engaged in deadly strife ;—English Catholics warring against Irish Catholics, whom they denounced as rebels ; Protestants leagued against both, and persecuting both as recusants and malignants ;—Protestant loyalists and Catholic loyalists fighting against Protestant republicans ; each denouncing the other as rebels, the one from the king’s authority, the other from the parliament’s ;—loyalty at length crushed as rebellion, and rebellion elevated into the place of loyalty and allegiance ;—the Irish people first persecuted by the king as recusants, and then by the parliament as royalists ;—tribe fighting against tribe, friend against friend, and often brother against brother ;—famine, desolation, and pestilence, contributing with the sword to spread misery, death, and destruction throughout the land ;—such is the dreadful picture which Ireland presents during the ten years of her history that we have just traversed.

First, we find Charles plundering the Catholics, cheating them of their “Graces,” confiscating their lands,—and then applying to them for help against his rebel subjects in England. His demand is complied with, and the Irish Catholics send him both money and men, in the hope of finally obtaining justice. But in vain. The Irish Catholics are sacrificed, and next we have Charles denouncing them as rebels, and asking to be led against them in person to put them down. They are finally stung into active rebellion, and now Charles, at war with his parliament, again seeks their aid : they become royalists, and are forthwith put under the ban of the English parliament and government. At one period, we find Ormond, the king’s lieutenant, proclaiming the Catholics as rebels ; at another, we find him in active coöperation with them, and himself pronounced a rebel by the legislature. Now, Ormond and the Anglo-Catholics proclaim Owen O’Neill a traitor ; and immediately after, Ormond himself is pronounced a traitor, and treats with the Ulster rebel chief for aid against the government. At one and the same time, we find five distinct armies in the field : the Royalists under Ormond, the Catholic Confederates under Castlehaven, the Irish under O’Neill, the Parliamentarians under Jones, and the Scotch Covenanters in Ulster under Monroe. All these were to a greater or less extent “rebels” to each other ; for though the two latter forces were under the control and direction of the English parliament, they were considerably at variance with each other, and never cordially coöperated for the same common object. The other three armies, the Irish, the Confederates, and the Royalists, had all a common interest, yet they never would act cordially together. The Catholics of the Pale hated the native Irish, and the Protestant Royalists hated the

Catholics of all grades and complexions. Hence the dissensions, the weaknesses, and the constant jealousies of these three divisions of the royalist party. At length, Cromwell appears, and with his strong iron hand he crushes all these warring parties to the dust. Such is a short outline of a period which, for vicissitudes, calamities, transpositions of parties, and dreadful cruelties, stands quite unequalled in the history of nations.

We need scarcely state that during these ten years the great mass of the Irish people were reduced to a state of deplorable suffering and misery. The country had been so repeatedly ravaged by the contending armies during this ten years' war, that at length men ceased to till the ground and to cast in the seed, from the uncertainty of reaping the fruits, and the probability that they would only be the more exposed to the ravages of the contending parties. The peasantry also, in many parts of the country, especially in Ulster and Munster, were slain while at work—cut down in the half-ploughed field. The sufferings of the poor people, during this calamitous period, would exceed credibility, if they were not attested by the actors themselves who perpetrated the horrid cruelties. Wherever an Irishman was encountered, he was killed. The order given out by the Parliamentarians was, "*No quarter to be given to the Irish soldiers.*"\* Ludlow himself describes the atrocious devices of his soldiers to smoke the Irish out of the caves in which they had taken refuge. The survivors of these barbarities, destitute of food and habitations, were forced to join one or other of the rival armies careering through the country. The consequence of all this was an awful famine, followed by disease, pestilence, and death. The misery of the people was excruciating. Thousands perished of cold and hunger; many threw themselves headlong from precipices, and into lakes and rivers—death being their last refuge from such direful calamities.† The following account, by an eye-witness, conveys but a faint idea of the horrors of this awful period:—

"About the year 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had so swept away whole countries, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature, either man, beast, or bird; they being either all dead, or had quit those desolate places; our soldiers would tell stories of the place where they saw a smoak; it was so rare to see either smoak by day, or fire or candle by night. And when we did meet with two or three poor cabins, none but very aged men, with women and children, and those, like the prophet, might have complained, 'We are become as a bottle in the smoak, our skin is black like an oven because of the terrible famine.'—*I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking*

\* This order was, for a short time, strictly adhered to; but Prince Rupert, on the King's part, making retaliation, this most sanguinary measure was quickly rescinded.

† O'Connor's History of the Irish Catholics, p. 87.

*surrior out of a ditch, black and rotten, and been credibly informed that they digged corpses out of the grave to eat ; but the most tragical story I ever heard was from an officer commanding a party of horse, who, hunting for tories in a dark night, discovered a light, which they supposed to be a fire, which the tories usually made in those waste countries to dress their provisions and warm themselves; but drawing near, they found it a ruined cabin, and besetting it round, some did alight, and peeping at the window, where they saw a great fire of wood, and a company of miserable old women and children sitting round about it, and betwixt them and the fire a dead corpse lay broiling, which, as the fire roasted, they cut off collops and eat.”\**

The picture is a horrible one,—enough to make the blood run cold. But it is not one to be lingered over; accordingly we leave it to hasten onwards with our sad and melancholy recital.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Fleetwood made lord-deputy—Subdued state of Ireland—The division of the spoil by the Parliament—Extensive scheme of confiscation—High courts of justice, or “Cromwell’s slaughter-houses”—Allocation of land among the soldiers and adventurers—They enter on their estates—Banishment of the Irish to Connaught—Cruel laws—Fearful sufferings of the natives—The scheme fails—The Irish retained as serfs—Atrocities committed upon them—Measures for the extirpation of the Catholic religion—Moral effects of tyranny—The Cromwellian atrocities—Priest-hunting—Henry Cromwell appointed to the Irish government—His able administration—Death of Oliver Cromwell—Renewed dissensions—The Restoration—The Union first projected by Cromwell.

FLEETWOOD succeeded to Ireton’s wife, and to Ireton’s command in Ireland, at one and the same time. Having married that general’s widow, who was Cromwell’s daughter, and being thus devoted to the interests of his father-in-law, he was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, and sent over to carry out the plans of the parliament for the final settlement of that country.

When Fleetwood landed in Ireland, all signs of resistance had ceased; most of the male adults, capable of bearing arms, had been transported to France, Spain, and the West Indies; an immense number, even of the women, were transported to Virginia, Jamaica, and New England; and the unfortunate people who remained, bruised in spirit and devoid of all means of resistance, were of course obliged to submit to the terms imposed on them by their conquerors. Ireland never had been so subdued since the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, in the reign of Henry II. Besides the vast numbers who were banished the country at this period, multitudes had been destroyed by the sword during the last ten

\* Colonel Laurence’s Interest of Ireland, part ii. p. 86, 87.

years, and many more had been destroyed by famine and pestilence. Seventeen thousand persons died in Dublin alone, in the summer of 1650, \* and the average mortality was not by any means so great there as in many other populous towns and cities throughout the kingdom. The consequence was, that Ireland was now nearly depopulated, and one of the first measures of the parliamentary lord-deputy was to invite over settlers from England, on the most tempting conditions, the consequence of which was that numbers of all sorts and sexes flocked into the kingdom.

The parliament, which had now disposed of the Irish people, next proceeded to dispose of their property, and set on foot a system of confiscation and plantation more extensive than any English monarch had yet contemplated. The confiscations of Elizabeth and James were now to be thrown far into the shade. Ireland was now to be dealt with as a mere "conquered country," and divided as a booty among the successful soldiery of Cromwell. The English parliament looked upon Ireland as the absolute property of England, regarding the natives as no more entitled to the land than the beasts of the field or the fowls of the air. They came to the same summary conclusion with regard to Ireland and its inhabitants, that the Puritans of Massachusetts did about the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic, on taking possession of the hunting-grounds of the Indians. Their argument was as follows:—"The Earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof: *we* are the Lord's: therefore the Earth is ours." And so the heathen natives were, like the Catholic Irish, forcibly dispossessed, and their lands divided among "the Lord's people." The proposal was even made by some of the more fanatical of the party to extirpate the Irish as some of the idolatrous tribes had been by the children of Israel in the time of Moses; but this counsel was over ruled; and the first clause of the new ordinance for the settlement of Ireland actually declared, as if it were necessary to convince the public on this point, that it was *not* the intention of the English parliament to extirpate the Irish nation!

The first act passed by the parliament was for the confiscation of all the lands of the "rebels." The following is a brief summary of its provisions:—that all who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1641, or had contrived, aided, or in any way abetted it, or had slain any person in arms for the English, or were now in arms and refused to lay them down and submit to the authority of the parliament, were excepted from pardon of life and estate, that all who had borne command in the war against the English parliament, were to be banished, two-thirds of their estates to be forfeited, and the value of the remaining third assigned to their wives and children at the pleasure of the parliament; that all persons of the Popish religion who had been resident in Ireland from 1641 to 1650,

\* Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.

and had not manifested their constant good affection to the Commonwealth of England, were to forfeit one-third of their estates, and be assigned the value of the other two-thirds according to the pleasure of the parliament; that all persons who had resided in Ireland during the above period, who had not been in arms for the parliament, or shown their good affection to it, were to forfeit one-fifth of their estates; among those expressly exempted from pardon for life and estate, were the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Inchiquin, the Earl of Roscommon, and Bramhal, the Protestant Bishop of Derry.

A new kind of tribunal was now erected, under the name of the High Courts of Justice, for the trial of those chargeable under the above act. These courts, which were held in different parts of the kingdom, were of the most arbitrary constitution and character; being, in fact, mere courts-martial, in which the parliamentary officers sat as both judges and jurors. The courts decided entirely according to their prejudices. Law and justice were alike disregarded by them; and it was enough that a man was "a papist," to secure his instant condemnation. Such were the cruel and iniquitous sentences passed in these courts that they were generally known as *Cromwell's slaughter houses*; "for no articles were pleadable in them; and against a charge of things said to be done in them twelve years before, little or no defence could be made: and that the cry was made of blood, aggravated with expressions of so much horror, and the no less daunting aspect of the courts, quite confounded the amazed prisoners, so that they came like sheep to the slaughter.\*"

The next act passed by the parliament had for its object the satisfaction of the claims of the parliamentary soldiers, and the partition among them of the Irish estates. An act had been passed at the commencement of the civil war (17 Charles I.) commonly known as the *Adventurers' Act*, which provided that those who adventured money in the service of the parliament should be repaid in the lands of those who were in arms against their authority. The partition accordingly now took place; and two millions and a half of acres were at once assigned in the following proportions:—each adventurer of £200 was to have allotted to him 1000 acres in Ulster; of £300, 1000 acres in Connaught; of £450, 1000 acres in Munster; and of £600, 1000 acres in Leinster. Those who held lands in Ulster to pay a yearly quit-rent to the crown of one penny per acre; in Connaught, three-half-pence per acre; in Munster, two-pence farthing per acre; and in Leinster, threepence per acre. Various manorial powers and privileges were also attached to the possession of these splendid allotments.

Preparations were then made for carrying this arrangement into

\* Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.



effect, and four Commissioners were appointed by the parliament, to act in conjunction with the Lord-deputy, in carrying the law into execution. A council of war was held in Dublin, of all the chief commanders for the parliament, at which Lord Broghill proposed "that the whole kingdom should be surveyed, and the number of acres taken, and the quality of them; and then, that all the soldiers should bring in their demands of arrears; and so, give every man, by lot, as many acres as should answer the value of his demand." This was agreed to, and a survey and valuation of all Ireland was accordingly made. The best land was valued at only four shillings an acre, and some of it at only a penny.\* As much as 605,670 acres were returned as *unprofitable*: the distinction was merely arbitrary, for some of these lands returned as unprofitable, were in reality among the best in the kingdom. But by this means, they were obtained *gratis*, and of course the soldiers and adventurers of money did not find fault with the arrangement. The division then took place, the soldiers drawing lots in what part of the kingdom their portions should be assigned them.† Many immediately took possession of their lots; others re-sold them to the original proprietors for a trifling recompense; while others parted with them to their officers, who entered on their possession.‡

It is astonishing with what ease and quiet the national property changed its owners. The original proprietors of nearly three-fourths of Ireland were plundered of the possessions which had belonged to their families for centuries, and without ceremony taken possession of by adventurers and soldiers from England. The act was unquestionably one of atrocious spoliation, of unprincipled plunder, of barefaced robbery: strange that it should have been recognized as *lawful*, not only by the government of Cromwell, but by succeeding governments of the most opposite character! But, to do them justice, these soldiers and adventurers showed that they valued their possessions much more highly than their Anglo-Irish predecessors had done. They clung to them with extreme tenacity, and were on all occasions found ready to defend them with resolute firmness; whereas the Catholic aristocracy, most of whom they

\* Lord Antrim's estate, consisting of 107,611 acres, was allotted to Sir John Cretworthy (afterwards Lord Massareno) and a few others, in consideration of their adventures and pay, which did not in all exceed the sum of £7,000.—CARTE'S ORMOND, vol. II., p. 278.

† Forfeited lands were assigned to satisfy the arrears due to the English army; but this satisfaction was confined to those who had served from the arrival of Cromwell, in the year 1643. The distresses of those who had borne arms before this period were much more lamentable; but they were infected by a mixture of the ungodly and malignant, and no provision could now be obtained for them, except a small portion of lands in Wicklow, and the adjacent counties, not sufficient to discharge a fourth part of their arrears.—LELAND, vol. III., p. 396.

‡ The writer has frequently seen the muster rolls of the troops that have assigned their grants to their captains, gratuitously, or for a trifling recompense. Tradition, in many instances, records, that the officers married the heiresses of the estates which they had been granted. And this is not improbable; for so many of the nobility and gentry had either fallen in the war, or gone into exile, that the right of inheritance must, in countless instances, have vested in females.—TAYLOR'S Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. II., p. 61.

permanently superseded, resigned their country with extraordinary equanimity, and sought a refuge with their followers in foreign countries. The new proprietors immediately set about improving their possessions. "In less than two years after Lord Clanricarde left Ireland," says Clarendon, in his Autobiography, "the new government seemed to be perfectly established; inasmuch that there were many buildings erected for ornament as well as use; orderly and regular plantations of trees, fences, and enclosures, raised throughout the kingdom; purchases made from one to the other at very valuable rates; and jointures settled upon marriages; and all the conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles."\*

One of the most notable and monstrous parts of the scheme of the Commissioners was, the banishment and strict confinement of all the Irish who had forfeited one-third or two-thirds of their estates, together with all who survived of the Irish labouring classes, to the most barren, desolate, and mountainous regions of the province of Connaught. This part of the country had been almost depopulated by massacres and the plague together; it was comparatively an isolated district, being separated from the rest of Ireland by the broad and magnificent river Shannon, and on the other side being surrounded by the sea. Along the shore, and not reaching above four miles inwards, allotments of land were made to Cromwell's soldiers, after the same manner as in the other parts of the kingdom, the object being thus to cut off the Irish from communication with the sea, as the Shannon and the castles held by Cromwell's army cut them off from communication with the rest of Ireland. Within this barren and desolate region the remnant of the Irish people were now to be driven and cooped up. The native inhabitants, of all ages and sexes, the young, the aged, and the infirm, were ordered to repair thither, by the first day of March, 1654, *under the penalty of death*; and "all who after that time should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be *killed by any body who saw or met them*."† Commissioners were appointed to superintend this wholesale transportation of the Irish people beyond the Shannon; one court sat at Athlone, to determine the qualifications of Papist proprietors to their new lands; and, upon their decrees, another court sat at Loughrea, to arrange their transplantation.‡ Before entering on their new possessions, the Catholics were required to give releases of all their former rights and titles to the land which was taken

\* Life of Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 117-18. † Curry's Historical Review, p. 389.

‡ Father Walsh, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of these transplanted gentlemen, asserts, "that he knew some of those who had not ten pounds per annum assigned them in Connaught, whose proper estates at home, in their own countries, whence they had been removed, were worth a thousand a year. Others were transplanted, that got nothing at all."—CURRY'S HISTORICAL REVIEW, p. 390.

from them, and thus debar themselves and their heirs, for ever, from laying claim to their inheritance.

This barbarous and merciless scheme was for some time vigorously carried into effect. The people, without leaders, undisciplined, and spirit-broken, were compelled to submit to the hardest terms of their conquerors, they were hunted off their possessions, from their homes and their hearths, and banished into the wilds of Clare and Connaught. For a long time destitute of food and habitations, they there endured privations such as have rarely or never been inflicted on any other people. Thousands perished of cold and hunger, and many voluntarily rushed upon death to rid themselves of their fearful sufferings. Their chiefs also, were obliged to submit to the cruel terms of the parliament: they signed such conveyances and releases as were prepared for them, and were then settled upon the possessions of which their own countrymen had been plundered in order to make room for them, to suit the schemes of their common enemies. And thus was the plantation of Connaught effected, and the Irish proprietors\* banished beyond the Shannon,—the rest of Ireland, which was by far the most rich and fruitful, being almost exclusively abandoned to the English soldiers and adventurers.

But, however desirable it might be as regarded the security of the new settlers, thus to transport the native Irish to the wilds of Connaught, it was soon found a most unprofitable policy as regarded the cultivation of the estates which had newly come into the possession of the victors. They soon found their land to be utterly useless without labour; and as yet the English labourers who had settled in Ireland were comparatively few. Just as sugar planters in our own day have pleaded that their estates would be valueless without slaves, so did Cromwell's soldiers plead that their estates would be valueless without Irish. They were still needed, therefore, to cultivate the farms of their conquerors—to minister to their wants—to toil and sweat for them—and to die for them, when such a sacrifice was found wanting to their caprice. The project, therefore, of shutting up the miserable remnant of Irish who yet survived, in the wilds of Connaught, was soon abandoned; and the more wretched doom was reserved for them, of performing the office of bondsman and serfs for their task masters. And never were slaves more cruelly treated than these poor Irish bondsmen were. Regarded by their owners as an inferior race of beings, speaking another language, and professing a religion which their

\* These gentlemen (says a well-informed writer) were thus transplanted without cattle to stock that land, without seed to sow, or plough to manure it; without servants, without shelter, without house or cabin to dwell in, or defend them from the wolves, or from robbers, or from heat or cold, or other injuries of the air. And the miserable Irish, so transplanted, must not even in those small tracts allotted for them, within the narrow precincts of some parks in three or four counties of Connaught and Thomond, pitch in any place, or fix their dwelling-houses, or take any lands within two miles of the Shannon, four of the sea, and four of Galway, the only city within their precincts: they must not enter this town, or any other corporate or garrisoned place, without particular orders, at their peril, even of being taken by the throat.—WALSH'S *REPLY TO A PERSON OF QUALITY*, p. 145.

souls hated, there was not the slightest sympathy between the two classes, and no interchange of feeling save that of bitter contempt on the one hand and of dark revenge on the other. The possession of the conquered lands of the Irish proved indeed no peaceful tenure. The cruel slaughter by means of which their possessors had obtained them, often returned to their own hearths in the shape of stern murder and midnight incendiarism. Vengeance was indeed the only inheritance of those whom successful crime had deprived of both heritage and home.

The instances of cruelty committed on the Irish natives, as recorded by the Puritan writers themselves, are almost beyond belief. Wherever found lurking or hiding, they were killed on the spot. Sometimes they took refuge in caves of the earth, and if discovered by the soldiers, they were smoked out and slaughtered.\* The name of Irishman and rebel was held to be synonymous. But it was deemed worst and most unpardonable of all to be a Papist; then, woe to the unfortunate, who was at once knocked on the head as a wretch unworthy to live! The peasantry were strictly prohibited from attending mass, the celebration of which was a capital offence. They were strictly forbidden to leave their respective districts, under pain of death, without trial or any form of law. It was a capital offence for any four of them to meet together; and to have arms of any kind was high treason. To harbour, conceal, or have intercourse with priests,—or to meet them on the highways, or be acquainted with their lurking-places, without informing a magistrate,—were punishable with forfeiture of goods and chattels, imprisonment and whipping. When any robbery was committed on the masters, the effects of the unfortunate peasantry were chargeable with treble the amount, no matter by whom the robbery had been perpetrated.† By means such as these, existence was rendered so intolerable to the poor Irish, that death was often welcomed as a mercy. Life had no charms for them; and they became quite indifferent to its possession. Hence, on one occasion,

\* Ludlow, in his Memoirs, tells us that on one occasion he found some poor people retired within a hollow rock, "which (he says) was so thick, that he thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to reduce them by smoke. After some of his men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by fire placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire; and the next morning, supposing the Irish to be incapable of resistance by the smoke, some of them crawled into the rock; but one of the Irish, with a pistol, shot the first of his men, by which he found the smoke had not taken the desired effect; because, though a great smoke went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which he ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smoke to be made; and the fire was continued till about midnight, and then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for his men to enter next morning: at which time they went in armed with back, breast, and head-piece, found the man who had fired the pistol, dead, and put about fifteen to the sword; but brought out four or five alive, with priests' robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind (but no arms)." Such, says Dr. Curry, were the kind of enemies whose lives these gallant regicides were incessantly hunting after. A score of despoiled people, lurking in caverns from the fury of their pursuers, and furnished with but one pistol to guard the entrance of their hiding-place.

† For a more particular account of these infamous acts, see CLARENDON'S REBELLION, vol. iii., p. 43.

Ludlow mentions, that "being on his march, an advanced party found two of the rebels; one of whom, says he, was killed by the guard before I came up: the other was saved, and being brought before me, I asked him, 'if he had a mind to be hanged?' And he only answered, 'if you please.' So insensibly stupid, adds he, were many of these poor creatures."\*

The measures adopted by the Puritan government to extirpate the Catholic religion, were of the most atrocious kind. One of the first acts of the Commissioners was to publish a proclamation, ordering the act of the 27th of Elizabeth, to be most strictly put in execution. By that act, "every Romish priest, so found, was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until he was half-dead: then to have his head taken off, and his body cut in quarters; his bowels to be drawn out and burnt; and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place." By the same act, those who entertained a priest were to be punished by the confiscation of their goods and chattels, and the ignominious death of the gallows. Shortly after this edict was renewed, it was made a capital crime for any one even to know where a priest was hid and not inform the government. Even the private exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was made a capital crime; and an oath of abjuration of popery was required to be taken by all the inhabitants, under penalty of forfeiture of two-thirds of their goods and chattels in case of refusal. By an ordinance of parliament, passed in 1657, it was also ordered that all Catholic children attaining the age of twelve years, were to be educated in England, in the principles of the Protestant religion.\*

The most barbarous atrocities followed the promulgation of these orders by the government. Irresponsible authority—the liberty to act the tyrant—has never yet been placed within the reach of any class of men, that it has not been atrociously abused. Uncontrolled power steels the heart, and hardens the nature. It blunts the finer feelings and sensibilities, and withers up that "quality of mercy" which is one of the most beautiful attributes of our being. It gives the rein to lust, to rage, to cruelty, to passion, to horrid bigotry and prejudice. The example becomes contagious, and multitudes are infected with the same mad and unreasoning impulses. Charity, mercy, kindness, and all the virtues, are swept away in the torrent, and there only remains a wide waste of ruin and appalling desolation. What a horrible scene now presents itself in the history of Ireland! The religion of the people sentenced to extirpation; its teachers banished or doomed to execution wherever met with; its votaries punished with fine, and confiscation, and death. But tyranny, which is no less a curse to the tyrant than to his

\* Ludlow was mistaken; there was no stupidity here. Both the history and character of the Irish—their familiarity with the "*plurima moris imago*," and their careless contempt for it—were all expressed in the answer of this "rebel".—MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN ROCK, p. 98.

† For a detail of these several acts, see Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion, p. 706-8.

victim, kept the new conquerors of Ireland in a state of constant fear. They now lived in the midst of terror and alarm. Their own deeds of vengeance returned upon themselves. Their homes knew no peace, and their hearths no security. Theirs was the repose of the murderer who hears in every approaching footstep the sound of the officers of justice coming to arrest him. Their wickedness and cruelty thus proved their own avengers. And the truth of this maxim will in almost all such cases be found strictly correct, that when human policy fastens one end of its chain to the ankle of the slave, divine justice always winds its other end round the neck of the tyrant.

The Cromwellians threw themselves into the work of persecution with a fiendish enthusiasm. Catholic priests, whenever and wherever found, were hanged without mercy. The exhibitions of such atrocities about this period were almost of daily occurrence: to use the words of Morrison, a contemporary writer and eye witness of the events, "neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, or any other of the Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland, at that fatal juncture, by these savage Commissioners." Meanwhile the Catholic clergy, on whom sentence of banishment from the country had been pronounced, with the penalty of death if they remained,—continued, in spite of the dangers which they ran, to administer the consolations of religion to their miserable flocks. They betook themselves to the wild fastnesses of the mountains, and to the deserted bogs and wastes of the land, or, they hid themselves in dens and caves, from which they issued by night, or whenever the vigilance of their enemies had abated, to comfort their beloved congregations in their afflictions, to encourage them in their trials, and to proclaim to them, notwithstanding their persecution, 'good tidings of great joy'. The Cromwellians, enraged to learn that the "abominations of Popery" were still practised in the land, set on foot the most hideous means to trace the priests to their hiding places and put them to death. Blood-hounds, the very last device of human cruelty, were employed to track these devoted men to their haunts; and the sport of "priest-hunting" soon became a favourite with the zealous Protestants of Ireland.\* A reward of five pounds was also offered for the head of every priest,† the same sum being given for the head of every wolf; for at this period, Ireland was

\* During the latter part of the seventeenth, and the early part of the eighteenth century, priest-hunting was a favourite field sport in Ireland.—Dr. TAYLOR's *Civil Wars of Ireland*, vol. II., p. 62.

† The Athenians, we are told, encouraged the destruction of wolves by a similar reward (five drachmas); but it does not appear that these heathens bought up the heads of priests at the same rate—such zeal in the cause of religion being reserved for times of Christianity and Protestantism.—MOORE's *Memoirs of Captain Rock*, p. 99.

overrun with wolves, the effects of a reduced population, and of war, famine, and the plague.\*

We willingly turn from any further detail of these atrocities, to notice the progress of events in Ireland under the Protectorate; and now we come to a brief glimpse of sunshine, one of the very few to be met with in the History of Ireland. When Cromwell had assumed the supreme power, the Irish army were found among the most strenuous of his supporters. They had now secured large masses of property in Ireland chiefly through the instrumentality of their leader, and they looked to the firm establishment of his power as essential to the security of their new possessions. Ludlow, and a few more of the republican party, refused to acknowledge Cromwell's usurpation; but their resistance proved of no avail, for they were entirely unsupported. Shortly after this, Cromwell appointed his son Henry to the government of Ireland in place of Fleetwood, who was dismissed. All parties are singularly enough agreed that this administration of Henry Cromwell was one of the best that Ireland had ever known. He immediately checked the peculations of the commissioners; and remedied to a great extent the gross abuses which prevailed in the courts of law. He deplored the universal desolation, arising from the virulence of his countrymen, who had scarcely left a single house out of the walled towns undemolished.† He abated the rigour of persecution, and endeavoured to secure the affections of the people by wise and just laws. Impressed with a sense of the eminent natural advantages of Ireland, which he surveyed with his own eyes throughout almost its whole extent, he devised numerous beneficial plans for developing its great resources, but which, unfortunately, he had not the opportunity of completing. He took learning under his peculiar care; among his other munificent acts, he purchased with his own money the noble library of Bishop Usher, which he presented to the Trinity College, Dublin. Uninfected with the bigotry of the times, he endeavoured to subdue the zealotry of his soldiery, and to restore the public exercise of religion to some degree of decency. He established his authority so firmly in the hearts of the people, by his urbanity, kindness, and just and humane government, that when a petition was forwarded to Cromwell, by the officers of his own regiment against his administration, counter addresses were immediately transmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expressing their resolution of adhering to the protector against all those whose particular animosities endeavoured to re-embroil the public.‡ "Of his integrity and disinterestedness," says Dr. Curry, "he gave many signal proofs, during his administration; but none so signal, or indeed so unprecedented, as that which appeared at the conclusion of it. For upon his recall from

\* Clarendon's Rebellion, p. 706-8. † Leland. ‡ Ibid, vol. iii., p. 401.

Ireland, although he had held the government of that kingdom four years, he was not master of money enough, after all, to carry him back to England; and was, therefore, under the necessity to crave some from thence for that purpose."\*

At the very time when Ireland was beginning to settle down into peace and comparative prosperity under the able sway of Henry Cromwell, his father died, and again the country became the scene of turmoil and confusion. Richard Cromwell, who succeeded to the Protectorate, proved altogether unable to hold in command the stormy elements which his father had controlled with so much ease; and it was soon evident that the government was slipping through his fingers. The army became divided against itself; the parliament plotted against the protector, the presbyterians against the independents, and the whole frame of society threatened to become rent asunder. In the meantime, the parliamentary leaders in Ireland, foreseeing the speedy return of the Stuarts to power, made haste to offer their services to Charles, now in exile. Sir Charles Coote, who had hitherto been one of the most vehement opponents of the royal authority, took the lead in this negotiation. He was also joined by Lord Broghill, Sir Audley Mervin, Sir John Clotworthy, and others, all notorious for their hostility to the king in the course of the wars of the rebellion. Means were taken by the parliament, who were now also coquetting with Charles, to remove Henry Cromwell from the government of Ireland. They feared his popularity, and his power in the country; and imagined that he would endeavour to maintain his authority by force. Sir Hardress Waller was employed to seize the Castle of Dublin, which he did without the least resistance, Henry Cromwell quietly retiring to a house in the Phoenix Park.

After a series of plottings and schemings, the royalists openly shewed themselves, and made a vigorous attack on the parliamentary government. A party of them, under Lord Montgomery and others, seized the castle of Dublin, making prisoners of one of the Commissioners and two of his colleagues. Sir Charles Coote seized the town and fort of Galway, declaring for a free parliament, which, however, meant the restoral of the royal power. Collecting a considerable army, he next surprised Athlone; then marched to Dublin, and impeached Ludlow and the Commissioners, of high treason. The royalists in other places seized Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda; so that within a week the strongest places in Ireland had revolted to the side of the king. A council of officers now assumed the government of Ireland, and set the English Council of State at defiance. They besieged Sir Hardress Waller, who had again seized Dublin Castle, and after five days' resistance, took him prisoner and sent him to England. Loyalty now became the rage; the body of the nation caught



the flame, and emulation gradually increased among the leaders as to who should now, after so many years of disloyalty and rebellion, prove the most loyal and devoted subject. After a discussion in a convention and council of officers, held in Dublin, as to whether they should stipulate for a confirmation of the estates to the adventurers and soldiers, or submit all their interests implicitly to the king, the latter resolution was almost unanimously adopted. The king's declaration at Breda was now presented to the convention, and received with great demonstrations of joy. A present of twenty thousand pounds was voted to his Majesty, four thousand to the Duke of York, and two thousand to the Duke of Gloucester. Charles was also proclaimed in all the chief towns in Ireland; and an urgent invitation was sent to him to come to Ireland. But the revolution which was now taking place in England through the agency of General Monk, rendered this step unnecessary, enabled him, shortly after, to regain possession of the British throne; and on the 29th of May, Charles was publicly acknowledged King, and the British Commonwealth ceased to exist.

Before concluding our history of the Protectorate, it may not be uninteresting to mention that Cromwell was the first who projected the Union of the English and Irish legislatures. His 'Instrument of Government' required that a Parliament should be summoned for the three nations, to be thus united into one Commonwealth. The number of members chosen for Ireland was thirty. They were nominated and returned through the influence of the government; for in a time of military violence, crime, and outrage, popular election was entirely out of the question. At Cromwell's death, however, all these arrangements were thrown aside, and Charles entered upon an inheritance of political strife and social discord unsurpassed even in the history of unhappy Ireland itself.

## CHAPTER XX.

Expectations of the Catholics disappointed—Are excluded from the act of indemnity—The adventurers and soldiers of Cromwell confirmed in the possession of their estates—Cromwell's severe laws put in force against the Catholics—the loyalists treated as rebels, the rebels as loyalists—Great discontent of the Irish—Lord Roche—Colonel Costello's severe rebuke of Charles—Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland—Re-establishment of the Episcopalian religion—The Puritans become allied to the State church—Cruel decisions of the Commissioners—Confirmed by the Irish Parliament—Expostulation of the Catholics—The Doubling ordinance—The English council bribed—Gross impositions practised on the English government—Irish petitions rejected—A Protestant rebellion threatened—Acts of settlement and explanation.

It was but natural that those Catholics who had sacrificed themselves, their fortunes, and their estates, for the maintenance of the royal power in Ireland, should look to the king, on his restoration,

for some acknowledgment for their loyalty and devotedness to his service. They expected, at least, that the estates of which they had been plundered by the soldiers of Cromwell, on account of their attachment to the king's party, would be restored to them when that king again ascended his throne. They expected thanks, they expected gratitude, they expected justice. So confident were they of the restoration of their lost estates at the restoration of the monarchy, that many of them, even before the king had been proclaimed, reëntered upon their patrimonial inheritances, and expelled the Cromwellian intruders.

But the Catholics reckoned without their host, when they counted on royal gratitude. They forgot that justice and mercy have rarely a place in the cabinets of kings. But this they soon discovered to their cost, for they were again doomed to be sacrificed to the heartless selfishness of the Stuarts. Means were artfully taken to represent to Charles the dangerous state of the Irish, and that they were on the eve of another "rebellion"; and, without further consideration, he at once agreed to exclude the Irish from the general act of indemnity passed on his arrival. All who had aided in the late "rebellion"—that is, in the attempt to maintain Charles I. on his throne—were expressly excluded; and a proclamation was issued confirming all the confiscations of Cromwell, and coolly and unblushingly declaring the Irish Catholics and loyalists who had been excluded from their possessions to be "rebels," and that, having been conquered by his majesty's protestant subjects, their estates and possessions had now become vested in the crown! In the proclamation of the 5th of June, 1660, Charles said he held it to be "his duty to God, and the whole protestant interest, to command, publish and declare, that all Irish rebels, other than such as by articles had liberty to reside in his dominions, and had not forfeited the benefits thereof, that should resort to England or Ireland, should be forthwith apprehended and proceeded against as rebels and traitors; and that the adventurers, soldiers, and others, who were on the first of January last past in possession of any of the manors, castles, houses, or lands, of any of the said Irish rebels, should not be disturbed in their possessions, till either legally ejected by due course of law, or till his majesty, by the advice of parliament, had taken further order therein." By means such as these did usurpation become law, rebellion the constitution, and robbery justice.

At the same time, Charles ordered to be put in force the severe laws passed by the Cromwellians against the Irish. The ordinances issued against their quitting the respective districts into which they had been "planted," were rigidly enforced. They were not allowed to go from one province to another to transact business; the nobility and gentry were forbidden to meet together, their letters were intercepted, and many of them were thrown into prison. They were thus deprived of every opportunity of devising means

for their own protection, and for appointing agents to lay their just claims before the king. The puritans, however, and their descendants in Ireland, through whose instrumentality Charles I. had been dethroned and beheaded, were at once taken into favour by his restored son. Sir Charles Coote, under the title of Earl of Monrath, and Lord Broghill, under that of Earl of Orrery, were invested with the administration, and loaded with honours and affluence. Only the Marquis of Ormond, with a few of his friends, were excepted, though with the greatest difficulty, from the general sentence of denunciation passed upon the "rebels," in other words, the loyalists of Ireland. But Charles was now possessed by the idea that his interest lay in mollifying the republicans and puritans settled in Ireland, even though at the expense of his most ardent friends and supporters. The puritans, on the other hand, who had abandoned their notions of republicanism so soon as the property of others came into their hands, were now impressed with the idea that the sanction of the royal authority was necessary to their complete security in the enjoyment of their possessions. And hence the efforts which they and their leaders now made, to represent the Irish people as "rebels," and themselves as the only loyal and devoted supporters of the English government. On the other hand, Ormond endeavoured to persuade Charles, that the puritans had unconsciously done him a great service by establishing an "English interest" in Ireland, and thus carrying out the plantation schemes of his royal predecessors: it was averred that the new proprietors, would only be so much the more devoted to the interests of the monarch, as the retention of their property depended entirely on his sanction and support. Charles, thoroughly unprincipled like his father, resolved at once on sacrificing his friends, and purchasing with the property of which they had been plundered, the favour of his enemies.

As was to be expected, there was loudly expressed discontent at this infamous conduct on the part of Charles. There were still those about his court who had followed him into exile, and sacrificed their all for his sake,—who had even shared their pay with him, and endured poverty, that he might enjoy comparative abundance,—and who had returned with him to England, in the hope that at least they would be allowed to enjoy that which was their own, but had been wrung from them by violence and fraud. To give an instance, we may mention the case of Lord Roche, who, it will be remembered, raised a body of troops at his own expense, to attempt the relief of Clonmel, when besieged by Oliver Cromwell. After the war, he left Ireland with many other of the Irish nobility and gentry,—refusing the offer of "composition" which the parliament had proffered to him. He obtained a regiment in Flanders, and joyfully shared his pay with Charles, to support him in his exile. Roche was soon reduced to poverty by the sacrifices which he had made for his king; and was eventually obliged to dispose of his

commission, to pay his debts. In common with many others, in circumstances similar to his own, he was overjoyed at the restoration, and trusted at length to regain the property and honours of which he had been deprived in consequence of his devotion to his monarch. But Charles now "forgot" and "did not know" the friend of his adversity; and when he recalled to his mind circumstances which he *could not* forget, then Charles treated his supplications first with indifference and then with insulting levity. Roche was refused all aid from the heartless and frivolous monarch, and would have perished of want, but for the charity of the Duke of Ormond. On another occasion, Colonel Castelloe, who had sacrificed his entire fortune and estate in the king's service, thus addressed the ungrateful monarch, in reply to his customary taunt of insolent condolence:—"Please your majesty, I ask no compensation for my services and losses in your majesty's cause; I see that to your friends, and to my countrymen in particular, you give nothing; and that it is your enemies alone who receive favour and reward. For ten years' service, for many wounds, and for the total loss of my estates, I ask nothing; but, in the ardour of youth, and in the belief that I was asserting the sacred cause of liberty, I fought for one year, in the service of the usurper—*give me back such portion of my estates as that year's service entitles me to*!"

Urged by the pertinacity of his best friends, and perhaps stung by such bitter words as these, Charles at last resolved to take some steps towards satisfying the various claimants, and allaying the clashing interests among his Irish subjects. With this view various plans were proposed in the privy council, examined, and rejected. At length, the Earl of Orrery, Lord Broghill, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur Mervyn, brought forward an estimate of lands, which seemed, in theory, sufficient to reprise, or compensate, all the innocent or meritorious Irish, after confirming the adventurers and soldiers in their possessions. Charles eagerly embraced this plan, and his celebrated declaration for the Settlement of Ireland was immediately afterwards published. By that declaration, the adventurers and soldiers were all confirmed in the possession of their lands, with the exception of such as held lands which belonged to the church: officers who had served before June, 1649, were to receive lands in payment of their arrears, at the rate of 12s. 6d. in the pound; protestants, whose estates had been given to adventurers, were to be restored, and the adventurers remunerated for their outlay; innocent papists were to be restored in the same way, with the exception of those whose estates had lain within walled towns—in lieu of these, they were to be provided with estates of equivalent value in the neighbourhood; papists who had submitted to the peace of 1648, and taken lands in Connaught, were to be bound by that act; those who had served abroad under the king's ensign were to be restored to their estates, making the necessary recompense to the adventurers; thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry

were also named by the king as objects of his favour, and ordered to be restored to their estates on the same terms; extensive provisions were also made for the Duke of Ormond, Lord Inchiquin, the Duke of Albemarle (General Monk), and several others, who had large grants made to them of Irish estates. His majesty, for his own share, accepted, as a free gift from the soldiers and adventurers, half of their rent for two years, to be applied to his own service, and that of sufferers in his cause. This settlement was to be confirmed by a parliament, to be summoned without delay, and acts of oblivion and indemnity were then to be passed.

At the same time that this royal declaration was promulgated, twelve episcopalian bishops were publicly consecrated, and with such a display of ceremony as indicated a determination on the part of the government to maintain the Irish ecclesiastical establishment in all its power and uselessness. The puritans in the south, and the Scotch covenanters in Ulster, had laboured strenuously to effect the abolition of Prelacy, and to plant Independency and Presbyterianism in its place; and on the restoration of Charles, they petitioned to have their several forms of church government established. But the episcopalians, alarmed at these proceedings, exerted every influence with Ormond to counteract their plans. This zealous protestant, devoted to his party, took care to represent to Charles that episcopacy and the liturgy were as yet the legal establishment of Ireland; and he urged him at once to fill up the ecclesiastical preferments, and thus summarily put an end to the dispute. Charles took his advice, and the bishops were now consecrated with such pomp as to indicate a marked triumph over the puritanic party. But the latter, who were now in fear of losing their estates, were not disposed to be so squeamish about the establishment of episcopacy, as they were when they entered Ireland with merely their swords in their hands. Their rigid asceticism had now given way before the softening influence of property; and it was not long before they found that an alliance with the church was necessary for their interests,—accordingly, their dread of episcopacy soon disappeared, and a close alliance sprung up between them and the established sect, both joining in compelling the Irish peasantry to pay for the support of the state church.

The royal declaration caused great dissatisfaction among the Irish people. The protestant royalists saw the soldiers of Cromwell, the king's bitter enemies, preferred to themselves, and paid in full of all demands, while they received only a composition for their arrears. The catholics found that they were to be sacrificed on all hands to the interests of the protestants and puritans. They were not to be put in possession of their estates, till the occupiers of them had been reprimed,—a means of keeping most of them out of possession altogether. None were to be restored who had belonged to the royal party, or lived within the lines of the confederated Catholics, (into which, it will be remembered, many of the catholic

gentry were driven, on their forcible expulsion from Dublin by the lords-justices Parsons and Borlase), at or before the end of the year 1643; excepting only the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who had been forcibly expelled from these towns by the puritans. All who had been engaged in the confederacy before the peace of 1648, or had adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power, in opposition to the royal authority, were held to be excluded also from the terms of the declaration: all who derived their titles to their estates from persons guilty of these crimes—who claimed their property on the articles of peace, thus acknowledging a concurrence in the rebellion—who had sat in any council or assembly of the confederates previous to the period above named—who had employed agents to treat with foreign powers to bring troops into Ireland—who had harassed the country as Woodkerns or Tories\* before the departure of the Marquis of Clanricarde—were all to be considered as guilty of rebellion, and incapable of restitution. The monstrous injustice of these provisions must be obvious at a glance. They exhibit the loyalists as severely punished by the king for their loyalty, and rebels as richly rewarded for their rebellion.

The decisions of the commissioners appointed to carry the king's declaration into effect corresponded with their principles. They had all been prominent actors in the war against the royal authority, and entertained an inveterate party hatred of Catholicism. The streets of Dublin were now seen crowded with widows robbed of their jointures, and orphans of their birthrights; while valuable grants were made to party friends, without regard to character or decency. A parliament was next called, in 1661, to ratify the decisions: it consisted of 260 members, a large majority of whom belonged to the puritan party. The catholics were not only virtually excluded by their exclusion from their properties, but actually so by a vote of the house. They commenced their proceedings by a declaration requiring all persons to conform to the church-government and liturgy established by law; censuring at the same time their own "solemn league and covenant," and condemning their former oaths of association. The lower house also resolved, "that no members should be qualified to sit in that house, but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy." With the view, also, of banishing the catholic peers from the upper house, Primate Bramhall, the speaker, procured an order to be passed there, "that all the members should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper from his grace's own hands."† Thus, preparatory to performing the vilest acts of spoliation, nothing would serve the protestant

\* The meaning of this word in the original Irish is "robbers." The term was originally applied by the government to those independent guerilla parties who, driven out of house and home by the English armies, found shelter in the woods and wilds, from which they occasionally made predatory incursions on their English invaders. Since that time, the term "Tories" has got into more respectable society, though it still retains nearly its original meaning.

† These decisions were afterwards set aside by the English privy council and the lords-justices, as invasions of the royal prerogative.

party but the hypocritical performance of one of the most sacred ordinances of religion. After these preliminary measures for the exclusion of the catholics, the lower house next addressed the lords-justices to shut up the courts of law, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries, and to stop proceedings by ejectment, until their possessions should be placed by statute beyond the reach of the rightful proprietors; to which demand the lords-justices agreed. They lastly applied themselves to framing the Act of Settlement, according to the king's declaration and the decisions of the commissioners of claims.

These measures caused great dissatisfaction among the catholic body, and they endeavoured to avert the ruin which they saw impending over them. But the better to carry the act into effect, the house of commons, not satisfied with the advantages they already possessed, resolved to render the catholics as odious as possible, and thus obtain the sanction of the English government to their atrocious designs. With this view they hatched rumours of plots, conspiracies, and rebellions, among the Irish people,—rumours which generally took effect in England, and were made the pretence for repeated acts of coercion and injustice. Pretended discoveries of treasonable letters were made, and then proclamations were issued, condemning the “papists” to still more strict surveillance, and deprivation of rights and privileges, than before. By one of these proclamations, “all artificers and shopkeepers, who had been left in their habitations by the usurpers, at the time of the transplantation, were declared banished from Kilkenny and other great towns.” All such imputations of conspiracy were completely repudiated by the catholic body. The nobility and gentry drew up a strong remonstrance, which was presented to his majesty. The clergy also held a national synod in Dublin, at which a strong remonstrance, and declaration of ardent loyalty, was unanimously agreed to. This remonstrance, however, the Duke of Ormond (now lord-lieutenant) refused to accept, ordering the synod immediately to disperse.

Great difficulty was soon experienced in carrying the Act of Settlement into operation. It was found that the lords-justices had grossly abused their powers, by making extensive grants of estates to their own friends, many of whom had been formerly engaged in rebellion against the royal authority. The king himself had also made such extensive grants to his English and Irish favourites, that the order for reprising those catholic proprietors who had been divested of their lands, was absolutely impossible. The Earl of Kildare, a catholic nobleman of great influence, took the lead in the Irish house of peers, in the effort to obtain justice for the plundered catholics; and with this view he urged the enlargement of the fund for reprisals, insisting on a revocation of some of the most scandalous grants, and that some of the most pestilent enemies of the royal authority should be excluded from all advantages of the declaration

of settlement. It was also attempted to abridge the claims of the adventurers in another respect. According to the *Doubling Ordinance*, it was declared that whoever advanced one-fourth part more than the sum originally adventured, should have the whole doubled on account, and receive lands as if the whole doubled sum had been really paid: it also provided that if the adventurer refused to advance this fourth, any other person on paying it should reap the same advantage, deducting only the original sum paid by the first adventurer. Several of the quondam puritan lords, who had made their arrangements so as to derive great benefits from the ordinance, insisted on its being carried strictly into effect. Among these were Sir John Clotworthy, now Lord Massarene, who had purchased up many shares of the adventurers, and now hoped to reap the benefit of his deep-laid schemes: he urged that the king was bound by the terms of this agreement, and that the doubling ordinance must at once be carried into effect. Kildare and his friends opposed this, on the grounds that the ordinance had not the effect of an act of parliament; that the money raised through its means had been employed in paying troops to fight against the king; and that it was absurd, as well as grossly unjust, to sacrifice at least 142,000 acres, for which no equivalent had been received. These objections were approved by the house; after which the affair was laid before the king, who agreed that the adventurers should be satisfied only for the money they had really advanced, and no more. A bill, embodying these provisions, was at last agreed upon, and laid before the lords-justices; by whom it was transmitted to England, to receive the assent of the king and his council.

The scene of intrigue on Irish affairs now changed to London, whither accredited agents of both catholics and adventurers proceeded to plead the cause of their respective clients. The agents of the latter, however, went with much more formidable arguments than their opponents, as they took with them £30,000, to be expended in "judiciously" bribing the parties who could the best forward their cause. The Irish house of commons had also secured the favour of the Duke of Ormond, by voting to him a bribe to the same amount as above stated; and at the same time they calculated on the aid of the English people and parliament, now fiercely hostile to the Irish catholics, and inflamed against them to the greatest degree by the false and exaggerated statements published in England by the Cromwellian party. On the other hand, the catholic deputies, who had no money wherewith to bribe the government, trusted only to the honesty and justice of their cause, to the losses they had sustained in the public service, and their adherence to his majesty at a time of his deepest humiliation and abandonment. On grounds of justice, they also claimed the fulfilment of the articles of peace that had been agreed to in 1648. The king, whose time was now so completely taken up in libertinism and debauchery, that he had none to spare for the interests of his



subjects, endeavoured to get rid of their importunity. At the same time, the commissioners of the Irish parliament and council were so bent on the ruin of the catholics, that they scarcely hesitated to say that they would be satisfied with nothing short of their complete "eradication."\* The English parliament were also actuated by a hostility no less bigotted; and the English people regarded both the Irish and their religion† with extreme horror and aversion. To contend with these hostile influences, the poor Irish had neither money, nor friends at court, nor leaders of influence. The result was, that they were soon sacrificed to the stronger party. It is true, Ormond, who was known to be in the interest of the opposite party, offered his advice, and recommended the Irish catholics to approach the throne in a whining, supplicatory manner, and to "humbly" submit themselves to the royal mercy. The catholics, however, preferred to plead their cause on the grounds of justice, and its real merits. Ormond was offended at their non-compliance with his request, and at once withdrew from all negociation with them. The advocate whom they chose was Colonel Richard Talbot, a rising favourite with the king, but a man of violent and impetuous temper. He went to work more like a soldier than a diplomatist. Having gone to remonstrate with Ormond respecting his secret counsels to the king against the interests of the Irish catholics, he did so in such a "huffing" manner, that the duke construed it into a challenge, and went direct to his majesty, and asked "if it was his pleasure, at this time of day, that he should put off his doublet, to fight Dick Talbot?" The consequence of this representation was, that Talbot was sent to the Tower, though he was shortly after released upon his submission.

Charles now became annoyed at the pertinacity of the Irish commissioners. He had no intention of doing anything for them, and was ready to take the earliest opportunity of getting rid of them. Besides, he had already made large grants of the disputed estates to his venal and profligate creatures, which he was not now disposed to revoke: he had given 120,000 acres to his brother, the Duke of York, and also conferred large grants of land on the Duchess of

\* Lord Clarendon, in his *Life*, states that when the memorials of the catholics, in justification of their claims, were discussed before the English council, the commissioners from the Irish parliament who attended upon the occasion, however they differed about their private interests, all agreed in their implacable hatred to the Irish; "insomuch that they concurred in their desire that they might gain nothing by the king's return, but be kept with the same rigour and the same incapacity to do hurt, which they were then under. And though *eradication* was too foul a word to be uttered in the hearing of a Christian prince, yet it was little less or better that they proposed, in other words, and hoped to obtain."

† The following incident affords a rather singular illustration of the popular *furor* of this period. Nell Gwynne, one of King Charles's mistresses (and he had a great number of them, "supreme head of the church" though he was), on passing through Oxford in her coach, was insulted by the mob, who mistook her for the Duchess of Portsmouth, another mistress of the king, but who was a "papist," and therefore obnoxious to the public. Nell, with her usual good humour and effrontery, on finding the passage obstructed, coolly put her head out of the coach window, and said to the crowd, "Pray, good people, be civil; I am *the Protestant* woman!" This laconic speech, it is said, drew down on her the blessings of the populace, and she was at once allowed to proceed without further molestation.

Cleveland, one of his numerous mistresses,—as well as on various other of the noisome reptiles which now crawled about the precincts of the court. An opportunity was soon found for getting rid of the Irish petitioners; and Charles was not slow to take advantage of it, as the result proved. By some means or other, the protestant agents of the Irish parliament had got into their possession the original documents agreed to by the supreme council at the disastrous conferences at James'-town, by which their agents, the Bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunket, were commissioned to make a tender of the kingdom of Ireland to the pope, and if he refused to accept it, to any other catholic prince. Now it so happened, by an extraordinary coincidence, that the identical Sir Nicholas Plunket, one of those very agents, now stood before the king and the committee in the capacity of deputy for the Irish Catholics! His name was attached to the document, and he was at once asked "whether that was his signature and handwriting?" He acknowledged that it was; and the negotiation was immediately brought to an end. Charles affected the utmost indignation. He instantly ordered that no farther petition or address should be received from the Roman catholics of Ireland; and commanded that the Act of Settlement should immediately pass into law without any mitigation of its terms in reference to the innocency of the petitioners. The bill was accordingly finished, transmitted, and soon after passed by both houses of the Irish parliament; and the Duke of Ormond was sent over to Ireland, in great state, to see the national settlement carried into effect.

Great indignation was expressed throughout Ireland, on the provisions of the Act of Settlement being made known, and on the first decisions of the commissioners of claims being published. Singularly enough, the puritans were among the loudest in their condemnation of the government. The restoral of several of the Irish nobility and gentry to their estates was deemed an unpardonable concession to "the popish party." The refusal of the claims made by them on the strength of the "doubling ordinance," increased their discontent. The restoration of the church-lands was no less objectionable. And worse than all, many of the Irish who had been dispossessed by the Cromwellians of their estates, were found "innocent" by the English commissioners, and reinvested with their estates, without making any provision for the reprisal of those who were thus dispossessed. Out of the 4,000 claims put in, only 800 were examined, but of these a large proportion were found "innocent," and according to the act, were immediately to be reinvested with their estates. The old soldiers and adventurers were confounded by these decisions. The intelligence came upon them like a thunder-clap. They feared that the whole of their ill-gotten spoil was now to be wrested from their clutches; and without more ado, they determined to take up arms to resist the decrees and decisions of the government. A formidable

conspiracy was now entered into, ramifying throughout the whole country, to seize the castle of Dublin, upset the royal authority, and reëstablish the long parliament. A private committee of officers, among whom was the famous Colonel Blood, was appointed to conduct the rising, and one of those betrayed the whole scheme to Ormond. He ordered the principal conspirators to be apprehended, on the eve of the day on which Dublin castle was to be seized. About five-and-twenty of them were taken, and rewards offered for the apprehension of those who escaped. But the government was now too weak, and stood too much in awe of the still powerful Cromwellian party, to proceed with severity against them. Only a few of the more dangerous of the conspirators were condemned and executed; the rest received the king's pardon. We need scarcely say how different would have been the result had the conspirators been catholics instead of protestants.

All parties were now wearied out with the protracted discussion as to proprietorships of the Irish estates; and Charles, acting by the advice of his lieutenant Ormond, at length resolved to bring them to an end. We have already stated that of the 800 Irish catholics whose claims had been investigated, a very large proportion had been found innocent. Now, this would not at all suit the protestant or "English interest" party in Ireland; and it was therefore resolved at once to quash all farther investigation. The expedient hit upon was, that the court should sit only for a certain time, after which it should close, and should never again be reopened, whether the claims of the petitioners had been investigated or not. But this was not all. The famous, or rather infamous, Bill of Explanation, called *The Black Act* by the Irish, and *The Magna Charta of Irish Protestants* by the Cromwellian party, was next prepared under the eye of the viceroy, and subsequently enacted, by which all who, up to that time, had not been judged innocent, *were for ever to be debarred from any further claim*; adventurers and soldiers were to be confirmed in their possessions within two months; protestant officers serving before 1649 were to retain their lands where not already decreed away by the commissioners; and other arrangements were fixed upon, all equally favourable to the protestant English, and flagrantly unjust to the catholic Irish.

By this black act, which closed the settlement of Ireland, thousands of the most respectable and ancient families of Ireland were consigned to hopeless ruin and wretchedness. Three thousand two hundred claims, the investigation of which Charles had guaranteed according to his own Act of Settlement, were summarily got rid of; and the applicants were stripped of their property, without so much as the form of a trial. Their repeated applications for a hearing of their cause—a privilege granted to the meanest criminal—were pertinaciously refused by the monarch for whom they had sacrificed their all; while the men who had rebelled against his father, and resisted his own authority, were rewarded with at least two-thirds

of the best lands in Ireland; and thus they gained by rebellion, what the catholics lost by loyalty. The Irish families who were ruined by this act were among the most ancient in Ireland, and had held possession of their lands from time immemorial. The MacGuires, Mac Mahons, Mac Guinesses, Mac Carthys,\* O'Rourkes, O'Sullivan, O'Moores, O'Ferrals, O'Connors, and numbers more of the most ancient and noble families, were involved in one common ruin, and reduced to a level with the poorest peasant in the land.

The principal author and promoter of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, the Duke of Ormond, did not go without his reward. One hundred and thirty thousand acres were allotted to him as his share of the spoil, besides his estates of inheritance, discharged from all chiefries, leases, grants, or incumbrances; the Act of Settlement artfully annulling and making void all existing leases and incumbrances upon lands. The most instructive commentary upon Ormond's policy and management is the simple fact that his income at the commencement of the civil wars did not exceed £7,000 per annum; whereas at the close of them, after the lapse of ten or eleven years, by his accumulations of rapine during that period, his annual income amounted to upwards of £80,000, or more than eleven times the former amount. Of course the Irish people, in the bitterness of their hearts, cursed him as the author of much of their sufferings; and did not cease to reproach him for the iniquity and rapine of which he had been guilty. But Ormond, brooding over his heap of spoils, and basking in the sunshine of an abandoned and profligate court, heeded not their reproaches, but thought only of other means for still further coercing and oppressing the unfortunate Irish.

The part which Charles played throughout these transactions was even more heartless and infamous than was usual with that debauched and beastly monarch. He violated every promise which he had formerly made to his Irish subjects, and sacrificed them to those who had been the leaders of the rebellion against him. He granted large portions of the lands wrested from the rightful owners,

\* "The fate of the once formidable clan of the Mac Carthys," says Mrs. Hall, in her *IRELAND*, "is similar to that of nearly all the ancient families of Ireland: the descendants, in a direct line, may be often found working, as day-labourers, around the ruins of castles where their forefathers had ruled; and as, in many instances, a period of little more than a century and a half has passed between their grandeur and their degradation, it can excite no marvel if, at times, they indulge the idea, that what was swept from them by the strong hand of conquest, the eddy of events may bring back to them again. We have ourselves seen the legitimate heir of one of the ancient rulers and owners of West Carbery, pause, as he delved the soil, lean on his spade, and point to the mountains and the valleys stretching far as the eye could reach, and speak, as if they were still his own, of the wide district of which his great grandsire was the chief. The touching story which Mr. Crofton Croker tells of the representative of the MacCarthy (Muskerrey) family, may find its parallel in every barony in Ireland. The existing proprietor of a portion of these forfeited estates observed, one evening, in his demesne, an aged man stretched at the foot of an old tree, "sobbing as though his heart would break." On expressing sympathy, and inquiring the cause of such excessive sorrow, he received this answer,—"I am a Mac Carthy, once the possessor of that castle and these broad lands: this tree I planted, and I have returned to water it with my tears. Tomorrow I sail for Spain, where I have been an exile and an outlaw since the revolution. To-night, for the last time, I bid farewell to the place of my birth and the home of my ancestors."

to members of his own family, to his courtesans and his strumpets, and to numbers of the other nameless creatures that crawled about his court. He increased his own revenue from Ireland by above £80,000 per annum. Charles also put down the Irish parliament,—a thing that Cromwell had never attempted. No sooner had the act of settlement been consummated, than parliament was dissolved, and was not called together again for twenty-seven years after. Every vestige of representation was put an end to, and Charles and the English parliament thenceforward exercised a despotic and altogether irresponsible control over the kingdom of Ireland. But the venal and corrupt Irish parliament, chiefly composed as it was of protestant ascendancy men, had paved the way for this flagrant and unconstitutional usurpation; for they settled on Charles and his heirs and successors, a large hereditary revenue, thereby giving up the control over the public purse, and rendering the crown independent, and parliaments virtually unnecessary.

Well might Swift say that “loyalty is the foible of the Irish,” and Moore that it is “a superfluous luxury;” when, after all the iniquitous oppressions and cruelties inflicted on them by the Charleses, we still find them, of all other subjects of the British crown, the most devoted in their attachment to the infamous house of Stuart, and the readiest to shed their blood in defence of their hereditary right and privilege to oppress. “The stupidity of their attachment,” says an author, himself a catholic, “cannot be accounted for, unless by the force of an opinion, then and long after prevalent among them, that the hereditary right of kings was of divine origin, and consequently paramount to every rule of public and private right. It was their stupid attachment to the Stuarts that made popery and slavery synonymous terms, and heaped such a pile of misfortunes on this unhappy nation.”\*

## CHAPTER XXI.

England at the Restoration—The Commonwealth and the Monarchy contrasted—Distress in England—Fall in rents—The importation of Irish cattle prohibited—Absurd conduct of the English Parliament—Opposition to the measure—The consequences to Ireland prove beneficial—Free trade conceded—Irish prosperity—The Cabal—Ormond dismissed—Lord Roberts—Lord Berkeley’s administration—Favours the Catholics—Remonstrants and Anti-Remonstrants—Alarm of the—Protestant party—Berkeley dismissed—The Earl of Essex—Ormond again Lord Lieutenant—The Sham Popish Plots—Ormond’s conduct—Execution of the Archbishop of Ardagh—The Plot exploded—Death of Charles.

THE fever-flush of joy which followed the Restoration had scarcely subsided, ere the English people found themselves again the prey of a system of the most heartless and frivolous tyranny. The contrast between the stern and stoical government of the Puritans and the

\* O’Connor’s History of the Irish Catholics, p. 103.

scoffing, profligate, lewd, and libertine court of Charles II., was indeed great. Notwithstanding all their crimes and cruelties in Ireland, which we would be the last to palliate, it is not to be denied that the administration of affairs in England, under the Commonwealth, was such as had never been surpassed. The energy, vigour, and efficiency of the government, in the management of affairs both at home and abroad, was never more sensibly felt. The name of England, which before had been a byeword, now became renowned all over the globe. The policy of Cromwell was in almost every case successful. Justice had never been better administered since England was a nation, Religious liberty and freedom of discussion had never before been enjoyed in the same degree. How unfortunate it is for Cromwell's reputation, that he so grossly departed from this policy in Ireland, and chimed in with all the fierce and brutal prejudices of his age. But persecution was the rule with Ireland, from the beginning of England's dominion over it. Oppression was the hereditary treatment of the "mere Irish": they were looked upon as an "utterly irreclaimable" race, and their possessions were regarded by the English nation as a fair and legitimate spoil, which they were justified in doing with as best pleased them.

They who expected that Charles would improve upon the policy of his predecessors, were soon doomed to be disappointed. The Acts of Settlement and Explanation laid completely prostrate all hopes which the Irish people may up to that time have entertained of his justice and gratitude. In England, his conduct and policy presented a revolting contrast to those of his predecessor. Profligacy became fashionable, and the king took the lead in the race of lust and licentiousness. Vice became orthodox: while religion and virtue were scouted as low and vulgar things. The measures of government were regulated by the caresses of harlots and the jests of buffoons. The king and most of his courtiers lived in a state of ostentatious concubinage with women of the most abandoned character; Charles providing for his offspring of illegitimates by sundry grants of land in Ireland, by alienating the hereditary revenues of the crown, or by inventing new taxes and imposts, some of which continue down to the present day. The principles of liberty were made the scoff of libertines, whose knowledge was confined to the arts of sensuality and seduction. A blackguardism of feeling and manners pervaded the atmosphere of the court, which soon extended through all the upper ranks of society. The church itself became deeply tainted with all the vices of the age,—paying a not unworthy homage to its re-establisher, Charles, on whom it first bestowed the title of "religious and gracious"! With the restoration, the church took care also to restore persecution and intolerance. By its means numbers of the most industrious and wealthy English citizens were forced to emigrate to foreign parts, some to the Low Countries, and many more to the American colonies. These belonged to the

middle classes, among whom, as at present, the great strength of dissent lay. It was the middle classes—the merchants, yeomen, and smaller landowners of England—together with a very few members of the old aristocracy, who overthrew the royal power of Charles I.; and the same men were now equally opposed to the foul and wicked government of his son Charles II. The court and the church knew this; and hence their persecution of the middle class puritans of England, immediately after and long subsequent to the period of the restoration.

But the consequences of these measures of persecution soon returned upon the perpetrators themselves. For, by driving so many of the middle ranks out of the country, the chief portion of its active industry, and a large portion of its floating capital, were lost to England, and forced into foreign channels. At the same time that this loss was sustained, the disastrous war with Holland cut off a large source of employment for the British people: the plague also had paralyzed many of the sources of industry: added to which, the dissipation and gross extravagance of the court tended to drain the public exchequer, and to cause great embarrassment of the national finances. The distress soon became general among the people. All classes suffered: the working classes, for want of employment and food; the middle classes, for want of trade; and above all, the landlords, who suffered from the alarming *diminution of rents!* The two former classes might have suffered long enough, and no notice would have been taken of their sufferings; but no sooner were rents touched, and the aristocracy affected, than it was deemed necessary immediately to legislate upon the subject.

And it would appear that at this period as absurd notions of “protection” prevailed, as have since been recognized by the legislators of this country. The falling off in rents was, at the time of which we speak, almost unanimously attributed to the importation of Irish cattle!—though the annual value of all the cattle imported was far short of the alleged deficiency in the value of lands; and besides, far greater importations had taken place at former periods, without causing complaints, or leading to any diminution of the value of land. But the legislative wisdom showed itself above all reason, and resolved to pass an act, prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland. The common people, who were ready enough to chime in with their rulers, when a hard law was to be passed for Ireland, also joined in the outcry against Irish beef; perhaps seeing in it one of the means employed by the “man of sin” to insinuate “popery” into the British constitution. Petitions against the importation of the hated animals were poured into the house of commons in immense numbers; and at the parliament held at Oxford in the year 1665, a bill was brought in for the perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle from Ireland, dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean. About this time the Great Fire of London occurred, and much destitution and misery was the

consequence. When the news reached Ireland, great sympathy was expressed for the English sufferers; and it was resolved to raise a contribution for their relief. But, as the Irish had not money to give, they offered that which they had,—namely, a present of cattle. They proposed to send 30,000 fat beeves, for the aid of the Londoners. But this generous offer was only the cause of renewed clamour throughout England,—the people seeing in it only a wily attempt to evade the prohibition, and to insinuate their beef into the country under the pretext of charity and benevolence.

The Irish saw in the proposed measure the ruin of their only trade—that of provisions. All other branches of industry had been paralysed by the destructive civil war which had so long raged throughout the country. Their only remaining exports, therefore, were cattle and wool; and they feared that the consequences of stopping the trade in them would prove the ruin of Irish agriculture. The opponents of the measure in parliament, the most eminent among whom was Sir Heneage Finch, contended that the chief mischiefs of this measure would fall upon the English people themselves; inasmuch as they would diminish their own supply of food, which was the very first requisite of national prosperity and happiness. It was urged also, that they would inflict a serious blow upon their own industry, by putting an end to a trade which was doubly advantageous to England:—first, by increasing the quantity of food in the country, and next, by encouraging commerce and manufacture,—for, in return for provisions, cattle, and raw materials, every kind of English manufacture was reimported to Ireland. It was shown that, the industrious inhabitants of England being deprived of cheap food from Ireland, the cost of living would be higher, the price of labour would accordingly be augmented, and English manufactures would thus be rendered too dear to be exported; while Ireland would be compelled either to manufacture for herself, or to trade with other countries which imposed no such absurd restrictions on her industry. All these arguments, as old as common sense itself, failed to influence the English people or the English legislature; the northern and western members of the house of commons were, it is said, violently in favour of the prohibition; and commanding a majority of the house, the bill passed, and was sent up to the lords. Before, however, it could be passed into law, parliament was prorogued, and the measure was delayed till the next session. The Irish, meanwhile, bestired themselves to oppose the bill, and used all their influence with the king and the more influential members in the lords, to retard and defeat the measure. But in vain. On the meeting of parliament, it was re-introduced and passed by the house of commons, “in a rage of obstinacy,” as if to show the king, who opposed the bill, that they still held the upper-hand of him. They declared in the preamble to the bill, that the admission of Irish cattle to England was a



NUISANCE, which must at once be checked. The lords, on the measure being sent up to them, made a ludicrous attempt at "amendment"; inserting the words "detriment and mischief," instead of "nuisance." But the commons, on its being returned to them, insisted on their preamble, and refused to give it up. Lord Ashley, in order to compromise the matter, proposed, that instead of the importation being declared a nuisance, it might be declared a "felony," or a "premunire." Lord Clarendon suggested that it might with equal reason and justice be declared "*adultery*." These sapient suggestions were, however, disregarded: the bill passed; and thus, for the time, ended this war of Irish bulls.

But though great injury to Irish interests had at first been apprehended from this absurd and malicious measure, the issue proved that Ireland was a gainer instead of a loser by its enactment. For, shortly after the bill had passed, Charles, irritated into doing justice, issued an act of state, by which Free Trade was allowed between Ireland and all other countries, whether at war or peace with his majesty. He also permitted the Irish to retaliate on the Scotch, who, like their English brethren, had prohibited the importation of Irish corn, cattle, and beef,—by refusing admission to their manufactures of linen and woollen, as detrimental to the trade of Ireland. The Irish then directed their attention to the growth of home manufactures. In consequence of the prohibition laid by the English government upon the export of these prime articles of food, they possessed in greater abundance than usual this great raw material of all manufactured commodities. Many of the chief men of rank and influence in the country encouraged the growth of Irish manufactures, from motives of self-interest, if not from motives of patriotism. Ormond erected a woollen manufactory at Clonmel, the capital of Tipperary, and brought over from Canterbury 500 protestant Walloon families, to carry it on. He was induced to take this step, by the prohibition which had been laid by the English government on the exportation of wool; the Irish being forced, as it were, by this and other steps, to manufacture for themselves. Colonel Richard Lawrence, also, an ingenious projector, commenced a wool-combing and frieze manufactory at Carrick, another town belonging to the duke. The growth of flax and the linen trade also received a new impetus at this time. An immense number of families, skilled in the cultivation of flax, were brought from Brabant, in the Low Countries, and from Rochelle, and other parts of France. Manufacturing establishments of various kinds were thus fairly set on foot; and, under this system, Ireland, at all times full of vigour, soon began to bloom and prosper, and to recover rapidly from the devastating effects of the long and destructive civil war. Commerce again displayed her sails on the Irish shores, and the people began to entertain some hopes of happiness and comfort after all the fearful sufferings they had been compelled to endure. It may not be unprofitable here to remark, that a

the very time when Ireland was thus prospering under her system of free trade, the people of England, who had walled themselves round with monopoly, were loudly crying out "distress,"—the landlords complained, as before, of low rents,—and the commercial classes saw before them only repeated losses, defeat, bankruptcy, and ruin.

About this time, Ormond was called to England by the attempts of the infamous party known in history as the *Cabal*,\* whose object was to oust him from the government of Ireland, and Lord Clarendon from the Lord Chancellorship of England. Intrigue was now the great moving power in the state. The back-stairs of courts were the avenues to the highest offices in the kingdom; the favour of the king's mistresses determined the policy of the government; and the quarrels, intrigues, and plottings of despicable factions regulated the destinies of the millions of people constituting the British empire. The Cabal on this occasion succeeded in their designs, for, at their bidding, Charles, who, like his father, was alike ready to sacrifice friend and foe when it suited his own selfish purposes, summarily dismissed Ormond from the government of Ireland, and appointed Lord Robarts the lord privy seal in his stead. This nobleman proved useless alike to the Cabal, to the king, and to the Irish protestant faction; accordingly, he was soon dismissed, to make room for Lord Berkeley of Stratton, a creature of the Duke of Buckingham.

Lord Berkeley's appointment to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland gave great joy to the catholic party, but filled the protestants with dismay and alarm. Charles's strong bias towards catholicism was now well known, and it was generally understood that Berkeley had been promoted to his position of power and eminence through the influence of the catholic party. The design of erecting monarchical power in England, on the model framed by Laud and the first Charles, was, it seems, again to be attempted, and the way for this was to be paved in Ireland. Some of the most powerful members of the Catholic body accompanied Berkeley to the seat of the Irish government; and he had scarcely assumed the reins of office, before a toleration and latitude was permitted to the catholics such as had not been witnessed since the period of "the reformation." The penal statutes of Elizabeth were relaxed; and the public exercise of the catholic religion was allowed. Commissions of the peace were granted to many of the catholic gentry; catholics were also admitted to the corporations, and invested with various situations of trust, both civil and military. Berkeley also openly befriended the anti-remonstrant or high catholic party;† and

\* So called from the initial letters of the names of their five leaders,—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

† The *Remonstrants* and *Anti-Remonstrants* were the two great parties into which the Irish Catholics were about this time divided. The ground of their difference was as to the measure of obedience due by catholics to the civil power. It has been mentioned in a previous

showed great signs of favour to their leader, Peter Talbot, who had been created by the pope archbishop of Dublin. This prelate proposed to celebrate high mass in Dublin, in a style of extraordinary splendour; and for this purpose he publicly applied for the use of some hangings and plate which made part of the furniture of the castle. The articles were granted, and at the same time the secretary, Sir Ellis Leighton, was said to have expressed a wish that high mass might soon be publicly celebrated in the churches of the establishment.

These appearances of favoritism to the catholic party were calculated greatly to alarm the protestants, who may scarcely yet be said to have fairly settled down into the possession of their properties. They were still tormented by a sense of their insecurity, and stood in constant dread of an attempted resumption by the Irish of their forfeited estates. And it appears that by this time, the catholics, elated with the prospect before them, begun to entertain hopes of redress for the injuries which they had sustained at the restoration, and commissioned Talbot to take the necessary steps for laying their grievances before the king and parliament of England. A petition was forwarded to the king and council, setting forth that the petitioners had been dispossessed of their lands by the usurpers, for their loyalty; and praying for a review of the act of settlement. The protestant party were now thoroughly alarmed, and saw in this movement of the catholics a bold and dangerous design to overturn the entire settlement of Ireland. They acted with the utmost promptitude, spurred on by the fear of losing the estates with which they had just been invested. They petitioned the king and parliament to maintain the acts of settlement and explanation; and appealed to the English people against the designs of the catholic party. The appeal was at once responded to. Petitions poured into both houses of parliament. Agitation and complaint, the fear of royal tyranny, and an undefined horror of "Popery," pervaded the public mind. Ministers became alarmed; and, finding they had

chapter of the above history, that on the accession of Charles, a loyal remonstrance (drawn up by Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar) was presented to his majesty, signed by a large number of the Irish catholic clergy, nobility, and gentry, in which they acknowledged the king to be the supreme lord and rightful sovereign of Ireland, and that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, notwithstanding any pretension, sentence, or declaration, on the part of the pope or see of Rome; and, farther, they openly disclaimed "all foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty's person or government." The catholics who signed the document, and afterwards professed to abide by it, were known as the *remonstrant* party. On the other hand, there were the *anti-remonstrants*, headed by Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, who held that Walsh had only been made a dupe of, in getting up his remonstrance, to serve the protestant ascendancy. Besides this, it was understood that the high catholic party were strongly opposed to it, as not only disrespectful to the pope, but contrary to the fundamental principles of catholicism. The internuncio of the Roman see at Brussels condemned the doctrines in the remonstrance as schismatic, and declared that it would do more mischief to the church than any persecution which it had ever yet undergone. A majority of the Irish prelates concurred in these censures; and a fierce contest took place and long raged between the two parties of remonstrants and anti-remonstrants. It served the purposes of the government, as such discussions generally do; for, while they were splitting straws, the protestant ascendancy were taking care to keep both of them alike under foot.

allowed Berkeley to go too far, showed signs of retreat. They affected to condemn their lord-lieutenant, and shortly after removed him from the government, appointing the Earl of Essex in his place. The enquiry was thus superseded, and the emancipation of the catholic party summarily checked. Many of the favours granted to them by Lord Berkeley were now withdrawn; they were expelled the corporations, and protestants readmitted to their places. The Earl of Essex's administration passed without any occurrence worthy of remark. He had not been long in office when he became disgusted with his position, and solicited leave to resign. This was granted; when, to the surprise of all, the king again selected the Duke of Ormond, who had been living in disgrace about court, as his lord-lieutenant in Ireland.

Scarcely had Ormond been settled in his government, ere the astounding intelligence reached him of the discovery of an alarming "Popish Plot" by TITUS OATES. It was confidently asserted by the alleged discoverer, that a conspiracy was on foot to assassinate the king, and many men of rank and influence in the country, if they would not consent to the establishment of the Roman catholic religion; that the jesuits, who were plentifully supplied with money, were at the bottom of the plot, and had emissaries and agents in all parts of the kingdom; that these same jesuits had been the authors of the great fire of London, and were now concerting a plan for the burning of Westminster, Wapping, and all the ships in the river; and that the Pope, who claimed absolute possession of the kingdom, had already, by a recent bull, filled up all the bishoprics and dignities in the church, and appointed all his officers, ministers, and dignitaries of state. The plot was also said to extend to Ireland, that Ormond was to fall among the first victims, and that the leaders in Ireland were Peter Talbot, the catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Mountgarret, and Colonel Peppard. The alarm caused by the promulgation of these rumours was extreme. Terror seized the whole nation, and the whisper of reason was drowned in the hurricane of indignation that immediately broke out. At first, men walked the streets as if their steps were dogged by assassins; and turned a corner as if death lay in wait to seize them. Zealous protestants each deemed themselves marked for destruction by the Pope and his agents; and no one was so contemptible as not to conceive himself the object of assassination by the church of Rome. Arms were worn by all ranks, and secret armour by those who could afford it. At length indignation succeeded to terror, and nothing but blood would satisfy the public appetite. Oates having been rewarded with a pension of £1,200 a-year, and the trade of a protestant witness and discoverer of plots thus being proved to be a profitable one, more witnesses and discoverers made their appearance,—among whom were Bedloe, Dangerfield, Carstairs, and others. Seizures were made, and, urged on by popular frenzy, many were condemned to death, and executed, without delay.

More victims followed, and still more,—protestant pulpits keeping up the fierce flame of anti-popish zeal. Higher and higher game was flown at, and even the royal family itself was not safe from the public insanity.

The rage, as might be expected, extended to Ireland, where it was supposed the protestant population were in greater danger than in England,—constituting, as the Roman catholics did, nearly nine-tenths of the whole Irish population. Ormond, whether he believed in the plot or not, knew that at such a time he must take decided and active steps against the Catholics, if he would save himself from suspicion, and perhaps destruction. As it was avowed by the English discoverers of the plot, that the leaders of the threatened Irish insurrection were Peter Talbot, the catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Montgarret, and Colonel Peppard, Ormond, acting on the orders of the English council, immediately proceeded to apprehend these persons. Talbot was found at his brother's house, near Dublin, worn-out and dying, from a disease under which he had been labouring for two years past,—a most unlikely person to take the lead in a conspiracy against the government. Lord Mountgarret was found bed-ridden with age, and unable to don his own clothes. These two venerable "conspirators" were, however, seized and lodged in the castle of Dublin. As for Colonel Peppard, he could not be found, for the sufficient reason, that no such person existed. Ormond also proceeded to disarm the Irish catholics, organized a protestant militia, and put all the garrisons in a position of security from surprise or sudden attack. He also ordered that all known *tories*\* should be apprehended, and brought to justice; and that their relatives should be committed to prison and kept there, until the said *tories* were themselves taken and destroyed. The Roman catholic priests, also, were made amenable for the doings of these *tories*; for Ormond commanded that in any place where murders or robberies had been committed, the parish-priest was to be apprehended, committed to prison, and sentenced to transportation within fourteen days, unless the guilty persons were killed or taken! Catholics were also forbidden to enter the castle of Dublin or any other fort, without special permission from the authorities; fairs were ordered to be held outside the walls of towns, the peasants to attend them unarmed.

The English council were not satisfied with these measures: they were discontented with the peace of Ireland, and many there were who longed for another rebellion that they might increase their estates by new forfeitures. The protestant party therefore employed every means to lash the catholics into another revolt. The test act was ordered to be strictly enforced, catholic peers

\* These *tories*, or robbers, were the remains of the dispossessed inhabitants of Ulster and other parts of Ireland, many of whom had been engaged in the civil war, and, after being disbanded, having no houses to go to, lived by plunder. Their chief resorts were the mountains and bogs of Ulster and Connaught.

were expelled, by a new enactment, from the legislature\*, and Ormond was recommended to arrest all the nobility and gentry of Irish name, and to banish the catholic inhabitants from all the cities and walled towns. Ormond, however, refused to adopt these barbarous suggestions, though every method was secretly adopted to urge him into overt acts against the catholics. The English plotters were sorely discomfited at the fruitlessness of their labours as regarded Ireland; but as nothing but blood would suit them, they were still resolved not to be defrauded of their victims. They despatched emissaries throughout the country in search of informers and witnesses, and a proclamation was issued for encouraging all persons, "that could make any further discoveries of the horrid popish plot, to come in and declare the same." The example of the pensioned Oates was held out, and villains of every creed and class were invited into the same golden path of prosperity. A whole year had elapsed since the announcement of the plot before a single witness presented himself from Ireland, to give information of the conspiracy; but scarcely had this proclamation been issued than it took effect. Numbers of tories and other criminals, confined in the jails, now discovered that they had something to reveal on the subject: the loathsome objects were accordingly drawn forth from their dens, and sent over to England at the public expense, where, properly instructed by the contrivers of the plot, they gave such evidence as their paymasters required. It was upon the evidence of three of these suborned wretches that Archbishop Plunkett, the Roman catholic primate of Ireland, was apprehended, and, contrary to the laws of the realm, sent over to England to be tried. Of course he was found guilty, and condemned to death; though some difficulty was experienced in accomplishing his destruction, even by a protestant jury. He was hanged at Tyburn, and died solemnly professing his entire innocence to the last. Burnet, the protestant divine, describes the primate Plunkett, on the authority of the Earl of Essex, "as a wise and sober man, fond of living quietly and in due subjection to the government, without engaging in intrigues of state." There cannot now be the slightest question as to the entire innocence of the venerable archbishop.†

\* This disgraceful act was not repealed until the year 1829. The door of the house of commons was still more closely shut against the catholics: an act, passed in the preceding session (1677), imposing upon members the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against substantiation; thus it became the practice, as it had long been the principle, to exclude from the pale of the constitution all those who adhered to the ancient religion of the country.

† "Plunkett," says Bishop Burnet, "was at this time brought to his trial. Some lewd Irish priests, and others of that nation, hearing that England was then disposed to hearken to cooos swagmums, thought themselves well qualified for the employment; so they came over to swear that there was a great plot in Ireland. The witnesses were brutal and profligate men; yet the Earl of Shaftesbury cherished them much; they were examined by Parliament at Westminster, yet what they said was believed. Some of these priests had been censured by him, for their lewdness. Plunkett had nothing to say in his defence, but to deny all; so he was condemned, and suffered very decently, expressing himself in many particulars as became a bishop; he died denying everything that had been sworn against him.—BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIMES, vol. i. p. 230.

At last the anti-popish zeal began to subside, and the people by degrees returned to their senses. After a number of lives had been taken, they awoke from their frenzy, and found they had been made the dupes of a faction. The object of the cabal, at the head of which was Shaftesbury, was to effect a revolution in the government, and to exclude the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) from the throne. They imagined that the only means of accomplishing their object was by playing upon the anti-popish passions of the multitude; and hence their horrible concoction of the "plot," by which so many lives were sacrificed,—an instance of national bigotry, crime, insanity, and disgrace, which, perhaps, has not its parallel in the history of civilized nations. The knavery and villany of Oates\* and his accomplices were now discovered, and they were driven into disgrace. Charles and his brother turned upon the Shaftesbury party, and trod them down. The arts of the protestant party were now turned against themselves. A counter-plot, known as the Rye-house Plot, was invented by the king's party; and Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Baillie of Jerviswood, and other noble patriots, fell victims to it. Shaftesbury fled beyond seas, and died in misery and exile.

The cabal was now exploded, and the royal power again reigned supreme. The monarch was absolute, but, indolent and exhausted by excess, he resigned the powers of government into the hands of his brother James. This prince, who was an avowed Roman catholic, indulged hopes of the final ascendancy of his party, and was not disposed to scruple at the methods he employed to advance it. One of his first suggestions to the king, on his being entrusted with the reins of government, was, that means ought immediately to be taken to maintain the superiority he had acquired by the defeat of the conspirators against his power, and that, for this purpose, an Irish catholic army was indispensable. Charles hastily adopted the recommendation; and it was then resolved to remove the Duke of Ormond, who was firmly attached to the protestant cause, from the government of Ireland. The Earl of Rochester

\* **TITUS OATES** was the son of an anabaptist preacher, but on the restoration, he conformed to the church, got himself ordained a minister of the establishment, and obtained a miserable appointment as a country curate. While in this condition, he was twice convicted of perjury. He was afterwards chaplain on board of a man-of-war, whence he was expelled for an unnatural crime. He next went to the continent, and was admitted into the Jesuits' college at Valladolid; in Spain, from which, after the lapse of five months, he was disgracefully expelled. He next appeared as a mendicant at the gate of the Jesuits' college of St. Omer, where he was admitted, and entertained for some time, but was soon after expelled with shame. He then returned home without coat or cossack, and in this desperate state he commenced the trade of witnessing and plot-revealing. It turned out a most profitable affair; for he was immediately voted a pension of £1200 a year, and was splendidly lodged at Whitehall. On the accession of James II., Oates was convicted of perjury, and sentenced to the following hard punishment:—To pay a fine of 2,000 marks, to be stripped of his canonical habit, to be whipped twice in three days by the common hangman, and to stand in the pillory at Westminster-hall-gate and at the Royal Exchange,—and, moreover, to be pilloried five times every year, and to be imprisoned during life. The hangman did his duty with great rigour, and Oates bore his punishment with the serenity of a martyr. On the accession of William, he was released from durance vile, and a pension of £400 a year was conferred upon the ill-conditioned miscreant.

was named as his successor. Before, however, these designs could be carried into effect, Charles died, and left the vacant throne to his brother James, who was now enabled to carry his favourite schemes into effect—with what success, will be shown in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Accession of James II.—His despotic tendencies—Expectations of the Irish Catholics—Dismissal of Ormond—Lords-Justices Forbes and Boyle—The Monmouth Rebellion—Proceedings of the New Government—Earl of Clarendon appointed Lord Lieutenant—Favours granted to the Catholics—Alarm of the Protestant party—Recall of Clarendon—Earl of Tyrconnel appointed Lord-Deputy—His acts highly favourable to the Catholics—The Corporations and the University—Attempted overturn of the Act of Settlement—Affairs in England—James's despotic conduct—Excites the hostility of the Church—James grants a general Toleration—Servile conduct of the Dissenters—James's reckless acts—Trial and acquittal of the Bishops—Birth of a Prince—The Prince of Orange lands in England—Flight of James—The "Glorious Revolution."*

JAMES II. ascended the throne on the death of his brother Charles. The nation was in a critical state, and required delicate management: the protestant party especially, who were still exceedingly powerful, were greatly discontented with the policy of the court, and alarmed at the favours openly shown to the catholic body. The accession of James increased their fears, for he was an avowed and zealous catholic, and did not scruple to declare that his object was to establish that religion by the law of the land. On the first Sunday after his brother's funeral, he went to mass publicly with all the ensigns of royalty, ordering the chapel doors to be thrown wide open. Besides this open demonstration in favour of the old creed, James had also a disposition to stretch the royal prerogative in regard to points on which the nation was extremely sensitive: he ordered the levy of taxes without the sanction of parliament, and thus was guilty of the same acts of arbitrary power which had brought his father's head to the block. But James at this time calculated on the support of the French king, Louis XIV., whose degrading gold he was now receiving; for the English monarch and his courtiers were now, and for a long time had been, the pensioned slaves of a foreign prince! It was Louis' policy at this time to keep England weak, in order that he might be enabled to pursue his plans of European conquest unmolested. One of the first things that Louis did, after the accession of James, was to secure him by a bribe of 500,000 livres, which the slavish monarch accepted with tears of gratitude, assuring the French envoy that his trust, after God, was in the French king! Rochester also plainly told Barillon, that "Your master (Louis) must place mine (James) in a situation to be independent of parliaments"; and



James, shortly afterwards, renewed his applications for more money.

The people of Ireland regarded the accession of James to the throne with feelings of great hope and expectation. Now that a monarch of their own religious persuasion was king, the Irish catholics anticipated not only tranquillity and happiness, but also the redress of wrongs and grievances, restoration to the possessions of their fathers, and many other advantages desirable from having a king of their own way of thinking. On the other hand, the protestant party looked on the accession of a catholic king with very different feelings. They feared lest their estates should be taken from them, and restored to the catholics to whom they had formerly belonged. They had been in possession of them scarcely twenty years, and the feelings which prevailed at the settlement still remained as keen on both sides as ever. It is true most of the old Cromwellian warriors had now died out, or their spirits were broken down by old age and its infirmities; but their successors retained all the hate and fear, if they had not the courage and power of endurance, which distinguished the puritan invaders of Ireland.

One of the first steps which the new king adopted with regard to Ireland was to dismiss Ormond, who was regarded as a mortal enemy by the party in power. Two lords-justices were appointed in his stead—Forbes Earl of Granard, and Boyle the primate and chancellor of Ireland. The appointment gave great dissatisfaction to the protestants, inasmuch as the lords-justices were deemed hostile to the “true” protestant church. Their government, however, went on smoothly enough; and though the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth occurred during their administration,—a rebellion, the professed object of which was the maintenance of the protestant interests—there was not the slightest movement in Ireland in its favour. A general abhorrence of Monmouth’s attempt was expressed, and a resolution to support the reigning prince.

The cruel and brutal manner in which this futile rebellion was suppressed, tended in no small degree to alienate the affections of the English people from King James, and to pave the way for the accession of a protestant prince. The wholesale hangings of Judge Jefferies, and the inhuman butcheries of Kirke, struck the nation with horror. They saw the hand of government, and of the king, who *was* the government, in the bloody transaction, and their hearts drew back in allegiance from the author of this cruelty. There is little doubt that the execution of Monmouth made the protestants of England and Scotland turn their eyes henceforward to the Prince of Orange, as the only hope of their cause. James, however, was blind and reckless as he was bigotted and narrow-minded. He rushed on regardless of consequences, and with the confidence derived from his successful suppression of the rebellion, he proceeded

to act with the most self-willed obstinacy and despotism. In direct violation of the laws, he asserted a dispensing, suspending, and repealing power over all laws and acts of parliament whatsoever; and making the Test Act a mere dead letter, he forthwith suspended protestants from the highest civil and military offices, substituting catholics in their place. By means of *quo warranto* writs, the corporations throughout the kingdom were remodelled, in order that catholics might be admitted to them; and gentlemen of the same persuasion were made lieutenants of counties, sheriffs, and justices of the peace. In Scotland, the same course was pursued, and a fierce and bloody persecution was waged against the covenanters, because they dared to differ from his majesty in their notions on religious subjects.

In Ireland, the proceedings of James were of an equally reckless character, though they had in them a far greater show of justice. His first object was to disarm the militia, which consisted entirely of protestants, and had been embodied, armed, and disciplined, by the Duke of Ormond. It was with the greatest difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to yield up their arms in obedience to the king's proclamation; though at last they did so, at the urgent solicitation of the justices. The appointment of the Earl of Clarendon to the lord-lieutenancy, and of Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, to the command of the army, immediately followed this step. The catholics were now introduced to all high civil and military offices, while protestants were excluded, though not nearly to the same extent as catholics had been under former governments. Catholics were now promoted to the bench, and admitted to the privy council, in preference to protestants, who were discouraged. In all this there was nothing but what was fair and just, in a nation nine-tenths of which professed the catholic religion. The protestants, however, did not fail to denounce it as a monstrous grievance, because they had grown so accustomed to monopolize all places of power and profit, that they looked upon their privation of them as an act of public robbery and rank injustice.

The great fear, however, of the protestants was for their estates. They lived in constant dread of some change being made in the acts of settlement and explanation; though James had commanded Clarendon to declare, on his taking office, that his majesty had no intention of altering those acts of parliament. Petitions were, nevertheless, presented, desiring a general revisal of the outlawries occasioned by the "rebellion" of 1641. But Clarendon saw that these petitions, if entertained and granted, would only be regarded as the first step towards the subversion of the entire landed property of Ireland. They were accordingly refused; but the petitioners sent over deputations to the court at London, where they were received with great favour. This gave great alarm to the protestants in Ireland, many of whom sold off all their effects, and precipitately quitted the country. This terror was augmented

by the increasing hopes and confidence of the Irish in an entire reversal of the present system of things. Tyrconnel's changes in the army added to the protestant alarm on the one hand, and the catholic expectations on the other. The old officers, who were mostly zealous protestants, and many of them inheritors of the spirit of the commonwealth, were summarily dismissed, and catholic officers appointed in their place. Many of the old soldiers were also driven out of the ranks, as many as four thousand of them being stript of their uniforms and abandoned to misery and want. The officers flocked to the standard of the Prince of Orange, who was now organizing his army of invasion in the Low countries; while the dismissed privates waited their opportunity for joining the ranks of the same prince.

Clarendon was alarmed at the injudicious proceedings of Tyrconnel, and repeatedly remonstrated with him. But the latter had been invested with a power independent of the lord lieutenant, and accordingly he was enabled to proceed on his course unopposed. Clarendon's remonstrances with James himself produced no effect, unless that of hostility to Clarendon, who was soon after recalled from the Irish government. His departure from Dublin caused great alarm among the protestant party, and hundreds of families left the city on the same day, believing their lives and properties no longer safe under Irish administrations. Their alarm was not lessened when they heard that the Earl of Tyrconnel had been invested with the chief governorship of Ireland, with the title of lord-deputy. The new judicial appointments also were all catholics; only three protestants being left on the Irish bench. All this has been severely censured by protestant writers, who wilfully blind their eyes to the fact, that when the protestants had the power, they did not leave a single catholic in any position of influence, but excluded them in all cases with the utmost rigour.

Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, the new governor of Ireland, was a man of warm impulses, of ardent likings, and of as violent hates. He was a most decided character: impetuous and incautious, as the policy above noticed sufficiently shows; but devoted and determined in his support of the master he served. He was a native of Ireland, though descended from the old English of the pale, as his name bespeaks. He was but a child, living at Drogheda, when Cromwell took that town by assault; and he had been a witness to many of the horrors of the subsequent massacre. The event made a deep impression on his mind, which was never afterwards effaced: it gave him a horror of puritanism, with which he confounded protestantism of all kinds. After Ireland had been subdued by the Cromwellians, he followed the royal family to the continent, and entered into the service of Charles, who became much attached to him. His sprightly and vivacious manners, his passion for amour and intrigue, peculiarly recommended him to the exile monarch; and on Charles's restoration, he was one of the very

few who were held in remembrance, and rewarded by power and honours for their fidelity in adversity. Although regarded as the champion of the catholics, there is little reason to believe that his catholicism amounted to more than a mere profession of the faith. He was on the side of the catholics, because he was an Irishman, and because he detested puritanism: his profligate and immoral life, his profane and often indecent conversation, his seeming relish for court profligacy and intrigue, point him out as a man of the true cavalier breed—a zealous devotee of royalty, and as zealous a hater of the “crop-eared” fanaticism of that age of extremes both in politics and religion.

One of the first acts of Tyrconnel was, to remodel the corporations of the kingdom: they were forced to surrender their charters, and a new arrangement was made, by which it was provided that those bodies should consist, for the future, of two-thirds catholics and one-third protestants; an improvement certainly upon the preceding arrangement, by which protestants claimed the *exclusive* power, though still an arbitrary and illegal act, indefensible on the sound principles of civil and religious liberty. The attempt was next made to introduce catholics into the University of Dublin, causing great alarm within the walls of that venerable seminary of protestant exclusiveness. A quarrel took place between Tyrconnel and the heads of colleges, on account of the latter attempting to sell the college plate to prevent its being seized by the government. In this struggle Tyrconnel was baffled, and punished the university by immediately stopping the pension annually paid to it by the state.

The revenue was now falling off rapidly, in consequence of the disturbed state of society and the suspension of most industrial pursuits. Complaints were forwarded to the English government on the subject; and Tyrconnel was censured by many as the cause of the retrograde condition of affairs. The tone of complaint was taken up by some of the English ministers themselves,—Lord Bellasis, a catholic peer and leading member of James’s ministry, declaring that Tyrconnel was “madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms.” In consequence of these complaints, the lord-deputy obtained permission to wait upon his royal master, then on his progress at the city of Chester. Judge Rice accompanied him, and so represented the state of affairs in Ireland, that Tyrconnel was at once recommitted to his government, with new honours.

The next effort of Tyrconnel was the most alarming of all to the protestants. It was neither more nor less than a bill whose tendency was to overturn the act of settlement and explanation, and thus to alter the proprietorship of almost all the land in Ireland. The declared object of the measure was “to indemnify those catholics who had been declared innocent by the court of claims, and to provide that a new commission should issue for the hearing of such claims as had not been hitherto heard, for want of time or other

cause, without fault of the parties." A deputation was sent over to England, to urge this bill upon the government, and, if possible, to obtain their consent to its enactment. James regarded the deputation with favour, but the English ministers were alarmed, and lay in wait for an opportunity of rejecting it. This was soon afforded them, in the conduct of Nugent, the lord chief justice, whose foolish advocacy of the measure completely neutralized the able pleadings of Judge Rice, his colleague. The council, seizing the opportunity, rejected the bill, and it was at once quashed. Probably the council were urged to this step also, by the great unpopularity of the proposed measure in London. The Irish deputies were everywhere hooted and insulted in public. When they appeared, the populace attended them with potatoes stuck upon the tops of poles, and shouting, "Room for the Irish ambassadors!" The deputation returned to Dublin, and the disappointment of the Irish at their ill-success may easily be imagined.

While such was the distracted condition of Ireland, affairs in England were rapidly verging towards another revolution. James was now carrying his despotism in the affairs of both church and state with a high hand. In his proclamations he boldly made assertions of his "absolute power," and seemed resolved to put down every shadow of responsible government in Britain. He was also bent on carrying out his notions as to the spiritual supremacy of catholicism in the state. To this he was encouraged by the obsequious and slavish conduct of the established clergy themselves, who asserted the cowardly doctrine of non-resistance to the royal power, no matter how mad and despotic; and denounced as "blasphemous and heretical" every principle on which any government short of royal absolutism could be established. The attempt of James to obtain the control of the seminaries and schools of learning, with the view of filling them with catholic teachers and professors, roused even these servile adulators of monarchy to something like active resistance. On James ordering the college of Oxford to elect Bishop Parker to the mastership of Magdalen, they refused, even though the order came from the lips of one whom but a short time before they had characterised as "the Lord's anointed," whom it was "heretical and blasphemous" to disobey. James insisted, and the college resisted, and the issue was, that the refractory collegians were expelled from their places to make way for the king's creatures, and were at once thrown into the ranks of those hostile to the royal authority. James's continued attacks in the same quarter and for the same purpose, soon had the effect of uniting against him the high church, or, as it was now called, the Tory party, and of thus reinforcing the presbyterian and puritan, or Whig interest, which now looked to William, Prince of Orange, as the great hope of the British nation.

In the midst of this contention, James issued a singular and seemingly inexplicable proclamation,—namely, one in favour of

equal indulgence and toleration of all religious sects ! The manner in which this declaration was issued showed the despot ; for it was done without the advice of parliament—that published in Edinburgh running in the following absolute style :—“ We, by our *sovereign authority, royal prerogative, and absolute power*, do hereby give and grant our royal toleration.” And then it went on to state that the king did “*allow and tolerate moderate presbyterians*” to worship in their private houses, and to hear such ministers as had accepted of the king’s indulgences ; at the same time stopping, suspending, and disabling all laws or acts of parliament which had been made or executed against Roman catholics,—declaring them to be henceforward “free to exercise their religion and to enjoy all.” The manner in which this “declaration for liberty of conscience” was issued, shows that James had not all of a sudden changed his principles and thrown off his despot skin, but that he had merely assumed the new garb to suit his own purposes. The principle of despotism is always involved in such acts of “toleration.” Man “tolerates” his brother man to worship the Maker of all !—places himself between his fellows and their God !—“tolerating” them to offer up their worship, and by the same act blasphemously “tolerating” the Almighty to receive it ! Toleration is indeed only another name for intolerance : both are alike despotisms, though the former attempts to conceal the nature of the tiger under the clothing of the sheep. The right to *withhold* liberty of conscience and to *grant* liberty of conscience, are both founded on tyranny. Human nature and human intellect spurn alike the despotism that prohibits and the despotism that tolerates religion. Worship is like the air we breathe : it must be *free*, or we die.

The protestant dissenters looked with great suspicion on James’s proclamation of toleration. They rejected the boon as “a snare,” and though they loved “toleration” themselves, they would rather not have it, than that “papists” should be admitted to the same privilege with themselves ! They now prepared to stand by the threatened episcopal church, which they had just before been reviling with all their might, and threw themselves into the ranks of opposition to the king, whom they had previously been beslaving with their servile addresses and congratulations. The English dissenters of James’s reign had sunk into a mean and factious pack, utterly devoid of spirit and courage : “they were loud (says Taylor) in proclaiming the slavish doctrine of unconditional obedience to the mandates of the sovereign, and their addresses on the accession of James could not be exceeded in servility by that of the meanest slaves that ever grovelled at the feet of an eastern despot.”\*

James now proceeded with headlong haste in his attempts to establish arbitrary power. The parliament, which had been kept

\* Taylor’s Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 115.

from meeting by repeated prorogations, was absolutely dissolved; the liberty of the press was completely extinguished; and both the legislative and executive authority of the country now centred in the sovereign. Catholics were promoted to high offices in the state; catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the chapel royal; and catholic priests thronged the court and its purlieus in the habits of their order. The English bishops and the church, who had supported James in all his projects of despotism, had he not trenched upon their powers and temporalities, now took the lead in the war against him. The spark which fired the train was James's new Declaration of Indulgence, which he ordered to be read in all the churches. The majority of the clergy *refused* to read the declaration. Six of the bishops took their side, and presented a petition to the king, setting forth the unconstitutional nature of the act, inasmuch as it had not been "considered and settled *in parliament and convocation*." James was enraged at their opposition, and scolded them as having raised "the standard of rebellion" against him, and declared that their petition "was the most seditious paper that ever was penned." The bishops, nevertheless, persisted in their course: and the great body of the clergy and the people supported them. They were sent to the Tower, and episcopacy, for the first time, became popular. It was regarded as a persecuted religion, and its bishops as persecuted men. The bishops were shortly afterwards tried, and acquitted, amid the enthusiastic joy of the populace. James was reviewing his army at Honslow Heath, on the morning of the trial and acquittal of the bishops, when suddenly an immense noise, like the roaring of a distant cataract, rose from the vast city, soon rolled on to the camp, and was echoed back by what seemed a universal shout. James, it is said, was startled, and asked Lord Feversham the meaning of the noise. The general replied that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting for the acquittal of the bishops. "And call you that nothing?" said James,—“but so much the worse for them.”\*

In the midst of these noisy contentions, a prince was born, and great was the joy of the catholic party at the event, as it seemed to promise permanency and security to the Stuart dynasty. The joy was excessive in Dublin, where the mayor even committed the officers of Christ church to gaol, because "their bells did not ring merrily enough" on the occasion; but in London, where the mayor was enjoined to provide bonfires, the populace would not rejoice, and accordingly bonfires were not forthcoming. The English people would not acknowledge the young prince to be the *bona fide* child of the queen: they maintained that it was an imposture, and had been introduced into the queen's bed in the interior of a warming-pan! All this, no doubt, was merely the contrivance of disappointed faction, which, in such cases, does not stick at

\* Pictorial History of England, vol. iii., p. 793.

expedients to accomplish its objects. Certainly, however, the circumstances of the child's birth accelerated the progress of events, and precipitated the downfall of the Stuarts. Now that the protestant party, including both of the factions now known as whig and tory, saw that there was a chance of a Stuart succession to the throne, they hastened on the negotiations with William, Prince of Orange, and a large number of the leading noblemen and gentlemen in the country invited him to come over with an armed force, to redress the grievances of the nation. James was early warned of his danger, but adopted no means to avert it. Tyrconnel received notice of the design from Amsterdam, and immediately communicated it to his master. But James and his ministers treated the message with ridicule : so little did they know of the dangers that were impending over them ! At length the truth came upon James like a thunder-clap, and he was struck powerless with despair. It is said that when Louis XIV. imparted to him positive intelligence about the intended invasion, the contemptible tyrant turned pale and stood motionless ; the letter dropt from his hands and womanly tears from his eyes. Louis offered the aid of French ships and French troops, which James at first refused ; but no sooner had he done so, than he repented, and Louis was secretly implored to keep a fleet and army ready for him at Brest. Shortly after, the Prince of Orange reached the English coast, and landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688, on the auspicious anniversary of the "gunpowder plot."

William, on landing, immediately marched to Exeter. He had with him about 15,000 men, of whom 2,000 were English, Scotch, and Irish protestants, who had been serving with him on the continent. At first, few of the people joined William's standard, and he seemed disheartened for want of success. He continued for a week to remain close to his fleet ; and it was understood that he meditated returning, threatening at the same time that he would publish the names of all those who had invited him over, as a reward for their treachery and cowardice. By degrees, however, accessions came dropping in. Lord Colchester was the first who openly deserted, with a few of the men under his command. Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, next came over, his soldiers at first refusing to follow him, though the greater part of them afterwards deserted with their master. Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, one of Charles the Second's illegitimates, next deserted ; and now that the tide had set in, numbers more followed. James set out for his head-quarters, at Salisbury ; but, meeting signs of disaffection wherever he appeared, he lost heart, and retraced his steps towards the metropolis. The poor trembling monarch now became an object of pity. He was deserted by his nearest relatives, and by 'friends' whom he had raised from obscurity to affluence. His own daughter Anne, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, fled from him in the night, to the quarters of the Prince



of Orange. James, on being told of their flight, in a paroxysm of grief exclaimed, with tears, "God help me! my very children have forsaken me!" The stupified king next betook himself to flight, but was seized at the Isle of Sheppey, as a fugitive Jesuit, and shortly after, he returned to London, which he entered amid the smoke of burning "popish" chapels. Four battalions of Dutch guards were set to watch the king, and he got frequent hints that his absence would be very acceptable. He professed an inclination to go to Rochester, and he was immediately shipped for Gravesend, whither he was conveyed to Rochester, where he remained for four days, watched or rather dogged by Dutch troops. At length he took leave of that place, dropped down the river in a boat, attended by a few of his remaining friends, and gaining a fishing smack hired for the voyage, he set sail for France, which he reached on the 25th of December. Thus was England delivered from the perverse and tyrannical race of the Stuarts, and thus was accomplished the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

But, indeed, the revolution of 1688 was anything but "glorious." Its history is one of baseness, cowardice, and treachery throughout. We find the aristocracy, almost in a body, deserting the prince to whom they had sworn allegiance: colonels deserting to the foreign invaders with their troops, though, owing to the greater faithfulness of the privates, they not unfrequently refused to follow their masters. Almost all the principal officers in the army and navy had been in the receipt of bribes from the Prince of Orange's agents. All parties practised lying and deception as a cloak for their baseness and treachery. On no side was there a particle of honour, principle, or spirit. The whig and tory aristocracy, who had invited William to invade the country, were afraid to join him on his arrival; and the adventurer was enabled to succeed only through the cowardice and spiritlessness of the reigning monarch. The instances of unnatural and heartless desertion of the monarch in his hour of trial, are too numerous to mention. That of the king's two daughters, Mary and Anne, exhibited an instance of filial ingratitude such as the world has rarely witnessed.

The design of William himself does not from the first appear very obvious. Certainly they who invited him to England did not seem to anticipate his elevation to the throne; nor is it probable that he himself calculated on such a result. His course of procedure seemed to be that of a clever, unscrupulous man, who was resolved to make the best use he could of the distracted condition of the British empire. Tempted by the prospect of the crown, which he saw within his reach, he did not scruple at the means he employed to secure it for himself; while, by a mixture of craft and violence, he drove the reigning monarch into exile. As for the aristocracy, who effected the revolution, they all seem to have acted without the slightest regard to principle. But they had William's Dutch guards at their command; and after James had been driven

away, they proclaimed his throne empty, without even the form of a trial, and soon after they voted the foreign prince into the empty seat. The Tories, who had joined in the invitation, withdrew in alarm, and it was accordingly left to the Whigs to complete the "glorious revolution."

The Whig and Tory aristocrats took care to turn the event to their own advantage. They then laid the foundation of that monopolizing power which has lain so heavy on this country ever since. It is true they curtailed the power of the monarch; but all the power of which they deprived him, they retained in their own hands. The revolution was one mainly for the benefit of the aristocracy. William got a good slice of the cake, and they divided the rest among themselves. The political and religious tyranny of the Stuarts was, it is true, put an end to—namely, governing without parliaments, levying taxes without the usual forms of voting them by the house of commons, and forcing the people to join in a system of religion to which they could not conscientiously give their assent. But the great defect of the revolution was, that it kept all political power as much out of the hands of the people as before, and left the power of governing in the hands of an exclusive class, whose interests were diametrically opposed to those of the industrious portion of the community. The tyranny of the crown was checked; but the tyranny of the aristocracy reared itself in its place. The government was still irresponsible to the mass of the people: taxes were still levied without the consent of the nation: the community had still no security against the wanton abuse of power by the ruling few. The king could no longer victimize the nation; but the united aristocracy of Whigs and Tories could do so whenever they chose. In short, the despotism of One was now at an end; but it had extended itself into a despotism of hundreds. Monarchy in England was henceforward a cypher; but aristocracy was politically omnipotent. The revolution of 1688, therefore, may have been a "glorious" one to the Whig and Tory aristocracy; but it certainly was not so to either the English, Scotch, or Irish people.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

*The Revolution of 1688—Its consequences to England and Ireland—Excitement in Ireland—Panic of the Protestants—Derry shuts its gates on the Highlanders—Schemes of Tyrconnel—King James lands at Kinsale—His measures of Government—Siege of Londonderry—Brave defence of the Citizens—Cruel threat of General Rosen—The Garrison relieved, and the Siege raised—The Enniskilleners—King James's Irish Parliament—Its acts—James's absolutism—Administration of Justice—Military affairs.*

The revolution of 1688 was of a very different import to Ireland, from what it was to the people of Britain. Though the expulsion

of James from the English throne was justified on the ground of *constitutional* right and privilege, Ireland felt that she had no interest in the transaction. What was the English constitution to Ireland? It was associated with crime, and oppression, and confiscation. It was a cruel and relentless enemy; and as it grew in strength and vigour, Ireland knew the change only by its increased energy in persecution. While successive revolutions, in which the best blood of England had been freely shed, had endeared the constitution to the Englishman, and made him cling to it with an honour and a pride,—the Irishman hated it as his unceasing enemy and oppressor. What were the privileges of parliament to Ireland? Ireland had no representatives; its parliament was a name—a mere close corporation of aristocracy, and even those were overruled by the English parliament, which invariably legislated for Ireland in a spirit of hostility and rancour. And if the British constitution had no claims on the Irishman's support, the protestant religion had still less. Protestantism was associated in the mind of almost every Irishman with rapine and murder and sacrilege—with ruined homes and desecrated altars—with savage persecution for conscience sake—with a whole century of ruin and strife, of oppression and insult, of confiscation and massacre. It was not, therefore, to be expected that Ireland should hail the revolution of '88, for the maintainance of constitutional principles and the defence of the protestant religion, with feelings at all akin to those with which it was regarded by the mass of the English and Scotch natives.

It must also be borne in mind that James was one of the first English monarchs that conceded anything like religious liberty to the Irish people. He had granted a relaxation of the penal laws, which had before been kept in constant operation against them. He had thrown open the bench, the bar, the corporations, the army, and all posts of honour and emolument, to the honourable competition of the Roman catholics. Though the advancement of catholics to high office in the state was considered a great grievance in England, it was not so in Ireland: but rather a public recognition of the equality of catholics with protestants in the eye of the law, and a mark of public respect paid to the religious belief of the great majority of the people. Ireland experienced none of James's attempts at despotism, as England had done: James had done nothing to forfeit the allegiance of the Irish, but, on the contrary, had done a great deal, which no English monarch had ever done before, to attach them firmly to his interests. But James was expelled by the English parliament, and a foreign prince taken in his place. No notification of this change was made to the Irish nation. And were they, therefore, because the English parliament, which had ever oppressed them, chose to change their king,—were they to prove faithless to the monarch who had done so much for them, and in a fit of caprice, or with the submission of slaves, to bestow their allegiance on a foreign prince, whom they had been

led to regard as a usurper? Were they, when James at last threw himself upon their faith and loyalty for protection, to reject him as a pretender? No! They would have been less than men, if they had done this. So they rose in arms to resist the revolution, and in defence of their lawful king. Again they acted the part of loyal and faithful subjects, and again were they doomed to be sacrificed for their loyalty and their faithfulness.\*

We now retrace our steps for a little, and again take up the thread of our history. The alarm of all parties in Ireland was very great, on the arrival of the intelligence that James had fled, and that William was likely to be raised to the vacant throne. The protestants feared the loss of their properties, while the catholics dreaded that they would again be plunged into the horrors of a civil war. Meanwhile, Tyrconnel acted with great policy. He strengthened and organized his forces, which were almost exclusively catholic, and kept the protestants in play, by pretending to negotiate with the Prince of Orange. The alarm of the protestants, however, were suddenly raised almost to a pitch of phrenzy, by the artful propagation and extensive publication of a report that a general rising of the Irish was intended, and that an indiscriminate massacre of the protestants would take place, on a certain day. The utmost consternation immediately prevailed, and crowds of men, women, and children, rushed to the shore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Irish. Tyrconnel sent messengers among them to allay their terror, but altogether without effect. The panic rapidly spread into the northern counties, and thousands fled to England and Scotland, or took shelter in the walled towns, leaving all their property and effects to the mercy of the Irish. Some of the protestants of Ulster, however, with greater spirit resolved to defend themselves, and with that view they took up arms and prepared for the coming struggle.

\* Sir Jonah Barrington puts the case of the Irish people, at this period, in the following terse and pithy style:—

"James, a monarch *de jure* and *de facto*, expelled from one portion of his empire, threw himself for protection upon the loyalty and faith of *another*; and Ireland did not shrink from affording that protection. She defended her *legitimate* monarch against the usurpation of a *foreigner*; and whilst a *Dutch* guard possessed themselves of the British capital, the Irish people remained faithful to their king, and fought against the invader.

"In strict matter of fact, therefore, England became a nation of decided rebels, and Ireland remained a country of decided royalists. Historic records leave that point beyond the power of refutation.....

"James was the *hereditary* king of both countries, jointly and severally. The *third* constitutional estate, only of *one* of them (England) had deposed him by their own *simple vote*; but Ireland had never been consulted on that subject; and the deposition of the king of *Ireland* by the *Commons of England* could have no paramount authority in Ireland, or supersede the rights, and dispense with the loyalty of the Irish parliament. The Irish people had held no treasonable intercourse with William; they knew him not; they only knew that he was a *foreigner* and *not* their *legal* prince; that he was supported by a *foreign* power, and had succeeded by *foreign* mercenaries. But even if there was a doubt, they conceived that the most commendable conduct was that of preserving entire their *allegiance* to the king, to whom, in conjunction with England, they had *sworn* fealty. The British peers had showed them an example, and on that principle they fought William, as they had fought Cromwell; and again they bled, and again were ruined by their adherence to *legitimate monarchy*."—Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, new ed., pp. 273, 275.

The city of Derry, or Londonderry, was the first to offer resistance to the Irish government, as we may still term the administration of Tyrconnel. This place was inhabited chiefly by Scottish presbyterian families and their descendants, and had lately been one of the chief places of resort for the fugitive protestants of the north. Tyrconnel had withdrawn the garrison from Londonderry, on the first intelligence reaching him of William's invasion of England. But soon perceiving the error he had committed in leaving this important place to the government of its protestant inhabitants, he dispatched the Earl of Antrim to take possession of it with a body of twelve thousand Scottish highlanders. This wild and savage looking force, whose exploits in the west of Scotland had spread a general horror throughout the land, had halted at the village of Limavaddy, about twelve miles from the city, at the very time when the rumour of the intended massacre reached the ears of the people of Londonderry. The citizens, alarmed at the approaching danger, were collected in the streets, consulting as to what was to be done, when messengers arrived from the village where the highlanders had halted, giving the most alarming account of their numbers and savage appearance. There was obviously no time to lose. Already were two companies of the force in sight, and two officers of the corps were actually in the town seeking quarters for their men, when at this critical moment, nine young men of the populace, "prentice lads," as they were termed, drawing their swords, snatched up the keys of the city, and making towards the ferry-gate, they suddenly raised the draw-bridge, and shut the gates in the face of the approaching enemy. The adventurous spirit of the youths spread like wildfire. They were soon joined by numbers of citizens of their own class, and the guns were pointed against the advancing troops, who retired without farther trouble. The example of Derry quickened the protestant spirit of the north; numbers of men from the surrounding neighbourhood flocked into the city to aid in its defence; and several other places, Enniskillen among the number, determined also to hold out for the protestant cause.

In the meantime Tyrconnel was playing a deep game,—amusing the friends of the revolution with delusive assurances of submission and aid, and at the same time urgently inviting James to make his appearance in Ireland, where he assured him that all the Roman catholics would take up arms on his behalf. Tyrconnel also resorted to a wily expedient to get rid of Montjoy, the great leader of the protestants in the north of Ireland. He persuaded him to undertake a mission to France, to assure James that the defence of Ireland was impossible, and that the lord-deputy, in making his submission, was compelled to yield only to absolute necessity. At the same time, James was secretly told to make the dangerous Montjoy fast, and accordingly, as soon as he reached Paris, he was safely immured in the Bastille. The negotiation with William,

however, continued; that prince offering to the catholics full security of person and property, and the possession of one-third of the churches in the kingdom, if they would submit to his authority. The agent whom William employed was an unfortunate one for the purpose,—namely, Richard Hamilton, who had led over a body of Irish troops to England on the invasion of William, and was at heart a violent partizan of James. Instead of persuading Tyrconnel to submit, Hamilton urged him to hold out, as it required only a general effort to restore their monarch to his throne, and rid the kingdom of “the usurper.” Tyrconnel accordingly proceeded vigorously in the completion of his plans: after disarming the protestants, he set to work and recruited his army, and in the course of two months he had raised it to between 40 and 50,000 men, all catholics, and all eager to establish their religion, and to recover their ancient possessions. It is but justice to William to state, that the terms which he proposed to Tyrconnel were of a liberal character,—namely, to the catholics liberty in the exercise of their religion, an equality of civil rights, full security of person and property, and the possession of one-third of the churches in the kingdom. It may be said that these promises were offered with the reserved intention of breaking them at the first opportunity, as the treaty of Limerick was afterwards so shamefully violated. But it is more than probable that William was in all these transactions made the instrument of the violence and intolerance of the English parliament, and acted rather in obedience to English hostilities and prejudices, rather than to his own deeply-cherished feelings and convictions. When he found himself obliged to give in to the religious violence of the protestant sectaries as regarded England, how much more likely was he to yield to them in the case of the catholic, despised, and persecuted Irish people.

Everything now seemed to promise success, and all that was wanted was the appearance of James himself as the signal for a general demonstration in his favour. James had been well received at the French court, and Louis was now making great preparations to aid him in the recovery of his dominions. A fleet and army were now assembled at Brest, whither crowds of English and Irish were also resorting, to take part with James in his expedition to Ireland. The French army amounted to 2,500 men, under a skilful German general, De Rosen: the fleet consisted of fifteen sail, manned and commanded by some of the best sailors and marine officers of France. At last James embarked, and after being long detained by contrary winds, he landed, on the 12th of March, at Kinsale, in the south of Ireland, and was received with great demonstrations of joy by the native Irish. He advanced to Cork, where he met Tyrconnel, whom he immediately created a duke. His progress towards the capital was a continued jubilee; and he entered Dublin amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of an immense multitude of people. He was followed by a splendid train of Irish

and French troops, and was attended by the Count d'Avaux, in the character of ambassador of France. On his entrance to the city, he was met by the magistrates, and by the catholic prelates and priesthood in their state habits, bearing the host before them in solemn procession. A silken canopy was hung over his course, and forty young and beautiful maidens, clad in white, walked before his horse, strewing flowers in his path, until he arrived at the Castle, where the people greeted him with long and enthusiastic shouts of "God save the king !" " Long live the king !" Centuries had passed since a monarch had been seen in Ireland ; and now Dublin rejoiced with its whole soul, because it dreamt that the time of Ireland's tribulation had passed, and that of national glory and deliverance had begun.

Loyal addresses poured in upon James from all sides, and the nation rang with the sound of the general jubilee. All Ireland, with the exception of the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen, now acknowledged the sway of King James. The protestants in the north had been beaten by General Hamilton's forces, and had fled from all quarters, to these two places of refuge. Thither James proposed immediately to repair with his army, in order to reduce the entire island under his sway. Before, however, he set out, he issued five proclamations of some importance. By these, he ordered all Irish subjects (meaning the protestant settlers) who had lately abandoned the kingdom to return home, under assurance of protection, and on pain of outlawry and confiscation ; he also ordered all his subjects of every persuasion to unite with him against the Prince of Orange ; he expressed his gratitude to the catholics of Ireland for the readiness and cheerfulness with which they had taken up arms in his service, but he required such as were not in actual pay and under regular commanders, to lay up their arms in their several abodes, to prevent robberies whichever their meritorious arming had given rise to ; he called upon the country people in the north to supply his army with provisions, and forbade the soldiery to take anything without payment ; he altered the currency, by declaring that twenty shillings should pass for a guinea ; and lastly, he summoned an Irish parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May.

James then resolved to march upon Derry, in order to strike terror into the hearts of its defenders, and took the head of the army in person. The citizens had had ample time to prepare for a defence. Protestants of all grades had made their way to its walls, some to aid the defenders, but the great majority for refuge. The regular soldiers belonging to the garrison were few in number : they chiefly consisted of citizens who were badly armed and disciplined, and in want of most of the furniture of war. They were also short of provisions, the evil of which was increased by the immense body of useless population (amounting to about 25,000), women, children, and aged people, that crowded the town. The portion of the

population fit to take part in the defence consisted of 7,020 men, who were formed into eight companies, commanded by 341 officers. Each company had its own bastion allotted to it, and its own specific duty to perform. There was no military discipline among the body : the men had come from their daily business avocations, to take upon them the duties of soldiers. There was no military officer of experience to direct their energies ; their guns were ill-mounted, and greatly deficient in number ; added to which, the walls of the town were not strong, and in some places were even crumbling to pieces. Notwithstanding this disheartening state of affairs, the citizens of Derry contrived to hold at defiance for a long time an army of 20,000 men, commanded by some of the first generals in Europe.

Notwithstanding the preparations of the citizens for defence, it seemed at first probable that James would obtain possession of the city without even the form of resistance. Lundy, the governor, had originally been appointed by Tyrconnel, but, having proposed to go over to the Prince of Orange's party, he was ratified in his command, and ordered to make all the necessary preparations for resistance to the enemy. Instead of doing this, Lundy, who was all the time a secret partizan of James, was arranging his plans so as to open the gates and betray the city into the hands of the advancing army. Two regiments had been sent from England to the aid of the besieged, and were now lying in the harbour ; but Lundy would not permit them to throw themselves into the place, assuring them that it was quite untenable, and that there were not ten days' provisions in it. At a consultation of the officers and the principal civil authorities, it was resolved not to defend the town ; deputies were accordingly sent to James to make terms of submission with him ; and the two regiments were sent back to England, without being allowed to land.

The population of Derry did not partake of the poltroonery of their governors. They were extremely enraged on learning the decision they had come to, and a public tumult took place, in which one of the English officers was slain as he was attempting to make his escape ; another was dangerously wounded ; and the governor, Lundy, himself, was in danger of his life. At this moment of distraction, Adam Murray, a gentleman who had been a medical officer in the East India Company's service, arrived to the rescue, and firmly opposed all proposals for capitulation. The populace cheered him, and cried out "no surrender." But there was no time to lose ; for James was already within sight of the walls with his army, Lundy having left all the passes undefended, to facilitate his approach. Murray pointed to different persons to secure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, and to point the guns. The men, so ordered, sprung to their posts, and, as James's army had now actually reached the walls, expecting quiet possession, they fired their cannon upon his troops, killing, it is said, a captain, who stood near the king's person.



Lundy, the ex-governor, skulked out of the city in disgrace, and the citizens immediately proceeded to the election of new governors. Their choice fell upon Major Henry Baker, and George Walker, a protestant clergyman, of Yorkshire family, rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. Major Baker died in about six weeks after, and was succeeded by Colonel Mitchelburne. But the chief governor, and the soul of the entire defence, was Walker, the clergyman, who seems to have been imbrued with the zeal, devotion, and courage of the soldier, rather than the unobtrusive piety of the gospel minister.

The siege now commenced in earnest. The army of James commenced a series of attacks upon the town; and, feeling quite certain as to their ultimate success, the generals of the besieging army determined to carry on the siege slowly, in order to accustom the Irish soldiers, most of whom were raw levies, to arms, discipline, privation, and fatigue. The Derry-men, encouraged by the feeble attacks of the assailants, commenced a series of irregular but determined sorties, which in many cases succeeded, keeping up the courage of the defenders, while they paralysed the efforts of the besiegers. The first sortie was made on the 21st of April, when the combined French and Irish were attacked at the mill of Pennyburn. The assailants were headed by Colonel Murray, who killed with his own hand the French general, Mammou, with whom he had three personal encounters. The success of this sally animated the garrison to repeated adventures of the same kind. Volunteer parties were formed, without any regular arrangement; some brave leader then volunteered to lead them; and, sallying forth without order and concert, they attacked the hostile lines, and not unfrequently returned laden with provision and plunder.

James and his generals were completely disconcerted by this spirited defence of the citizens. The siege was pressed, and the artillery plied their missiles of destruction against the place with greater perseverance than ever. The citizens, taunting James and his army, sent to tell them they might spare their powder and shot in making a breach, as the gates were thrown open to them, and they might enter if they dared. After eleven days of assault, James withdrew from the siege, irritated and disappointed; and in a tone of querulous rage, he reproached the Irish soldiers for allowing themselves to be foiled, exclaiming that 'had they been English they could have brought him the walls stone by stone.' Marshal Rosen was left in command of the French and Irish forces; and James left for Dublin, to open in person the Irish parliament.

Marshal Rosen conducted the siege with vigour and perseverance; but still without success. The gallant spirit of the garrison remained unabated. Though suffering from famine, from disease, and pestilence, their rallying cry was still, "No surrender." Long nights of watching, days and weeks of fasting, and months of fatigue and suffering, and constant danger, had not broken down the spirits of the brave defenders of Derry. Their clergy inspired

them with new courage, preached consolation to them by day and night, and kept up their hope and faith by renewed promises of success. Two months had now passed, and the famine had become dreadful within the walls. The most loathsome objects were devoured as food,—horseflesh, dogs, cats, rats, and mice, and even salted and dried hides, were eagerly sought after and purchased. At length help approached: a fleet of thirty sail was observed within sight, laden with supplies for their relief. The help had come from England, where the news of the garrison's brave defence had now reached. The fleet was under the command of Major-General Kirk, a thorough-paced miscreant, whose cruel butcheries in the south of England, when in the service of King James, had made him both feared and generally detested. It is inexplicable how William should have selected such a scoundrel for the command in such a delicate and important affair as the relief of the beleaguered protestant city of the north. But he did so; and Kirk, whose heart was utterly hardened against the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, made no attempt to relieve the garrison, but taunted them with messages, and finally sailed away without granting them the slightest relief. The Irish army, encouraged by his delay, made haste to oppose him by throwing a boom across the river, and planting batteries against his ships. His ironical parting advice to the besiegers, before setting sail down Loch Foyle, was "to be good husbands of their provisions"—an advice from which they had a too melancholy pre-sage of the dreadful suffering that followed.

Fancy the thousands of hungry eyes watching the fleet of ships filled with provisions, almost securely within their reach; and then, heart-sick, famished, and utterly hopeless, imagine the wild shriek of agony which rose upon the air, when they saw the ships destined for their succour, swing from their moorings, set sail, and disappear. What a blight has now fallen upon the withered hearts of the besiegers. Surely they must now surrender, having not a hope of rescue left. But no! The cry is still "no surrender!" Gaunt and half-dying men stalk, like spectres, about the streets, threatening death to the traitor who should speak of a surrender. The plague was now within the walls, to add its horrors to the famine and sufferings of the siege. Food, even the most loathsome, was scarcely now to be had; but the garrison, with desperate and seemingly not with empty threat, declared that they would "eat the Irish, and then one another, sooner than yield!" General Hamilton, one of the leaders of the besieging Irish, endeavoured to subdue the Derry men by kindness and entreaty; but they reproached him with his treachery, and still reiterated "no surrender!"

At this stage of affairs, General Rosen determined to resort to a savage and brutal expedient, in order to compel the besieged to open their gates. He ordered all the protestant men, women, and children, that could be found in the neighbouring counties of Antrim, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, to be collected together,

and driven, naked and famishing, under the walls of the beleaguered town. The Irish generals loudly protested against the unnecessary cruelty, and the soldiers also vehemently expressed their abhorrence of the act. Rosen, however, persevered; and accordingly, early on the morning of the 1st of July, before daylight broke, a confused murmur of groans and cries was heard by the garrison, approaching from a distance. Being mistaken for enemies, they were at first fired on by the garrison, fortunately without effect; but as the morning dawned, there was beheld a mass of aged, infirm, and helpless people—men, women, and children—who were pricked forward by the bayonets of the soldiers, many of whom “executed their hideous orders with tears.” The garrison was filled with fury at the sight; they erected a gallows in view of the besiegers, and assured them that unless their helpless friends were allowed to depart, they would hang up every prisoner in the garrison. The poor suffering creatures themselves, who were made the victims of this cruel experiment, lifting up their hands towards the walls, entreated the besieged to defend themselves to the last breath. Rosen, after keeping the people beneath the walls for two days and nights, and finding that the cruelty did not take effect, but tended to turn the hearts even of his own men against him, allowed them to pass through his lines to their homes, most of which they found in ashes, and their cattle and other property destroyed or carried off. Before, however, the crowd left the walls, all the young and able men in it had been conveyed into the city, and about 500 of the most helpless and diseased were sent away in their place. It is but justice to James to state that he had no hand whatever in this infamous transaction: as, on the news of Rosen’s procedure reaching Dublin, he instantly ordered the captives to be released, and allowed to proceed to their homes in quiet.

The garrison were now reduced to the very last stage of famine and despair. The preachers could now no longer cheer them. “Our spirits sunk, and our hopes were expiring,” says Mackenzie; and the thousands within the walls of Derry looked forward only to capitulation or death. The defenders, but lately so valiant, now wan and haggard, could scarce crawl along the dismal streets. Many fell down as they walked, and died where they lay. The air became laden with the noisome pestilence. But joy came at last. Cheer up, brave men of Derry, for help is at hand. After all your long and weary watchings,—after famine, and suffering, and wretchedness,—hope is fulfilled, and the defenders see relief approaching at last.

It was a bright summer day, the 30th of July, that straining eyes, looking out across the waste of waters towards the north-east, beheld some ships approaching. The news spread, and crowds turned out to gaze. Soon the ships were seen beating up the beautiful waters of Lough Foyle, and rapidly nearing the city. They proved to be the Dartmouth frigate, with a convoy of

three vessels laden with provisions. The eyes of the famishing thousands were at once rivetted upon them, in all the earnestness of suspense and expectation. But there still lay the enemy's boom between them and their approaching aid. The Irish meanwhile manned their batteries on either side of the Lough, and thundered against the approaching ships, which briskly returned the fire. One of the victuallers now reached the boom, and striking against it with great force, snapd it asunder; but the rebound drove the vessel ashore. The Irish shouted with joy, the besieged on the walls groaned in despair. Suddenly the Irish prepared to board her, when, firing a broadside against them, she righted, and floated off. The little fleet now passed the boom together, and sailed slowly and safely up to the quays of the city. The delirium of joy which succeeded can only be imagined. The multitude which crowded round the ships could only gasp their thanks: they had scarcely strength left to speak them. And yet strength was found to set the bells of the battered cathedral ringing, while the cannon thundered at once death and rejoicing from the walls.

On the day following, Marshal Rosen raised the siege, which had lasted one hundred and five days. Altogether, about 9,000 people had perished within the walls, during that period, from famine, disease, and the shot of the enemy. And thus ended the famous siege of Derry, one of the best contested struggles between half-armed citizens behind their walls, and a numerous and well-appointed army. Though the defence was one of protestants against catholics, yet it was a defence of which all Ireland may be justly proud. There is one other noble defence of the same kind, which it yet falls to us to record—namely, the defence of Limerick, by the Irish catholics, which also proves, no less than Derry, the indomitable courage, fortitude, and endurance, of which all ranks and classes of Irishmen are capable. It is now full time that history were deprived of its party taint, and that Irishmen of all creeds cherished in common the memory of such glorious defences as those of Derry and Limerick.

On the same day that Rosen raised the siege of Derry, the Enniskilleners defeated a considerable force of Irish at Newton Butler. Like Derry, Enniskillen had become a place of refuge for all the protestants in its neighbourhood, who formed themselves into an effective little army, under General Hamilton. From this retreat they occasionally sallied forth to the attack of the catholic forces in their neighbourhood, often with extraordinary success. At length, James resolved on crushing them, and with this view sent against them three armies at the same time,—one under the Duke of Berwick, another under General Sarsfield, and a third under General Macarthy. The Enniskilleners first fell suddenly upon Sarsfield's camp, threw his soldiers into confusion, and routed them with great slaughter. They next came up with the Duke of Berwick; but he was found on his guard, and cut several of their

companies to pieces before they could recover themselves. Berwick, however, retired at the approach of Hamilton's army.

The next encounter of the Enniskilleners was with General Macarthy, who had under him a force of 6,000 men. Wolsley, the commander of the Enniskilleners, had not more than 2,000. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Newtonbutler; and by a mere accident, victory fell to the weaker party. A body of Irish troops was ordered by the general to the support of the right army, which had been thrown into confusion; but the officer who conveyed the order, instead of giving the word, "Wheel to the right," gave "Wheel to the right *about*." The consequence of this fatal mistake was, that the battalions, instead of advancing to the support of their comrades, marched from the field; when the rear, mistaking the movement for a symptom of retreat, broke and fled. The Enniskilleners made a sudden and desperate charge, and completed the rout. Two thousand Irish were killed in the pursuit: five hundred were driven into Lough Erne, where they were drowned; and a larger number were made prisoners, among whom was the Irish general, Macarthy, desperately wounded.

The Enniskilleners, whose successes at this time were so extraordinary, and whose exploits spread terror up to the gates of Dublin, were a body of irregular horsemen, of singularly wild and uncouth appearance, each mounted and accoutred after his own fashion, without any regular dress, or arms, or mode of attack, or even commander. They were a kind of Ulster cossacks, inheritors of the cruel ferocity of Cromwell's 'levellers,' and of the gloomy fanaticism of the Scotch covenanters. They carried into their warfare a hatred of the 'mere Irish,' and an abhorrence of the religion they professed. Each man was deeply imbued with religious zealotry. He imagined he was doing God service by extirpating 'the papists.' They were attended by their favourite preachers, who urged them on to deeds of extermination, and encouraged them in their efforts to "purge the land of idolatry." These Enniskilleners were furious fighters. They attacked with the utmost impetuosity, and were rarely deterred by inequality of numbers. They had no system of attack, but fell on *pell-mell*. They rode together in a confused body, each man attended by a mounted servant, bearing his baggage; and they only assumed a hasty and confused line when about to rush into action. Such were the Enniskilleners, the terror of the catholics, and the boasted champions of the protestantism of Ireland!

We now return to Dublin, where James had summoned an Irish parliament to meet him at the Inns of Court, on the 7th of May, 1689. Both houses consisted almost exclusively of catholic members: only six protestants were returned to the house of commons, and five lords and four bishops of the same faith attended in the upper house. The number of catholic peers had been increased by several new creations, and the reversal of some old attainders. No catholic prelates attended.

James opened the parliament in person, wearing the royal robes on the occasion, and the crown on his head. In his opening speech he thanked his Irish subjects for their exemplary loyalty at a time when others of his subjects had "so undutifully misbehaved themselves, or so basely betrayed him": he assured them that he had come among them to venture his life in the establishment of their liberties and his rights: he expressed his abhorrence of violating the laws of conscience or of property, and promised equal protection to catholics and protestants in the exercise of their several worships. He professed that he would readily assent to any laws for the improvement of trade, and towards relieving such as had been injured by the late Act of Settlement. This royal speech was responded to by a unanimous vote of both houses, by which they recognised the king's title, and denounced the usurpation of the Prince of Orange.

The parliament then proceeded to legislate; and one of its first acts was to repeal the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, by which the majority of the protestant settlers from England and Scotland held their estates in Ireland. Judge Daley, a Roman catholic, strongly inveighed against the measure in the commons, and the protestant bishop of Meath argued against it in the lords. But the measure, being acceptable to the great majority of the house, based, as it was, on principles of equity and justice, passed with but a few dissentients, and immediately became law. The catholic parliament has been severely blamed for the wholesale unsettlement of the protestant property of Ireland; but, do those who so severely blame them, bear in mind that that property was held by virtue of acts based on the rankest oppression and injustice? The protestant owners knew the nature of their tenure, and that it was founded merely on the right of conquest;—they were well aware of the foul means by which the original proprietors had been dispossessed of their lands, and they took them with all the risks of being turned out again, so soon as the people of the country were able to assert their rights and claim back their own. There are those who insist, that the enjoyment by the protestants of their lands for a score of years or so, gave them an 'inalienable right' to the possession of them for ever after. Would the same reasoning be considered of any force at this day, as regarded property of any kind? Would it be considered as a sufficient justification, in any court of law, for retaining possessions originally acquired by robbery, that the crime was committed twenty years ago, and that the thief had been in undisturbed possession of it ever since? Besides, no allowance is made for men, reduced by the most brutal oppression, from a state of honour and affluence to one of poverty and miserable degradation. Is it a matter of surprise that these men should endeavour to regain possession of the ancient patrimonies of their families, of which they had been so shamefully deprived?

The Act of Attainder passed by James's parliament was a much

less justifiable act: yet it was only one of the approved methods of the time for repressing rebellion and punishing disloyalty. By this act, about 2,000 protestant noblemen and gentlemen, known or suspected to be adherents and partizans of the new government, were attainted, and declared to have forfeited all property in Ireland, unless they surrendered before a certain day. By a clause of this act, James was even deprived of the power of pardoning all who had not succeeded in establishing their innocence by a given period. The secret manner in which this act was framed and promulgated is also a blot on the character of the Irish parliament. But, bad though this act was, it was not half so hideous as the acts of Cromwell, or either of the Charleses. Nor was it any worse than an act of the same kind, passed about the same time, by the English parliament, but which the injustice of party has entirely overlooked, content to hold out only the kindred proceedings of the Irish to the condemnation of posterity.

Apart from these acts, the legislation of James's Irish parliament was of a beneficial kind, and generally based upon principles of equity and justice.\* The act passed for establishing Liberty of Conscience was framed in a spirit of the most enlightened philanthropy, to which the entire history of England cannot afford a parallel. How different was the spirit in which the merciless and bigotted parliament and ministry of William afterwards legislated for the Irish catholics! Another act of this parliament ordered that all should pay tithes to the pastors of their several communions. Was not this infinitely more just, than that the great mass of the population should be compelled, as now, to pay tithes to the religious teachers of a religion of the minority—a religion which, right or wrong, they conscientiously reject, as a destructive heresy?

Considerable discussion took place in this parliament as to the relations existing between Great Britain and Ireland. At this period, as at all other periods, the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland has been a favourite object with its popular leaders.

\* The following is a summary of the principal Acts passed by King James's Irish Parliament, in 1689:—

An act declaring that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and against writs of error and appeals to be brought, for removing judgments, decrees, and sentences in Ireland into England.

An act for repealing the acts of settlement and explanation.

An act for taking off all incapacities of the natives of this kingdom.

An act for repealing the act for keeping and celebrating the 23rd of October as an anniversary thanksgiving in this kingdom.

An act for liberty of conscience, and repealing such acts and clauses in any act of parliament which are inconsistent with the same.

An act for repealing an act, entitled an act for confirmation of letters patent granted to his Grace James Duke of Ormond.

An act for the encouragement of strangers and others to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland.

An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch or Welsh coals into this kingdom.

An act for vesting in his majesty the goods of absentees.

An act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation.

An act for the attainder of divers rebels, and for preserving the interest of loyal subjects.

Irish nationality, Irish independence, 'Ireland for the Irish',—are all old topics, appearing and disappearing at intervals ever since Ireland was connected with the British nation. Hence, the interminable discussion of Poyning's law—the first law which virtually bound together the two countries, by making the laws passed in England operative in Ireland also. It was always the object of the ascendancy or English party, to maintain this law, and to knit the two countries more firmly together; and it was as invariably the object of the Irish, or patriotic party, to repeal the law, and assert the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland. Thus Cromwell not only maintained Poyning's law, but concerted a new scheme of union between the two countries—the first that had ever been devised; whereas now, one of the first great objects of the Irish parliament was, to repeal Poyning's law, and proclaim Ireland a free nation.

The first bill of this character which was introduced, was one to prohibit writs of error and appeal into England, and to provide that no act of the English parliament should bind Ireland. The bill passed the lower house with little opposition; but in the upper house it was vehemently opposed by the protestant Bishop of Meath, who urged against it nearly the same arguments that are now adduced against the Repeal of the Union,—that it tended to dissolve the connection between the two countries, was inconsistent with the oath of supremacy, and trenched on the royal prerogative. The measure, however, passed—the bishop only dissenting. The next bill that was introduced was one for the repeal of Poyning's act. This was strongly urged by the Irish party; but was strenuously resisted by James, and at last given up. Thus, although the legislative supremacy of England was taken away by the former act, the maintenance of the latter preserved the initiative power of legislation to the English council, so that no act could be passed by the Irish parliament without being recommended or perused by the king and council of England.

It was not long before James showed signs of a return of that despotic and reckless will which had just lost him the throne of England. The parliament had voted James the enormous grant of £20,000 per month, to be levied from lands. But this was not sufficient for the avarice of the prince; for, without asking for an increase through the constitutional channels, he instantly doubled the grant by royal proclamation! The peers expostulated with him on the unwarrantable stretch of the royal prerogative; on which he passionately exclaimed, "If I cannot do this, I can do nothing." The commons also having opposed him, he fell into a violent rage, and exclaimed, "I find all commons are the same." His petulance and arbitrary temper now broke out daily. His measures, arrogance, presumption, and folly, also became more and more apparent. Yet the Irish, whose loyalty has ever been their weakness, persisted in remaining faithful to the wretched monarch, however much they



may have felt the bitterness of his taunts or been stung by the passionate vehemence of his reproaches.

James was disappointed when he found the money coming slowly in, on the issuing of his proclamation. But, never at a loss, he immediately issued another proclamation for the depreciation of the currency, and ordering his brass coinage to pass for a hundred times more than it was worth. He erected a bank, and became a money coiner; he established a bank-restriction act, like a financier of more recent times, and like him egregiously failed. The bank soon broke, and thousands were involved in the ruin that followed.

Another instance of James's arbitrary policy was displayed in his dealings with the college of Dublin. He ordered the fellows to admit a Roman catholic to the office of senior fellow, and they refused. James immediately sent against the refractory collegians a body of soldiers, who expelled them all forthwith, and converted the college into a barrack!

It is but fair to state that the administration of justice at this period was admirable. The judges who occupied the bench, with very few exceptions, were men of the highest moral and intellectual qualifications; and whose conduct would have reflected honour upon the judicature of any age or country.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

William sends an army into Ireland under Schomberg—The character of the force—Carrickfergus taken—Schomberg encamps at Dundalk—Is reduced to great distress—William resolves to invade Ireland in person—Warlike preparations—Capture of Charlemont—William lands in Ireland and takes the command of the army—James joins his Irish forces—The rival Monarchs meet at the Boyne—Preparations on both sides—The battle of the Boyne—Retreat of the Irish army—James's flight to France.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE now turned his attention towards Ireland, which he found it necessary to subdue, before he could consider himself firmly fixed on the British throne. He was much harassed, however, by the distractions which still prevailed throughout the kingdom, and could not yet give his own personal superintendence to the affairs of Ireland. Numerous parties in England were now plotting against his authority. Those who had put him in power, were now seeking to cast him off; and James's friends were zealously at work in various parts of the empire. William saw that it was necessary to strike a blow at the rising power of his rival, else he might be driven from the throne as his predecessor was before him. He resolved to send an army into Ireland; and, entrusting it to the command of Schomberg, one of the most skilful of his generals, it set sail and landed at Carrickfergus, on the 13th of August.

The forces under Schomberg amounted to about 16,000 men, consisting of Germans, French, Danes, Dutch, English, Scotch, and indeed almost every nation in Europe. They were a collection of the kind of soldiers called "Mercenaries," who, during the Thirty Years' War in Germany, were ready to sell themselves into the service of any master, without regard to either country, or party, or cause. They were a body of men familiar with every kind of abomination and vice; and, before the end of the war, their unnatural excesses and crimes had roused against them a degree of hatred among the Irish, which had not been exceeded even in the days of Cromwell's cruellest barbarities.

Schomberg landed his army without opposition, the Irish forces in the neighbourhood retiring to the garrisons of Lisburne and Carrickfergus. He then laid siege to the latter place, which was vigorously defended by the governor, Macarty More; but he was at last compelled to surrender, when the garrison marched out with the honours of war. The Ulster Scots, however, were with difficulty prevented from murdering them; but Schomberg interfered, and they reached the nearest garrison in comparative safety. The army now directed its march westwards, and was joined on its way by the wild Enniskilleners, and the forces of General Kirk. The enemy burned down several towns in their route, among others, Newry and Carlingford. Schomberg threatened to give no quarter, should this destructive practice be continued, and it was given up. His army next reached Dundalk, about a mile north of which they pitched their camp.

The weather was now cold and tempestuous; the ground on which the encampment was formed, was wet and low lying; added to which the army ran short of provisions, and the men began to sicken and die in considerable numbers. At this juncture, the Irish army approached, commanded by Marshal Rosen. Schomberg, under present circumstances, could not risk a battle; but proceeded to entrench himself more securely in his field-quarters. James shortly after came up with the rest of the army, and endeavoured to tempt the old general into action by drawing up his force, and ostentatiously parading it in front of the camp. But the wily old fox was not to be so entrapped, and James had no stomach for fighting: accordingly he drew off his army to Ardee, Rosen indignantly exclaiming, "If your majesty had ten kingdoms, you would lose them all."

Schomberg's army was now reduced to great straits. The men died by hundreds, and those that survived were completely broken down by disease and privation. The number of sick, dying, and dead, was so great, that scarcely sufficient men could be spared to bury the corpses, which lay putrefying on the ground. The Enniskilleners were now the only effective portion of the army, and they accomplished some brilliant successes over detached bodies of the Irish troops. On the other hand, General Sarsfield, the Irish

commander of the light troops, obtained several distinguished advantages over the protestants, the more important of which were the capture of the towns of Sligo and Jamestown. Schomberg's army was now reduced by the pestilence to a shadow. A few more regiments arrived from England and Scotland, when the general resolved to remove to a more healthy situation, in order that the new troops might not catch the infection. The shifting of the army was one of the most melancholy sights. Numbers of the sick men died on being removed; all along the route the corpses were cast out of the waggons, the rough motion of which proved fatal to hundreds; and such was the fearful mortality, that it is said the rear-guard of the army literally marched through a lane formed of the dead bodies of their comrades. Schomberg at length disposed of the miserable remains of his army in those of the northern towns which acknowledged the authority of William; and thus ended a futile and disgraceful campaign, the only memorable circumstances of which were the deplorable suffering of the men and the sheepish incapacity of their officers.

The clamours which arose in England, on the arrival of the intelligence from Ireland as to the real position of Schomberg's army,—the charges of incapacity which were made against those who had been appointed to the command of the expedition,—induced William at length to take decided steps for the speedy settlement of the war. He resolved to call a new parliament, to commit the reins of government to his popular wife, Queen Mary, and to undertake the management of the war in Ireland in person. Schomberg's forces were encouraged by this intelligence, and made several attacks upon the Irish forces during the winter, which were attended with varying success. Stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions, meanwhile arrived from England, and a reinforcement of Danish troops, to the number of 7,000, landed at Belfast, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg. Nor was King James's government less assiduous in their efforts to prepare for the ensuing campaign. Fortifications were repaired, recruits raised, troops drilled, and all the necessary preparations made for a severe and decisive encounter. A great mistake, however, was committed by James, in exchanging five thousand of his most veteran Irish troops, under the command of Macarty More, one of his bravest generals, for five thousand French troops, under the command of the Duke of Lausun. These afterwards proved a hinderance rather than a help. They were refractory and disobedient, and would acknowledge no authority but that of their French commander, who looked rather to the interests of his French master than to the establishment of the liberties of Ireland.

The capture of Charlemont by Schomberg's troops, about this time, was felt by James as a severe loss. This fort was one of the strongest in the north of Ireland; it occupied the summit of a hill which commanded a very important pass, and overlooked the

Blackwater. It was surrounded by a morass, and approachable only by two narrow causeways. The place was now held for James by a brave but eccentric old Irish officer, Teague O'Regan. On Schomberg summoning him to surrender, O'Regan's gruff answer was, "Schomberg is an old rogue, and shall not have this castle." Schomberg, however, closely invested the castle; and while sat down before it, an Irish officer, named Mac Mahon, at the head of 500 men, gallantly fought his way through the besiegers with a small supply of provisions, and reached the walls of the fort. O'Regan accepted the provisions, of which he was very short, but he refused to admit the men, of whom he had quite sufficient for the defence of the place. He therefore bade Mac Mahon and his men fight their way back again. But old Schomberg, who was alive to the movement, resolutely opposed their return, and twice were they driven back to the walls of the castle with great loss. Still old Teague would not admit them: he swore that "if they could not make their way out they should have no lodging or entertainment within." Accordingly, the unlucky detachment were compelled to take up their quarters on the counter-scarp, between the fortress and the enemy, where they were reduced to great privations. At last the brave old governor was starved into submission; he surrendered on the most favourable terms, marching out with all the honours of war.

At length William arrived in Ireland; landing at Belfast, on the 14th of June, 1690. Several strong bodies of troops had preceded him, a mixture of English, Dutch, and Brandenburgers. After joining their forces to the army of Schomberg, William found himself at the head of a body of 36,000 men. Though composed of the most heterogeneous materials, it was complete as regarded equipment, discipline, and spirit. Most of the men were veterans who had served under the greatest generals of the continent. Many of them were stimulated by the feelings of the bigot persecuted into fury. The French Huguenots of William's army had been driven out of France by the relentless persecution under Louis XIV.; and it is said that on being opposed, as they were on several occasions, to the French Catholics in the Irish service, they rushed upon them like furies, their leaders whetting their rage by the cry of "*Messieurs, Voilà vos persecuteurs!*" The Enniskilleners, and many of the Scotch troops, were also instigated by the same bitterly hostile feeling towards "popery." As for the majority of the men, however, composing William's army, their main objects in following him, were pay, plunder, and license. A set of greater monsters in human form were perhaps never let loose upon an unhappy country, than these mercenaries of William's army. They had acquired a taste for every species of vice in their continental campaigns. The abominations of Sodom and Gomorrah were revived among these embruted bands, the refuse of the continental cities. Such was the scourge now visited upon Ireland; such was the agency by which the cause

of British protestantism was now to be maintained ! But monarchs do not look to means, but ends. So that their policy be successful, it matters not through what disgusting and abominable instruments it is accomplished.

William had scarcely landed, ere he set about commencing the campaign with vigour. He assembled and reviewed his army at Loughbrickland ; personally inspecting the condition and discipline of each troop and company—though the day was tempestuous and stormy on which they took the field. William then issued his orders that the army should immediately march southwards, to bring the enemy to an engagement, and put as speedy a termination as possible to the war. Some of his more cautious officers expostulated ; but his remark was—"I came not to Ireland to let the grass grow beneath my feet." Before he set out, William performed an act highly acceptable to the northern presbyterians, who had been among the most zealous of his friends, and shared in all the distresses of the wars. He issued his warrant, granting them an annual pension of £1,200, to be paid by the collector of customs in the port of Belfast ; which pension was afterwards transferred to the civil list, and made payable from the exchequer.\*

William was on his march southward, ere James so much as

\* This grant was the origin of the *Regium Donum*, or Royal Gift, which continues to be paid to dissenting ministers in Ireland to the present day. The sum was at first granted, by letters patent passed under the great seal of Ireland, to seven ministers, during pleasure, to be by them applied to the use of the dissenting ministers of the north of Ireland. On the death of William, the trustees of the bounty petitioned Queen Anne to renew the grant, which she did, under the following limitations :—"Upon trust nevertheless that the money which shall be received thereupon shall be distributed to and amongst the said presbyterian ministers, or such of them, and in such proportions, as shall be appointed from time to time, in lists to be approved of and signed by our lieutenant deputy, or other chief governor or governors, of our said kingdom of Ireland for the time being."—Various augmentations of the above annual grant were made in succeeding reigns, the English government deeming it necessary thus to bribe the northern presbyterians, in order to maintain the English ascendancy in Ireland. In the reign of George I. £800 per annum were granted to the ministers of the Synod of Ulster and those of the Southern Association, in acknowledgment of their services in the Hanoverian succession. In 1786, a farther grant of £100 per annum was made to the ministers of the Synod of Ulster, to be distributed according to the pleasure of the government : and in 1792, a further grant of £5,000 per annum was made, to be divided among the ministers of the Synod, the Seceders, the Presbytery of Antrim, the Southern Association, and the French Church, Dublin. About the beginning of the present century, the distribution of the *Regium Donum* became the subject of reconsideration with the English government. In consequence of some of the dissenting ministers having been mixed up with the unfortunate proceedings of the United Irishmen in 1698, Lord Caeltreagh and his coadjutors determined, in order that the administrators of the grant should have a check upon the clergy, that each minister should receive the bounty as for himself, while the gift should be granted according to the congregation. Thus certain ministers, if judged necessary, might be deprived of their pension by the decree of the secretary of state ; the *Regium Donum*, however, still continuing to be drawn, and its benefits appropriated to a widow's fund. The congregations were arranged in three classes ; and according to the number of families belonging to them and the stipend of each, were the allowances of the ministers—some being £50, others £75, and the highest £100 per annum. Thus the *Regium Donum* has gone on gradually increasing with the increase of Presbyterian congregations. Thus, in 1833, nearly £24,000 of the public money were voted for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland ; and in 1842, the vote had reached to no less than £35,156 4s. 2d., besides a grant of £1,950 for the Belfast Institution—the Presbyterian College, Belfast. The great increase in the *Regium Donum* of late years is the result of a "new scale of prices" made by the Melbourne government. The *do-num* has been equalized ; the ministers of those congregations lowest in the scale being raised to the middle sum, and those standing the highest being reduced to the same price.

heard of his arrival in Ireland. Dissensions were now appearing among the followers of James, which had been greatly stimulated by the arrival of the Count de Lauzun. This nobleman, as well as most of the French officers, affected a supercilious contempt for their Irish allies, which James, who seemed to depend entirely upon French influence for the recovery of his throne, soon came to imitate. He conferred the chief offices about his person, and the principal command of his army, upon Frenchmen, while Irish noblemen and gentlemen, of even the highest merit, were passed over without notice. By this foolish favouritism, the enthusiasm of the Irish troops was damped, they lost confidence in their leader, and felt as if the issue of their struggles was to be a mere change of ascendancy, from the crown of England to that of France. It was currently rumoured, and James's conduct gave abundant confirmation to the rumour, that he had agreed to place Ireland under the protection of Louis, the French king,—at which the Irish were justly indignant, and resolved not to submit to the insult. Such were the jealousies and dissensions which prevailed among the adherents of James, when the intelligence arrived that William had landed at Belfast, and was on his march southward to Dublin.

It was now William's policy to bring the Irish army at once to an engagement, and to strike a blow, if possible, at the rising power of his enemies. For, it must be remembered that, after all, this struggle was one not merely of local or national, but of European importance. Ireland was the field upon which the relative positions of the Catholic and Protestant interests of Europe were now to be decided. William was the head of the Protestant cause, and Louis of the Catholic; and hence the help which the latter afforded to James, in officers, men, and the munitions of warfare. William felt fully conscious of the dangers of his present position; he had so slender a hold on the English throne, that on several occasions he was on the point of abandoning it, and returning to Holland. A numerous and influential party in England were still favourable to the cause of James, and were engaged in plotting for his restoration. All the northern parts of Scotland were disaffected towards William. His hereditary Dutch dominions were also threatened, and he felt that he had scarcely a foot of firm ground to stand upon. A defeat would have proved his ruin: even procrastination would have proved fatal to him in the end, or it would have given his opponents time to rally their strength against him. Urged on, therefore, by the dangers of his position, he determined, if possible, to bring the Irish army under James to a speedy and decisive engagement.

As it was the interest of William to bring the Irish campaign to a close, so it was that of James to protract it. The Irish forces were inferior in number to those of William's, and not so well appointed. Most of them were new levies, while the army of the enemy consisted chiefly of veteran soldiers, whose valour had

already been tried on many famous battle-fields. Strange to say, at this very juncture, James first began to display a disposition for fighting. Often had he allowed the fairest opportunities for attack to pass unimproved; but now, when the contrary policy was required, James was suddenly seized with a braggart fit, and nothing would serve him but an immediate engagement with the enemy. The French and Irish officers both joined in endeavouring to dissuade their leader from such an enterprise. They represented that they would be much better able to fight the enemy, when the promised fleet of Louis had arrived with reinforcements. Delay would also enable the friends of James in England and Scotland, who were on the eve of an insurrection, to carry their plans into effect. They strenuously urged him to wait the issue of these designs, and, instead of hazarding a battle against superior numbers, to strengthen his garrisons and retire to the Shannon, where he would be able to maintain a defensive war against an enemy, which, without provisions and succours, and in a hostile country, must eventually be worn out and destroyed by famine and disease. But all these representations proved fruitless: James had at last resolved to fight, and fight he would. Meanwhile he adopted the ominous precaution of dispatching one of his friends to Waterford, to prepare a ship to convey him to France in case of misfortune.

After advancing as far as Dundalk, when he joined the main body of his army, now 33,000 strong, James fell back upon Ardee, but, on the approach of William's forces, he retired to Duxlane, and on the 28th of June, he reached the river Boyne, which he crossed on the following day, and took up a strong position on its right bank. The Boyne is here a beautiful and picturesque river, between fifty and sixty yards wide; its banks are rather rugged, though not precipitous; its current is moderate, and the depth in all parts considerable. To ford it, in the face of a determined enemy, would obviously be a work of no slight difficulty and danger. To the right of James's position lay the town of Drogheda, filled with Irish soldiers. His left was lined by a deep morass, and defended by breast-works, with huts and hedges which were well lined with infantry. Behind was a rising ground stretching along the whole of the field. In the rear lay the church and village of Donore, at which James fixed his own tent. The position commanded an extensive view of the adjacent country,—of the whole district, indeed, from Drogheda to the village of Oldbridge,—and immediately overlooked the valley of the Boyne on which the Irish army now lay encamped. About three miles to the rear was the pass of Duleek, on which James depended for a retreat, in case of necessity.

William reached the Boyne at the head of his advanced guard, early on the morning of the 30th of June. After carefully surveying the lines of the Irish on the opposite side of the river, he resolved to force the passage on the following day. As his army

was marching into camp, he himself went out to reconnoitre with some of his staff. The rich plains of Meath were within sight; the clear and joyous river ran sparkling through a fair and fertile pasture land; and the very summits of the hills were clad in verdure. "Behold," said William, "turning to his officers,—behold a land worth fighting for!" As he advanced along the left bank, however, a circumstance occurred which had nearly proved fatal to William, and checked the career of his ambition. He had advanced to within musket-shot of Oldbridge, on the opposite side, when he fixed on the place where his batteries were to be planted, and decided upon the spot at which his army should pass the river; after which he alighted, and sat down to refresh himself on a rising-ground. The motions of William and his staff were carefully watched from the other side of the river. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some other generals, observed the position of William, and ordered up a detachment of men with two field-pieces, which immediately opened a fire on the opposite party. William, however, saw his danger, and took to horse; but, ere he could do this, a man and two horses along side of him were killed by the first shot; the second had like to have proved fatal to him: the ball having struck the bank of the river, rising *en ricochet*, slanted on the king's right shoulder, took out a piece of his coat, and tore the skin and flesh. Some confusion immediately took place among the attendants of William, and he rode off stooping in his saddle; on seeing which the report immediately arose in the Irish army that the Prince of Orange was killed. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to Dublin; and from thence to the continent, where it caused both sadness and rejoicing. At Paris, the guns of the Bastille were fired, the church bells were set ringing, and bonfires were lit in the streets, in commemoration of the event. William, however, was but slightly hurt; and having got his wound dressed, he continued on horseback during the greater part of the day.

On the side of James, there was little of the resolute determination that was so conspicuous on the part of his opponent. After his sudden bravado, the cowardly monarch gradually cooled down until he at length became as anxious to avoid an engagement as he had formerly been to court one. At the appearance of William's army marching into quarters on the opposite side of the Boyne, the last vestiges of James's courage completely evaporated. A council of war was held late in the evening, when the French generals, who had perceived William's superiority in numbers and artillery, seconded James in his efforts to avert an encounter. On the other hand, the Irish generals were eager to engage with the enemy, and urged that William's passage of the Boyne should be desperately resisted. The result was, that James resolved to risk a partial battle, keeping himself out of harm's way the while, and then to retreat by the pass of Duleek, without risking a general action. Hamilton, the Irish general, advised the sending of eight



regiments to protect the bridge of Slane,—a post of great consequence, inasmuch as it commanded the left of James's position, and there was little doubt that William's right wing would there attempt a passage,—but James received the proposition with indifference, and said he would order thither fifty dragoons! Hamilton, surprised and chagrined, bowed, and was silent. In the meantime, James, in anticipation of a retreat, ordered the baggage and the principal part of the artillery to be immediately sent forward to Dublin. The fighting part of the affair on the morrow was entrusted to the Irish; while the six thousand French, the best appointed part of the army, were to take care of the wretched monarch, and conduct him in safety from the field of battle. Thus did James deliberately make his preparations to throw away his last chance for his own throne, and to sacrifice without a struggle his brave and loyal adherents among the Irish people.

At William's council, a very different spirit prevailed. The mind of the leader gives the tone to every council: William was resolute, and bent on an engagement. He at once declared his determination to cross the river on the morrow, in front of the enemy. The hazardous nature of such an attempt, however, startled some of William's best officers. Duke Schomberg, now above eighty years of age, endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise. When he could not prevail, he urged that a strong body of men should be immediately detached to secure the bridge of Slane, so as to flank the enemy and cut them off from the pass of Duleek. Schomberg's advice was received with indifference, and the old general retired, it is said, in disgust: he afterwards received the order of battle in his tent, remarking, that it had been "the first ever *sent* to him." The order of William was, that the river should be passed in three places; by his right wing, commanded by Count Schomberg (son of the Duke), and Lieutenant-General Douglas, at the fords near the bridge of Slane,—the former commanding the cavalry, the latter the infantry; by the centre, commanded by Duke Schomberg; and by the left wing, commanded by William in person. Orders were issued that every soldier should be provided with a plentiful stock of ammunition, and that all should be ready to march by break of day, and that every man should wear a green bough or sprig in his hat, to distinguish them from the Irish, who wore the white cockade. He rode through his whole army, about twelve o'clock at night, inspecting them by torch-light,—and after giving out the pass-word, "*Westminster*,"—he retired to his tent, impatient for the struggle of the morrow.

The shades of night lay still and quiet over the sleeping host. The stars looked down in peace upon these 60,000 brothers of one great human family, ready to rise with the sun, and imbue their hands in each others' blood. God and nature had formed them in one common image, and breathed into them a deep sympathy for their kind; but tyrant factions and warring creeds had set them at

bitter enmity to each other, and turned all the sweetness of their existence into gall. Nature now lay peaceful around them, as a sleeping child; a few twinkling lights gleamed through the dark, from the distant watch-towers of Drogheda; the murmur of the river which separated the two armies fell faintly on the ear; and the only sounds of life which arose from the vast host that now lay encamped in the valley of the Boyne, were the hoarse challenges of the sentinels as they paced their midnight rounds.

The sun rose clear and beautiful. It was the first day of July—an ever-memorable day to poor Ireland. The *générale* was beat in the camp of William before daybreak; and as soon as the sun was up, the battle commenced. Count Schomberg and General Douglas at once moved forward with the right wing towards Slane. The Irish also brought up their left wing towards the same place; but they were too late, owing to James's indecision of the previous night. Before their resistance could be brought to bear with effect upon the enemy's ranks, they had dashed into the river and forded it there. After a smart fight, the Irish retreated, and 10,000 English horse, foot, and artillery, gained a firm footing upon the right bank of the Boyne. There still, however, lay between them and the Irish position several fields enclosed by deep ditches difficult to be crossed; and beyond these lay the morass, which was a still more embarrassing obstacle in their way. They forced their way through, nevertheless; when the Irish fled towards Duleek, and were pursued with great slaughter.

The centre, under Duke Schomberg, so soon as it was supposed that the right wing had effected their passage, prepared to enter the river at Oldbridge. The Dutch blue guards, beating a march till they reached the water's edge, then went in eight or ten abreast, the water reaching above their girdles. When they had gained the centre of the stream, they were saluted with a tremendous fire from the breastworks, houses, and hedges, on the Irish side of the river. But they pushed on, and reaching the opposite bank, drove the Irish skirmishers before them. Hamilton now brought the Irish battalions of infantry to bear on them, but without effect. The Irish cavalry also charged them with vigour, but the Dutch squares remained unbroken. William, observing that his favourite troops were hardly pressed, ordered two regiments of French Huguenots and one English regiment to their assistance. Hamilton's infantry met them in the stream, yet they made good their passage. But a body of Irish dragoons, at the moment of their landing, charged them on their flank, broke their ranks, and cut the greater part of them to pieces. Caillemote, their commander, was killed, dying, like a Frenchman, with the words in his mouth,—“*A la gloire, mes enfans! A la gloire!*” A squadron of Danish horse now pushed across; but the Irish dragoons, in another of their dashing charges, broke and defeated them in a moment, driving them back across the river in great confusion and dismay.

The brilliant, rapid, and successful attacks of the Irish cavalry spread a general alarm through the ranks of the enemy. As they approached, the general cry of "Horse! horse!" was raised, which was mistaken by William's advancing soldiers, for "Halt! halt!" The confusion was rapidly extending, when old Schonberg, perceiving the disorder, and that the remaining French Huguenots had no commander to lead them, crossed the river with a few followers, and put himself at their head. Pointing to the Frenchmen in James's ranks, he cried, "*Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs!*"\* and was preparing to rush forward: but, scarcely were these words out of his mouth, ere he was shot through the neck by an Irish dragoon, or, as some supposed, by a fatal mistake of one of his own men.†

The critical moment had now arrived. The enemy's centre was in complete confusion. The Irish cavalry rode through their ranks. Their leaders, Schomberg and Caillemote, were both killed; and the men were waiting for orders, exposed to the galling fire of the Irish infantry and the furious charges of their cavalry. Had James improved the moment, and ordered the French troops to the instant aid of the Irish, there can be little doubt but the day would have been decided in his favour. But James looked idly down from the heights of Donore, surrounded by his unoccupied French body-guard of 6,000 men,—a safe and inglorious spectator of a struggle, on the issue of which his crown depended. He watched the tide of battle veering, now here, now there; his enemies pushing their way in triumph, and the brave Irish falling beneath the swords of the foreigner; then the dashing charge of the Irish cavalry, the route, the *mélée*, the pursuit. Now was the time for the electric word "Onward!" to be sent along the line. But no: the miserable monarch did not even sympathize with the success of his own soldiers; for it is said that, on observing the Irish dragoons of Hamilton cleaving down the cavalry, and riding over the broken infantry of William, he exclaimed, with a mawkish sensibility, "Spare, oh! spare my English subjects!"

The firing had now lasted, uninterruptedly, for more than an hour, when William of Orange seized the opportunity to turn the tide of battle against his spiritless adversary. He entered the action at the head of the left wing, which consisted chiefly of Dutch, Danish, and English cavalry, and directed it upon James's centre, where the Irish now had the decided advantage. Crossing the river through a dangerous and difficult pass, in which he was exposed to considerable danger, he made his appearance at the

\* "Come on, gentlemen; behold your persecutors!"—namely, the French catholics.

† About the same time, George Walker, the clergyman, whose success behind the walls of Derry seems to have given him a fatal predilection for the military profession, fell in the *mélée*: when William was told of his fate, he merely remarked, "The fool! what business had he there?" William was right: after the siege of Derry, Walker might with much more propriety have resumed his Geneva gown, and left the war to the professional killing-men.

head of his squadrons, with his drawn sword, and soon forced back the Irish infantry. But the Irish dragoons still maintained their superiority. They again vigorously charged the foreign troops, and completely broke their ranks. William hastened up to the Enniskilleners, and asked, "What will you do for me?" They answered by a shout, and immediately declared their readiness to follow him. They advanced, but at the first volley from the Irish ranks, they wheeled and fled.\* On William bringing up his Dutch cavalry, they returned again to the charge. The struggle now became very close, and the superior strength of William began to tell. The Irish, unsupported as they were by their French allies, while William's entire army was in action, slowly gave way: but, again and again they rallied, driving back the enemy; the Irish cavalry dashing in among the advancing troops, scorning all toil and danger. William fought with great courage, mingling in the hottest part of the fight. Several times he was driven back by the Irish horse, but at last his superior physical power enabled him to force back the Irish troops, and they retired slowly towards Donore. Here they again made a gallant stand, beating back the troops of William several times. The farm-house of Sheephouse for a long time withstood their attacks, and was taken and re-taken again and again. Again Hamilton endeavoured to retrieve the fortune of the day, by a desperate charge at the head of his horse. The British infantry withstood the furious shock; the cavalry were repulsed; and Hamilton, their general, was left a prisoner in the hands of the enemy.† Having thus resisted to the last, the Irish retreated slowly to the pass of Duleek.

James had already meditated a retreat with his French troops. Sarsfield had implored him to put himself at their head, and make a last effort for his crown. With 6,000 fresh men coming into the field when the enemy's troops were exhausted by fatigue, there is little doubt but James would have succeeded. But the effort would cost him trouble, exertion, danger,—neither of which the royal poltroon would risk. Accordingly, James put himself at the head of his French troops—the first occasion on which he had led in the course of the day,—and set out on his route towards Dublin, leaving the rear of his army to shift for themselves.

The Irish army now poured through the pass; and when they had reached the other side, they faced about, and vigorously defended it with their scanty artillery. From Duleek, they pressed forward towards the Neal, another defile on their route, the enemy following without pressing upon them at all, until night closed upon

\* Most of the accounts of this battle state, in excuse of the Enniskilleners, that they mistook their orders. However this may be, William ever afterwards regarded them with dislike.

† On being conducted before William, the king asked Hamilton whether the Irish would fight more. "Upon my honour," said Hamilton, "I believe they will: for they have yet a good body of horse." William surveyed the man who had betrayed him in his transactions with Tyrconnel, and in a sullen and contemptuous tone, exclaimed, "Honour! your honour!"

...LELAND.

the rival armies, and William sat down with his army on the ground which James had occupied in the morning.

Though "the Boyne" has since become a party word of triumph among the protestants of Ireland, it seems to us that after all there was very little to boast of at the close of that day's battle. All the advantage that William had gained was, that he had succeeded in crossing the Boyne, in the face of a very inferior force,—inferior in numbers, in appointments, in discipline, and in artillery. His best troops had been repeatedly repulsed; his best generals killed; William himself was compelled to fall back, and more than once was in danger of overthrow; and would have been overthrown, but for his great superiority in cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The best part of James's force, the French, were never brought into action. Yet, with all these disadvantages, the issue was doubtful, even to the close of the day. William gained nothing but the ground on which his army encamped at night, and the dead bodies with which the field was strewed. For, with the exception of Hamilton, he made no prisoners. Neither did he take any spoil from the Irish, who retreated in excellent order, with all their baggage and artillery. There is little doubt that had not the Irish the misfortune to be commanded by a coward, the result would have been very different. The cry of the Irish after the battle was, "Change generals, and we will fight the battle over again." The brilliant and successful charges of the Irish cavalry under Hamilton, shewed what might have been accomplished had James but possessed a tythe of the chivalrous spirit of this leader. The Boyne was neither more nor less than a drawn battle, though to William it had all the advantages of a complete victory.

The loss of life in this battle was comparatively small, considering the severity and duration of the conflict. Little more than 500 fell on either side during the engagement, though many of the peasantry, who had come to witness the fray, were afterwards murdered by the Enniskilleners, and added by them to the loss sustained by the enemy. It is said also that many of the Irish foot threw away their arms, and dispersed after dark, and were cut down by roving parties of the British horse. The principal loss of officers on the side of William were Duke Schomberg, Colonel Caillemote, and George Walker; and among the persons of note who fell on the side of the Irish, were, Lord Dungan, the Earl of Carlingford, Fitzgerald, Sir Neal O'Neal, the Marquis d'Hoquinour, and Colonel Casanova.

James fled to Dublin without halting, and, immediately on reaching the city, summoned a council of his friends. He told them that his Irish army had refused to support him in his hour of danger! He declared that they could not be persuaded to rally, though their loss was inconsiderable. The malignant coward further charged Providence with the misfortunes which were chiefly caused by his own imbecility. "It seems," said he, "that God is with my enemies." He told the council that "in England he had an army

which would fight, but deserted him ; and that in Ireland he had an army which stood by him, but would not fight.”\*

Thus saying, the flying James resumed his route southwards. He set out forthwith for Waterford, breaking down all the bridges behind him to prevent a pursuit. The Irish were glad to get rid of him. He had long since lost every thing like the respect of the nation, who only despised him too much to hate him. “James had no royal quality about him,” says an able Catholic historian ;— “Nature had made him a coward, a monk, and a gourmand ; and in spite of the freaks of fortune, that had placed him on a throne, and seemed inclined to keep him there, she vindicated her authority, and dropped him ultimately in the niche that suited him :—

“The meanest slave of France’s despot lord !”

## CHAPTER XXV.

Surrender of Drogheda—State of Dublin—Protestant mobs—Entry of William—Issues a Commission of Forfeitures—The Irish prepare to resume the War—William reduces the southern towns of Waterford, &c.—General Douglas reaches Athlone—His reception by the governor—Athlone, Limerick, and the Shannon—Colonel Grace—Douglas is repulsed, and retreats—Advance of William to Limerick—Lays siege to the city—Brave defence of the garrison—Sarsfield surprises and destroys an escort—Attempt to carry Limerick by storm—Terrible resistance of the Irish—William raises the siege and retreats—Embarkation for England—Arrival of Marlborough—Siege and capture of Cork—Further successes—Withdrawal of the French—General Ginckle carries on the War—Rapparees—State of the Country.

DROGHEDA surrendered to William on the day following the battle of the Boyne ; the garrison was allowed to depart unarmed, and immediately marched off to Athlone, over whose strong walls the standard of James was still flying. William then directed his march slowly upon Dublin.

In the meantime, the capital had been thrown into a state of great confusion by the flight of James. All his civil officers shortly after followed his example, and fled from the city. The military leaders, left entirely to themselves, though James had left them no instructions, resolved to continue the struggle, as their own rights and liberties were deeply concerned in its issue. They determined

\* It is pleasant to think that at least one of the subjects he had betrayed had the spirit to resent an insult to the country and the people. On reaching Dublin Castle, he was met by the Duchess of Tyrconnel, the lady of his viceroy. “Your countrymen, madam,” he said, as he was ascending the stairs, “your countrymen can run well.” “Not quite so well as your majesty,” replied the high-souled woman, “for I see you have *won the race*.” Even at the moment of his embarking from Ireland, for ever, he bequeathed it a sarcasm. Passing along the quay of Waterford, a sudden gust of wind carried away his hat. A venerable officer, named O’Farrall, immediately took off his own, and presented it to the exile. He took it without ceremony, merely observing, as he placed it on his head, “If he had lost a crown by the Irish, he had gained a hat by them.”—HALL’S IRELAND.

now to adopt their original plan, and to retire behind the Shannon, where they would protract the war to its utmost extent. Before leaving Dublin, they set free all the protestant prisoners who had been put in confinement by James; and then marched off their forces to Limerick and Athlone.

The Irish army had scarcely withdrawn, when a protestant mob assembled, breathing vengeance against "the papists," and proceeded to rob and set fire to the houses of most of the leading catholics of the city. Among others, General Sarsfield's house was robbed, gutted, and totally destroyed. The city was, however, saved from destruction by a protestant military officer, named Fitzgerald, a member of the Kildare family, who assumed the command at this juncture, restrained the excesses of the mob, and sent expresses to William for immediate assistance. On the 3rd of July, the Duke of Ormond arrived with nine troops of horse, and took possession of the city in the name of King William. It was not until the 8th that William himself entered the capital in triumph, when he went direct to the cathedral church of St. Patrick, now again restored to the protestant faith, and returned public thanks for his victory.

The protestants, who again hungered and thirsted after forfeitures, now urged William to adopt the policy of his predecessor, Cromwell, and to seize all the property of the Irish who had adhered to the party of King James. William, thus driven by his own friends, forthwith issued a commission for seizing and securing all forfeitures accruing to the crown from the rebellion of the Irish. The commissioners, in their great eagerness to signalize themselves, seized without mercy; and the result was, that the Irish were confirmed in their aversion to the new government; and the peasantry, who were treated by William's agents with great severity, were forced again to take up arms for their own security, and crowded in large bodies to their old leaders behind the strong line of the Shannon.

On the 9th of July, William left Dublin, and marched southwards with part of his army; detaching General Douglas, with ten regiments of infantry and five of cavalry, to reduce Athlone. The position of William was now most critical. During his absence, the English and Scotch jacobites were accelerating their arrangements for a general insurrection, and only waited an opportunity. The combined Dutch and English fleets had also been defeated by the French, and James was daily expected to land in England at the head of a foreign army. William was now most anxious to secure some of the southern Irish towns, to gain a secure station for his transport ships; and he hastened to reduce them with his army. Wexford declared for him, and admitted his garrison. Waterford and Duncannon threatened resistance, but yielded without a struggle; Clonmel was abandoned by the garrison, and thus William within a very short time secured all the objects of his mission southwards.

But, in fact, most of the southern towns were now untenable : their fortifications were in ruins : and as the Irish generals had determined to make their grand struggle behind the Shannon, no effort was made to save them.

Let us now follow Douglas and his division of the army, on their march westwards to Athlone. On their route, they committed the most horrible cruelties on the defenceless peasantry, whom they plundered and murdered in utter defiance of the orders of their generals. Allured by the proclamation of King William, that the labourers, farmers, and peasantry, would be protected in the exercise of their industry, numbers of them had returned to their dwellings, and were now exposed to the merciless cruelties of a ruffian soldiery. Many of them fled to Athlone, carrying with them accounts of the brutality of the approaching army ; and when Douglas reached the place, he found that he had to contend with an army excited against him to the highest pitch of exasperation. On summoning the garrison to surrender, the gallant old governor, Colonel Richard Grace, returned a passionate defiance. " These are my terms," said he, discharging a pistol at the messenger, " these only will I give or receive ; and when my provisions are consumed, I will defend my trust till I have eaten my boots."

Athlone and Limerick were the two grand points on which the Irish forces now concentrated. A glance at the map of Ireland will satisfy the reader as to the vast importance of maintaining these two positions. They are situated at a distance from each other, of between seventy and eighty miles. Between them flows the Shannon, a bold and wide river, almost impassable to an army in the face of any hostile force ;—sometimes widening into broad and beautiful loughs, and again contracting into a deep and rapid stream ; until, on reaching Limerick, it finally expands into an arm of the sea, and becomes navigable to ships of the largest burden. Athlone, before which Douglas's army had now arrived, is situated on the Shannon near the lower end of Lough Ree. The river divides the town into two parts—the English and the Irish quarters. For centuries this town had formed the great gateway into Connaught, and many a bloody battle had been fought under its walls long before the period of which we now speak. Its castle, which to this day exhibits proofs of prodigious strength, is situated close upon the Shannon, on the Connaught side of the river, and protects the passage at the only place where it can be forded within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. The bridge which leads to it from the Leinster side, is remarkably narrow, and completely commanded by the guns of the castle.

The governor of Athlone, Colonel Richard Grace, was a man worthy of the important post which he was appointed to defend. He was an aged officer, and had gained great experience in the wars of the continent. In the war of the Commonwealth, he was one of the very last persons who resisted the power of Cromwell in Ireland ;



and was so obnoxious to government that a price of £300 was set upon his head. He was active, brave, and humane, yet a strict and severe disciplinarian. It is said that on the approach of Douglas's army, several of the lifeless bodies of his soldiers were found beyond the walls of the town, who had been executed for breach of military discipline. It was by means such as these, however, that he maintained the completest tranquillity in his neighbourhood, and protected alike the protestants and the catholics in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. Grace was an old man when he was appointed to the command of Athlone; and Douglas calculated on an easy triumph over him. But he was doomed to be mistaken; the old veteran hurled back his defiance, and immediately prepared to make a desperate defence.

The garrison of Athlone consisted of three regiments of foot, and eleven troops of horse; a stronger force lay at a distance, to support them in case of necessity. Abandoning as indefensible the English part of the town, situated on the eastern side of the Shannon, Grace set fire to it, and conveyed all his force over to the Irish side, breaking down the stone bridge behind him, to prevent the transit of the enemy. He also fortified the Irish town with great care, and made every preparation for a vigorous resistance. Douglas approached, and his summons met with the bluff and rough rejoinder which we have already given. He then determined to undertake the siege in form. He opened a battery of six guns on the town, and commenced playing on the castle, but without effect. The Irish returned his fire with superior art: their guns were better served, and consequently proved more destructive. Douglas's best gunners were killed, and his works destroyed; at the same time his men were growing discontented and dispirited for want of provisions. Determined to make another effort, he sent a part of his force to try and force the passage of the river at Lanesborough, a few miles north of Athlone. But the place was already found occupied by the Irish, who forced the English troops almost immediately to retire with considerable loss. Another attempt to ford the river at a short distance from the bridge also failed; for the Irish had so secured the pass by a line of fieldworks, that Douglas's troops soon abandoned it in despair. In fact, the defence of the Irish was complete; and Douglas began to meditate a retreat. This was precipitated by the report that the indefatigable Sarsfield was on the march with a body of 15,000 men, to raise the siege and cut off the retreat of the English. The English camp was immediately broken up. Douglas drew off his forces with great precipitation, and fled by night, leaving behind him all his heavy baggage. He quitted the high road, and took a wide circuit, in order to evade a pursuit; subjecting his army to a succession of disasters and sufferings almost unequalled in the history of the war.

William had now effected the objects of his expedition to the south, and was on his march westward to Limerick, of which he

expected to obtain an easy possession. He was encouraged in forming such sanguine anticipations, by the rumoured dissensions which prevailed among the French and Irish leaders, which dissensions had also become communicated to the troops. The former, it was reported to William, were on the eve of abandoning the city. Accordingly, he hasted onward, now joined by the forces of Douglas, which had been beaten from Athlone. He arrived before Limerick on the 9th of August, and after driving in the Irish outposts, and approaching within cannon-shot of the city, he boldly summoned it to surrender. General Boileau, the French officer in command of the garrison, returned for an answer that "he was surprised at the summons, and thought the best way to gain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange, was to defend the place for his master King James." William, finding that there was no intention to surrender, accordingly resolved immediately to invest the city in form.

The city of Limerick is famous for the successful resistance which it has offered at various periods to the progress of the invaders of Ireland. Under its walls were defeated the chivalry of the Anglo-Norman monarch, and afterwards the Ironsides of Cromwell; and now the victorious army of William was fated to meet with a still more decisive repulse from its gates. Limerick is situated in an extensive plain, watered by the noble Shannon, which is here a broad and beautiful river, navigable to ships of large burden. Like Athlone, the city is divided into the English and Irish towns, connected together by a bridge. The English town was by far the strongest, being built on an island, and surrounded on all sides by morasses, which could at any time be flooded on the approach of an enemy. At the time of which we speak, it was strongly fortified by walls, batteries, and ramparts; and defended by a castle and a citadel. The castle was then four centuries old, and, after all the battles and sieges that it has witnessed, still stands frowning, like an old giant, on the waters of the mighty Shannon. The city was well supplied with troops; for the flower of the Irish army was within its walls, or in the immediate neighbourhood. It was also well supplied with provisions; the counties of Clare and Galway lying open to the besieged, from whence they could draw supplies; and a French fleet rode triumphantly on the waters of the Shannon.

Notwithstanding the great strength of the place, William, urged by the considerations above mentioned, resolved to push the siege. He had under him a force of about 20,000 men, which, however, were very inefficiently provided with artillery. He had with him only a field train; having left his heavy ordnance to be forwarded from Dublin. But so soon as he found the nature of the task he had to accomplish, he sent urgent orders to hasten the arrival of his train of artillery. These were now on the road, consisting of six twenty-four-pounders, and two eighteen-pounders, escorted by two troops of horse.

The interception and destruction of this escort by the Irish, was one of the most brilliant events of the campaign. Learning the straitened position of William, through a French deserter from the English camp, who also brought intelligence of the route, the motions, and the strength of the convoy, Sarsfield formed the daring plan of intercepting and destroying it. For this purpose he immediately set out with a body of 500 horse, and, crossing the Shannon at Killaloe, he struck across the country, with whose passes and cross-roads he was quite familiar, and reached Ballyneety, about seven miles in the rear of the English army. Here he waited the arrival of the escort, his troops lurking all day in the mountains. In the meantime, William had been informed of the rapid movement of Sarsfield's horse, and fearful for the safety of the battery train, dispatched Sir John Lanier, with a heavy body of horse, to meet the convoy and bring it safe to camp. Lanier, however, arrived too late. Before he made his appearance on the field of action, Sarsfield had gallantly accomplished his object.

The convoy arrived near the place where Sarsfield's troops lay concealed, and seeing no enemy, they carelessly turned out their horses to graze, and went to sleep in a full sense of security. Suddenly Sarsfield's horse burst upon them with a terrific shout, cut the sentinels and waggon-drivers to pieces, and slew, took prisoners, or dispersed in a moment, the whole of the convoy. Sarsfield, however, could not convey the prizes into Limerick: he was, therefore, compelled to destroy them. Cramming the guns with powder up to the muzzles, and burying their mouths deep in the earth,—then piling the other stores, waggons, carriages, and baggage over them,—he laid a train, and fired it just as the troops of Lanier were making their appearance. The explosion was tremendous, and was felt to the very camp of William, more than seven miles distant. Lanier's party attempted to intercept Sarsfield, but on coming up with his rear, they were beaten off with loss, and compelled to retreat. Bodies of troops were, however, on the alert in every direction to intercept the Irish cavalry; but, knowing every pass in the mountains, they escaped all dangers, and returned to Limerick in triumph.

This adventurous enterprise raised the spirits of the besieged, and proportionably depressed those of their enemies. Still William resolved to persevere. Two of his guns having escaped uninjured from the havoc committed by Sarsfield, and others being procured from Waterford, he finished his batteries, and re-opened his fire upon the walls. A breach was soon effected, about twelve yards in length, flanked by two towers on each side, which William now ordered to be assaulted. A brave storming party was formed, consisting of the best soldiers of William's army. The British grenadiers took the lead, and were supported by the Dutch guards, and some English and Brandenburg regiments.

The day was the 27th of August: it was intensely hot, the sun

shining in unclouded splendour, as the storming party drew up behind their entrenchments to start upon their dangerous enterprise. Silence pervaded alike the camp and the city: the period was one of agonizing suspense; even "the boldest held his breath for a time." The besieged watched all the preparations of the enemy, and were prepared for a desperate resistance. The silence was broken by the loud report of three cannon shots in rapid succession. This was the fatal signal. And now the stormers spring forward to the breach. As they approach, the Irish open on them from the walls destructive volleys of shot. Five hundred grenadiers at the farthest angle of the trenches have rushed forward, and after a furious and bloody encounter, have gained the counterscarp and effected a lodgement. They press on to the breach, amidst a tremendous fire, fighting foot to foot and hand to hand. And now they enter: but the Irish closing behind them, they are cut to pieces almost to a man. The charges become faster and more furious; the shouts of the combatants and the groans of the wounded are drowned by the din of the cannon of the besiegers thundering against the walls. The masses of the Irish citizens and soldiers stem all further progress of the besiegers. Death lies in wait for them at the breach: the Irishmen fight like lions, contemning every danger,—and even the women seem inspired by a terrible fury,\* using against the enemy the weapons they had seized from the slain. At length the attacks become less furious. The dreadful contest has now raged for three long hours, and still the resistance of the Irish abates not. At this juncture, a tremendous explosion is heard. Four hundred Brandenburghers, in the pay of William, had thrown themselves into a battery, which formed part of the breach; when, some self-devoted patriot setting fire to the powder it contained, the whole detachment are blown into the air, and their blackened bodies now lie scattered in all directions. At length, after a hot contest of four hours, the attacks of the besiegers ceased: William saw that success was hopeless, and he sounded a retreat, after having lost in killed and wounded more than 2,000 men, the very flower of his force.

William now resolved to raise the siege; and after destroying his batteries, he retreated from the walls of Limerick, on the 30th of August, followed by his diminished and dispirited army. He was attended by a crowd of destitute protestants, who, though they had been plundered and ravaged by the blackguard soldiery of William, were still under the deplorable necessity of clinging to them as their only defence and protection from the retaliation of the long-oppressed but now victorious Irish. The excesses committed by William's soldiery upon the unfortunate peasantry, during their route, were of the most horrible and revolting description.

\* Crowds of women mingled with the soldiers, and fought as bravely as the men. They reproached William's soldiers with the nameless abominations of which they had been guilty, and vowed, in their own nervous language, to be torn in piece-meal, before they would submit to the power of such wretches.—TAYLOR'S CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND, vol. ii., p. 186.

The men seemed influenced by the malignity and wanton cruelty of demons, and neither William nor his generals were able to controul or restrain them. William's campaign in Ireland, however, was now at an end. After conducting his troops to Clonmel, and placing them under the command of Count Solmes and General Ginckle, he proceeded to Waterford, and embarked at Duncannon fort, for England, accompanied by a small train of attendants.

Notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, the campaign was not yet ended on the part of the English army; another general now appeared for the first time in the field, namely, the Earl of Marlborough. This lord, ambitious to make a name for himself (for he was as yet unknown), and anxious to have a share in the glory and profits of the Irish war, represented to the government the immense importance of Cork and Kinsale to the English, and the necessity for securing them without delay. There were now lying in England five thousand men ready for the service, and with these and other reinforcements which he trusted to obtain in Ireland, he undertook to reduce these two towns. William yielded a reluctant assent to the earl's requests; after which he set sail with his army, and reached the harbour of Cork towards the end of September. Shortly after landing, he was joined by 4,000 Danes, under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg. Some dissension arose between the two generals as to the respective shares which they were to bear in the command of the combined force; but at length they came to an arrangement, and the siege of Cork was pushed with vigour. The city being commanded on almost all sides by hills, and the defences being in a very incomplete state, the garrison was ill able to resist the assaults of the English army. The castle of Shandon, which commanded the city on the north side, was in so dilapidated a state, that, without defence, it was at once abandoned to the besiegers. Thus circumstanced, the governor prepared to surrender, but not until he had bravely resisted for three days, and the ammunition of the garrison was entirely exhausted. The city was then yielded up, and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the lives and properties of the citizens should be respected. But no sooner had the capitulation taken place than a general plunder of the catholic inhabitants commenced. The soldiers and the protestant mob joined in the work of licentiousness and rapine, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Marlborough and Wirtemberg could restore order throughout the city. The loss sustained by the besiegers was not great: the only person of distinction who fell was the Duke of Grafton, one of the numerous illegitimate children of Charles II. As a military exploit, the taking of Cork was of little note, though it was magnified into importance for party purposes.

From Cork, Marlborough proceeded with his army to Kinsale, and after a short but gallant resistance, compelled it to surrender: the garrison marching out with arms and baggage. Marlborough

having thus effected the objects for which he had landed in Ireland, he returned to England, having been scarcely a month absent, and was received with general acclamations by the English people. They were loud in their praises of their native hero, and boasted that he had accomplished more in one month than the king's phlegmatic Dutch generals had done in two campaigns.

The dissensions between the French and Irish still continuing after the defeat of the English before Limerick, Boileau drew off his troops, and marched them to Galway, where they waited the arrival of transports to carry them to France.\* The brave and active Sarsfield was left to carry on the war, which he did with remarkable skill and intrepidity. Ginckle, for some time, kept his forces posted on different parts of the Shannon, ready to combine, in case of necessity; and, after the capture of Cork, he attempted to harass the Irish by a winter campaign. But in this he egregiously failed. Sarsfield and his troops, who knew every foot of ground, beat them back from the mountain passes; they cut up their detachments, and surprised their convoys; keeping the English in a state of constant terror and alarm. The Irish cavalry were especially active during this season. They swept the country around the posts of the English, and dashed in among them at all hours, regardless of danger or death. Although on most occasions the Irish were successful, they met with a severe and dispiriting repulse on attempting to surprise the frontier garrison of Mullingar.

The miserable condition of the peasantry of Ireland, at this time, may be imagined rather than described. The country had now been in a state of civil war, with longer or shorter intervals of peace, for nearly a century. It had scarcely known what repose was, since the reign of Henry the VIIIth. Since then extensive confiscations of lands had taken place in every part of Ireland; and in some places estates had been confiscated three or four times during the century. The native owners of the soil had been reduced, in innumerable instances, to the lowest level of existence; while the miserable peasants were treated as outcasts and Helots in the land. Treatment such as this was calculated, in the very nature to things, to give rise to feelings of revenge, of hatred, and of savage retaliation. Treat the meanest thing with contumely, with scorn, or with bitter hate, and it will rebel at the insult against its nature: even the worm is impelled to turn against the foot that tramples on it. Are we to wonder that the poor Irish peasants, long deadened to every thing like a sense of mercy for their oppressors, now circled round them in every direction, and plundered and slew them at

\* The Irish were by no means mortified at the departure of the French. That superiority which these foreigners affected to assume, the partiality which James had discovered to his French auxiliaries, and the preference given to their officers in all promotions, disgusted and exasperated the natives. The French spoke with contempt of the meanness of the Irish; the Irish affected to ridicule the pomp and pageantry of the French. They cursed those proud fellows who strutted in their "leathern trunks," as they called their great boots, and lamented that they were even preferred to their own brave countrymen. Hence the separation was equally agreeable to both parties.—*LELAND*, vol. iii, p. 587.

every opportunity. The Irish peasantry were now what the English government had made them : all that their conquerors left to them was hunger, destitution, and the hope of vengeance. This deadly feeling, in the horrible jubilee which now reigned throughout the wasted and ravaged country, had become elevated almost to the rank of a virtue ! In the awful hell of violence, crime, murder, and famine, which the invaders had caused, vengeance and hatred survived, to remind them that man cannot be brutalized and oppressed by his fellow-man, without entailing equal misery and suffering upon the tyrant as on the victim.

For a long time, there had been a floating population of homeless misery throughout Ireland. In Ulster, tens of thousands had been driven into the wilds and mountain wastes, to make room for James's settlers from England and Scotland. Expelled from their homes, these miserable families were reduced to the lowest abyss of misery. In course of time, however, they became familiar with famine : destitution became their daily companion : misery became habitual to them. They soon grew accustomed to the savage life into which they had been driven, and became a regular and recognized part of the population. They were first known as the Creaghts, and lived almost exclusively by the plunder of the settlers upon their lands. They were deprived of their honest means of living, and compelled to rob for a subsistence. The appetites implanted in us by God are stronger than the laws forged for us by man ; and if the impulses of nature be outrageously violated, human legislation proves weaker than a cobweb in its power to resist them. The result of all such violation on the part of man, is suffering, both social and individual. The Creaghts were imbruted by the cruelty, selfishness, and bigotry of their invaders ; and the result was, the new settlers lived in constant terror of their lives and properties.

In every succeeding stage of civil war, the number of this outlawed and destitute population increased. In Cromwell's time, the rival armies burnt down towns, villages, and hamlets, in their route ; and the number of the homeless was thus regularly augmented. Many of the peasants were by this means driven into the ranks of the patriots ; but by far the largest proportion of them roved at large about the country for a subsistence. From preying upon their enemies, they were at length driven to prey upon their own countrymen. They lived by robbery and plunder, being generally known by the name of Tories ; and under this name they were regularly hunted by the soldiers of Cromwell. Tory-hunting, like priest-hunting, was a favourite field-sport of the new military occupants of Ireland.

The same class of the population became greatly augmented during the invasion of William of Orange. His mercenaries treated the peasantry with brutal cruelty ; pursuing them with fire and sword, and plundering alike the protestants who clung to them for protection, and the catholics who fled from them for safety. Driven

from their homes in multitudes, they drew together in bands, armed with half-pikes, from whence arose the name by which they were now known,—that of Rapparees. They plundered the country in all directions, but generally within the English lines,—hung about the skirts of the English army, and cut off every straggler, whom they instantly stripped to the skin, in the rage of their hatred not unfrequently mangling the dead body. Concealing their arms by day, they drew them forth at night, and assembling in large bodies, they rushed upon their prey, which they carried off with them to their fastnesses in the bogs and mountains, before the English forces could collect to resist them. During the whole winter, the army of William was harassed by the attacks of these guerillas. To oppose them, the government organized a body of *Protestant Rapparees*, which only served to increase the mischief; for, imitating the tactics of their opponents, they spent their time in the robbery and plunder of the country-people. Such was the deplorable state of Ireland at this period: such were the horrors and agonies which awaited on this awful time of civil strife.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

Campaign of 1691—James supersedes Sarsfield in the command, and appoints Saint Ruth—His preparations—General Ginckle lays siege to Athlone—Is driven back—His devices all baffled—Saint Ruth withdraws the garrison—His arrogance and confidence—The English resolve on a general assault—The English cross the river—The two armies concentrate—The heights of Kilcommedeen—The battle of Aughrim—Death of Saint Ruth, and defeat of the Irish—The disastrous retreat—Ginckle advances to Galway—Its surrender—The celebrated siege and treaty of Limerick—Close of the war—and departure of the Irish army.

THE campaign of 1691 commenced with great preparations on both sides. The Irish were elated by their triumphs at Athlone and Limerick, and now anticipated a successful conclusion to the war under their own favourite leaders. But they were again doomed to be cursed by the infatuated imbecility of the monarch for whom they were in arms. He had already done all that he could to destroy their chances of success; most probably being piqued at the gallantry of their resistance, after his cowardly abandonment of them. Now that he saw that there was some honour to be gained in the Irish war, he determined that the Irish generals should have as little of it as possible. Accordingly, on the arrival of the intelligence of the successful management of the campaign under the Irish generals, and the gallant defence of Athlone and Limerick, one of James's first acts was to supersede Sarsfield in the command of the army, and bestow it upon a vain and frivolous Frenchman, Monsieur Saint Ruth. Sarsfield was disgusted at this ungrateful treatment of his services; nor did the empty title of Earl of Lucan, conferred upon him by James, at all tend to reconcile him to the insult.



Great assistance had been expected from Louis in the approaching campaign ; but, farther than a supply of military stores, a small sum of money, and a few French officers, the expected aid was not forthcoming. What was worst of all, the new general, St. Ruth, was ignorant of the country, and ignorant of the army under his command. He treated both the Irish soldiers and officers with supercilious contempt ; so that there wanted that complete sympathy and mutual understanding between the army and its head, which is absolutely necessary to the success of every patriotic military movement. Saint Ruth, after frittering away his time in giving a series of balls and festivals, resolved on his plan of the campaign : it was to maintain a defensive war behind the Shannon, according to the plan originally fixed upon by the Irish generals. But he too implicitly trusted to the present state of its defences, considering them to be impregnable. Had he improved the opportunity of strengthening them while there was yet time, he might have defied all the strength which England could have brought against him. Leaving strong garrisons at Limerick and Athlone, Saint Ruth took up his position, with the main body of his army, behind the latter town.

General Ginckle, warned by the results of the last campaign, had made the most careful preparations for renewing the war, and his army was now in a highly effective state for taking the field. He had been reinforced by some excellent troops from Scotland, and was well supplied, through the vigilance of William, with all the necessaries of war. He was also aided by many brave and experienced officers. Assembling his army together at Mullingar, he resolved to open the campaign by an attack upon Athlone. This place was strongly fortified, and was occupied both on the Irish and English side by the troops of Saint Ruth. Ginckle, after reducing the fort of Ballynure, sat down before Athlone on the 18th of June. The English town, on the Leinster side of the river, which Colonel Grace had on the former occasion abandoned as untenable, was first assaulted and carried, but not until after a fierce and desperate resistance had been made by the Irish troops. When they found they could no longer maintain the place, they retreated across the bridge to the Irish town, breaking down the arch nearest the Connaught side of the river. The English now lay entrenched on the one side, and the Irish on the other. A furious fire was opened and kept up on both sides ; though the English had greatly the advantage in the number of artillery and the weight of metal.

The cannonade continued for nine days, during which the English expended not less than 12,000 cannon balls, 600 bombs, nearly 50 tons of powder, and a great many tons of stone shot.\* The havoc which those instruments of destruction caused was tremendous. Athlone was soon a heap of ruins. Yet still the garrison

\* Story's Wars of Ireland.

fainted not ; they stuck by the battered fragments of the desolated city, and fought with unabated heroism. In the meantime, various attempts were made to cross the river by wooden pontoons at Lanesborough, but the Irish had thrown up works which enabled them to defend the pass, and the enemy retreated. Ginckle had no other alternative left but to cross the river by the bridge, in front of the Irish. Preparatory to doing so, he made the attempt to repair the broken arch, to enable his troops to pass over. Under cover of a tremendous fire from his batteries and mortars, a detachment of his men succeeded in raising a wood-work for the purpose of spanning the broken arch. The work was nearly completed, when a sergeant and ten bold Scots from Maxwell's brigade pushed across from the Irish side, with the intention of destroying the erection, but they failed in doing so, and were all slain. Their fate, however, did not deter others of the Irish army from undertaking the same service : a second brave party was more successful than the first ; succeeding in throwing all the planks and beams into the river—only two of the party escaping with their lives.

Ginckle was not yet discouraged : he made another attempt to repair the arch, carrying on the work by a close gallery under the bridge. This was soon completed, and the order of assault arranged. It was resolved to cross the river in three places : one party forcing the bridge, and two other parties crossing below it by fording and pontoons. The Irish, however, received notice of the intended attack, and were fully prepared. On the morning on which the assault was to take place, the Irish sent a volley of grenades among the wooden work of the bridge ; when some fascines took fire, and soon the whole fabric was in a blaze. The smoke blew with violence in the faces of the English ; and it was found impossible to cross. Thus disconcerted, the attack was countermanded ; and the enemy were again completely frustrated.

Thus baffled, General Ginckle contemplated raising the siege, and called a council of war to debate the subject. Though considerably cast down by failure, the majority of the officers were in favour of a general assault on the following day,—seeing more danger in returning than advancing. It had already been ascertained where the river was easiest fordable,\* and the enterprise was thus stripped of its most serious difficulties. On the other side, the Irish imagined that the enemy must now abandon the siege, and the withdrawal of some of the cannon of the besiegers seemed to countenance the expectation. Saint Ruth, confident in the strength of Athlone, and blinded by his recent success, made no preparations to meet the

\* Three Danish soldiers, under sentence of death, were offered their pardon, if they would undertake to try the river. The men readily consented, and putting on armour, entered at three several places. The English in the trenches were ordered to fire, seemingly at them, but to aim over their heads ; whence the enemy concluded them to be deserters, and did not fire till they saw them returning : the men were preserved, two of them being only slightly wounded ; and it was discovered that the deepest part of the river did not reach their breasts, the water having never been known so shallow in the memory of man....HARRIS'S LIFE OF KING WILLIAM.

dangers impending over him. On the other hand, he foolishly threw away all his advantages over the enemy. Scarcely had the attack of the 25th been successfully frustrated, ere St. Ruth ordered the brave defenders of Athlone to withdraw, supplying their places by three of the worst regiments in his service. At the same time he issued general invitations to a splendid entertainment at his quarters; and at the time of his greatest peril, and when the enemy's officers were completing their arrangements for a general attack, he was acting as *petit-maitre*, and 'doing the honours' of a ball given to the ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Sarsfield was not so easily deceived: he knew English valour better than Saint Ruth: at all events, he was too good a general to under-estimate the strength and resolution of his adversary. Even when the English had entered the ford to cross the river, and Saint Ruth was informed of the circumstance, he would not believe it: "It is impossible," said he, "for the English to take the town, when *I* am so near with my army;" and he offered a thousand louis to any one who would assure him that the English *durst* attempt to pass! "Spare your money and mind your business," was the bluff retort of Sarsfield, "for I know that no enterprise is too difficult for British courage to attempt."

The assault took place on the morning of the 30th of June; the signal to enter the ford being the tolling of the church-bell. The time chosen was the usual hour of relieving guards, so that the Irish might not be alarmed by any unwonted bustle among the English troops. Two thousand men were appointed for the dangerous service of crossing the ford in the face of the garrison. They had now all assembled ready for the duty; and awaited in silence the signal of attack. Hearts beat quick, as the moment drew nigh, and anxious looks were cast towards the other side, where the Irish were now mustering in alarm, in anticipation of attack. At length the church-bell tolled, and the men rushed towards the river—locking their arms together they went across twenty a-breast, Mackay, the old Scotch commander, wading by the side of his men. Thus they gained the opposite bank, amid a thundering fire from the garrison—the English at the same time covering their approach by a furious cannonade. The river crossed, the detachment mounted the breaches, and entered the town, driving the surprised Irish before them. Meanwhile, planks were laid over the broken bridge, Ginckle's army rushed into the town, and thus, in less than half an hour, Athlone was taken.

The negligence and carelessness of the Irish and their generals on this occasion was unpardonable. Most of the garrison were in bed and asleep at the time that the attack was made; when they found the enemy was upon them, they rushed out half-clad, and in that state the greater part of them made their escape to Saint Ruth's camp. When that general, exhausted with the fatigues of the ball over-night, was roused from his slumbers, and informed of the loss of

Athlone, his pettish remark was—"Well, let the army advance and beat them back again!" But St. Ruth himself was soon under the necessity of retreating; for the enemy now possessed the works over against his camp, and, turning his own guns against him, compelled him almost immediately to retire. The castle of Athlone shared the fate of the town, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The entire loss of the Irish, in killed and prisoners in this disastrous affair, amounted to nearly 2,000 men.

The Irish had now lost all confidence in their French commander; who, on his part, treated them with contumely and reproach. But they were now fairly committed to the war, and had no other alternative but to fight it out. It is true, Ginckle, who, in his intercourse with the Irish, was humane and generous, endeavoured to bring the Irish to terms; and he was especially induced to do so by the stout resistance they had already made, and the consideration of the numerous army which they were yet able to bring into the field. In order, if possible, to induce the Irish to lay down their arms, and acknowledge the sovereignty of William, Ginckle issued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to all soldiers and officers who should surrender within three weeks; the full possession of their estates to those officers who should bring with them the troops they commanded; together with the free exercise of their religion secured to them by act of parliament.

Saint Ruth was jealous of the effects of this proclamation. He had for some time been intriguing with the view of effecting a union between Ireland and France; and, it was said, he already issued his orders in the name, not of James, but of Louis, his royal master. The Irish were disgusted with this presumption; but the rancorous and malignant conduct of the lords-justices at Dublin, spurred on by those who longed for further seizures and confiscations of property, left them no other alternative but to carry on the war. Saint Ruth now concentrated his forces and resolved to decide the fate of Ireland by a battle. Ginckle also drew his army together, though he thereby left many very important posts at the mercy of the enemy. The public anxiety now reached to a high pitch: the future destiny of Ireland depended on the approaching battle; and both sides alike waited for the issue with mingled fear and expectation.

The position chosen by Saint Ruth was one of great natural strength. It extended along the heights of Kilcommeden, near the village and castle of Aughrim, about twenty miles from Athlone, and three from Ballinasloe. A rivulet run upon their left, descending from the hills and morasses beyond. They were further protected on that side by a bog, nearly a mile in breadth, on the side of which stood the old castle of Aughrim, which was now entrenched and filled with musketeers, completely commanding the only pass to the Irish camp on this side. The right of the position was also protected by a bog, and in advance of which lay the pass

of Urachree, behind which were a range of small hills. The entire front of the position was equally well defended; for along the low ground, about half a mile from the Irish encampment, a deep bog extended nearly two miles, from left to right, thus completely protecting the army encamped behind it. The slope of the hill, almost to the edge of the bog, was intersected by hedges and ditches, which were lined with masses of the Irish infantry.

Strong though this position was, Ginckle determined to attack it. It was a bold venture. His army was inferior in numbers to the Irish,—being eighteen thousand strong while they were twenty-five thousand;\* but what he wanted in numbers he more than made up by his great superiority in artillery, and in all the munitions of war. The day on which the English advanced to the attack of this important position, was the 12th of July. It was already noon ere the army was put in motion; for the thick fogs of the morning had prevented them advancing sooner. Saint Ruth, who was posted on the hill of Kilcommeden, and had a full view of all the movements of the enemy, observed them advancing with the intention of giving him battle. He rode through his ranks, exhorting the officers and men to deeds of daring. He urged upon the former that they were now to fight for their honours and estates, and the men for their lives and liberties. The priests also exerted all their influence, and fired the religious feelings of the soldiers by holding forth to them the prospect of eternal happiness as the high reward of their faithfulness and valour on that occasion. The courage of the army was raised to the highest pitch, and they impatiently awaited the opportunity of proving that the high expectations formed of them had not been in vain.

The battle commenced by an attack on the pass of Urachree. Ginckle sent a party of Danish horse to force it, but they immediately broke and fled on coming in contact with the Irish. Two squadrons of Dutch and English dragoons next made the attempt, but were beaten back with loss; and a second assault met with the same success as the first. The Earl of Portland then advanced with his regiment, together with Eppinger's dragoons; but, in the meantime, the Irish had retired, and taken up a stronger position nearer to their main body. The English pressed forward, sustained by fresh bodies of troops, and it was only after an hour's hard fighting that they were able to force their way beyond the bog. Ginckle, however, was dismayed by the vigorous resistance of the Irish, and drawing off his men, summoned a council of war, to consider whether the attack should be persevered in, or deferred till the following morning. It was resolved immediately to renew the engagement, General Mackay advising that the attack should be made on the right wing of the Irish.

It was five in the evening before the serious part of the battle commenced. The left wing of the English army now advanced.

pushing boldly across the ground that had so often been the scene of skirmish throughout the day. They again met with an obstinate and successful resistance. No sooner had they crossed the rivulet, and come within reach of the Irish infantry lining the hedges and ditches, than a close and destructive fire was poured in upon them. The English advanced, but, charged by the cavalry, and galled on their flanks by the Irish musketry, they were compelled to give ground. And thus the battle raged for a full hour and a half, when Saint Ruth, anxious for his right wing, drew off a considerable body of cavalry from the centre, and sent them to their support.

This was the opportunity which General Mackay had been anticipating, and he immediately took advantage of it—pushing several regiments of infantry across the bog directly in front of the enemy, while he dispatched a considerable body of cavalry under Talmash to force the pass of Aughrim to the left. The infantry plunged boldly into the bog, and after struggling through mud and water, often up to their middle, they emerged on the other side, and pushed up the hill. But the Irish infantry lay in their path; and poured in destructive volleys on them as they advanced. Still the English struggled forward, the Irish feigning retreat, until they had pushed their way almost up to the main body of the army; when, suddenly, horse and foot charged down upon them, broke and scattered their force, and drove them back across the bog with great slaughter, most of their officers remaining prisoners in the hands of the Irish. Saint Ruth was in an ecstasy of joy, and exclaimed, as he saw the enemy flying across the bog, “Now will I drive the English to the very gates of Dublin!”

At this juncture, when the English seemed on the brink of defeat, Saint Ruth’s attention was directed to the movement of Talmash’s cavalry on the left. This was, indeed, the last hope of Ginckle—the only means, desperate though it was, by which he could save himself from utter defeat. And there seemed every probability, that, with ordinary management, this enterprise of Talmash’s would be defeated. In order to reach the scene of action, he had to push through the pass of Aughrim, which would admit of only two horsemen a-breast. And this pass was commanded by a fort, which, if well served, would have rendered the success of the enterprise next to impossible. Saint Ruth could scarcely believe his eyes when he saw them pushing close by the walls of the old castle, and forcing their way through the pass: he asked some of the officers near him, “what these English meant?” “To force their way to the right,” was the reply. “They are brave fellows,” said he, “but it is a pity they should be so exposed.” Ordering up the Irish cavalry, a splendid body of soldiers, far superior in numbers to those under Talmash, and at least equal in bravery and discipline to any in the English force, Saint Ruth himself rode down from the hill of Kilcommeden, and went forward to direct the fire of the battery. Having done so, he returned to lead the charge in person. There

could have been no doubt of their success. It seemed to need only this to render the defeat of the English complete. 'The Irish cavalry, who had ridden down the best troops of William at the Boyne, had now before them only a small and exhausted detachment, struggling through a narrow defile in haste and disorder. Forward, then Irishmen, and crown your victory ! But no ; Providence has ordered it otherwise ; for at this critical moment, Saint Ruth was killed by a cannon ball from the other side of the bog.

In a moment the tide of battle turned. The death of the French general decided the fate of Ireland. The victory that before seemed certain, was immediately turned into a defeat. For, in his consummate vanity, Saint Ruth having entrusted none of the Irish generals with the order of battle, his dispositions and arrangements, they were completely unable to follow up his success. On his fall, the Irish troops suddenly halted, and, after waiting for orders, and receiving none, they hastily returned to their former position. 'The death of Saint Ruth also got noised about, although, as he fell, some of his officers threw a cloak over his body to conceal the lamentable event from the army. At the same time, the Irish, posted on the hill of Kilcommeden, saw their cavalry return to their position, and mistook the movement for a retreat : then, Talmash's cavalry, themselves surprised at their unlooked for success, appeared unexpectedly in the field, galloping to take a share in the contest at the centre. The English also, perceiving the success of Talmash's movement, immediately began to push across the bog. They had now comparatively little resistance. Anticipating a defeat, they now rushed forward to a victory. The Irish without a general\* to direct their movements, began to retreat. For some time they preserved order, repelling with spirit the attack of the enemy. But at length they became confused and disordered, cavalry and infantry mingled together, and the retreat soon became a complete rout.

While such was the state of affairs at the left and centre, a severe contest was waging on the right, where a Danish force had been sent to drive in the Irish in that quarter. Seeing the success of the English in the centre, they charged upon the Irish, but were received by them with such intrepidity, that they were compelled to fall back. The Irish kept them at bay for a considerable time ; but, seeing the fate of their comrades, they retreated like the rest, and joined the general route of their countrymen. The slaughter that ensued was terrific. The Irish were cut down in crowds : the fight had now changed to a savage butchery. For three long miles the bloody chase continued, till night closed upon the scene of

\* It is impossible to discover the circumstance that left the Irish without a commander after the fall of Saint Ruth. Sarsfield was probably not in the field, for his indignation after the fall of Athlone led him into a serious quarrel with the French general. No other leader would venture to undertake the direction, and the consequence, of course, was fatal.—TAYLOR'S CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND, vol. ii., p. 211.

havoc and murder, and the victors lay down amidst their heaps of slaughtered dead.

Such was the battle of Aughrim,—a contest fatal to the Irish, but crowning to their English enemy. So long as the fighting continued, victory was decidedly on the side of the Irish; and the defeat of their opponents seemed certain. They had been driven back at all points, and needed only the decisive charge and rout of Talmash's weakened and broken cavalry, to render their route complete. Ten minutes more would have seen the Irish victorious; when the sudden death of Saint Ruth,—an event totally unprovided for,—altogether changed the fortune of the day, and converted what ought to have been a victory into a bloody defeat. Seven thousand Irish fell in the pursuit; the loss of the English in killed and wounded, amounting to about 1,700 men. All the cannon, ammunition, and baggage of the Irish were taken, together with a great quantity of small arms, standards, and colours. Only 400 prisoners were made; a sufficient proof of the fury of the victors during the pursuit.

Ginckle made all haste to press on the war and to reap all the fruits of his victory. But he was not greatly elated by his success on the field of Aughrim; conscious that he owed his victory rather to a lucky accident than to any real superiority over the Irish army. He still feared a protracted struggle, judging from the determined resistance which he had already encountered. After securing Portumna, Banagher, Loughrea, and other places on the Shannon, Ginckle advanced to Galway with the main body of his army. Before the place, the formality of a siege was commenced; but it was merely a formality. The garrison was weak, and the town ill-fortified and unable to stand a siege. The French general, D'Ussone, trusted to the aid of one Balderog O'Donnell, who had already sold himself to the English general. The town made a show of resistance for a few days, after which the mayor and magistrates made proposals for a surrender, in which the garrison soon after joined. The result was, that a capitulation took place, Ginckle granting the most liberal terms. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed to Limerick; a free pardon was granted to the governor, magistrates, and inhabitants, with full possession of their estates, and the free exercise of their religion. Ginckle was severely blamed by the protestant ascendancy faction for his leniency towards the Irish catholics; but his object was, by such means, to induce the Irish to submit as speedily as possible to William's authority, and thus get rid of a war which was both inglorious and burdensome. And the policy of Ginckle was not without its effects, for now numbers of the Irish withdrew from the contest, and retired to their homes under the protection of the government.

Thus successful on all hands, Ginckle advanced towards Limerick, now the last hope of the Irish army. All the other strong-



holds were in possession of William's generals. It was anticipated in England that, after the fall of Galway, Limerick would surrender without a blow, and that the struggle was now entirely at an end. The queen even gave orders that a fleet of transports should be got ready to embark immediately 10,000 foot and 600 horse from Cork and Kinsale, to the aid of William, now fighting at the head of the protestant army in Flanders. This enterprise, however, was delayed to a much longer period, in consequence of the gallant resistance of the Irish forces at Limerick, under the able generalship of Sarsfield. For, though considerable discord prevailed in the counsels of the Irish,—one party willing to submit, provided favourable terms could be granted, and another wishing to protract the war until promised assistance from France could be procured,—still the result which they arrived at was, to hold out a determined resistance to the army of William. In the midst of the discussions of the Irish councils about this time, Tyrconnel died, worn out by grief, vexation, and disappointment.

Ginckle made his approaches to the city with great caution, mindful of the severe repulse which king William had already received before its walls. He carefully strengthened his army, by withdrawing from all the neighbouring garrisons the principal part of their force: he secured the passes of the Shannon, and brought an English fleet up the river as far as it could safely venture. All the small forts in the neighbourhood were reduced, which might afterwards affect his communications with Kerry. His artillery was brought up under a powerful escort, and carefully guarded against surprise or ambuscade. These slow and cautious preparations seemed altogether unnecessary to the English government; and they urged him to bring the war to a conclusion without further delay. But Ginckle knew well the enemy with whom he had to deal; and he was fully conscious of the nature of a repulse in such a country and at such a season. It was already the 25th of August before he sat down with his army before the walls of Limerick, within which were enclosed all the remaining means and hopes of James's party. Not venturing to try their fortune outside the walls, the Irish abandoned the outposts after a slight resistance, and devoted all their energies and strength to a determined and protracted defence of their last stronghold.

Ginckle's army occupied nearly the same ground, and made their approaches in the same manner, as in the former siege. For some days they directed their artillery against the Irish town, on which they committed great havoc. They next erected batteries against the English town, on the other side of the river; but they soon became conscious of the impolicy of this step,—the English town being impregnable, and the garrison very numerous, and well supplied with the means of resistance. Considerable destruction was, however, done; the town was on more than one occasion set fire to, but the flames were easily extinguished by the inhabitants, who

were constantly on the alert. The principal part of the town's people, together with a large proportion of the Irish army, including nearly all the cavalry, were encamped on the Clare side of the river; and, as the place was not invested on that side, they were beyond reach of danger from the guns of the enemy. Ginckle, finding that the siege made no progress, and that his present batteries were of no avail, erected another near the river over against King's Island. After a furious fire of several days' duration, a breach was made; but, after all, he dare not attempt to storm it, without risking the destruction of his whole army. In despair, he was on the point of fortifying Kilmallock, and retiring into winter quarters, when treachery came to his aid, and induced him to persevere in his operations against the city.

Before Ginckle should assail Limerick with any probable chance of success, it was necessary that he should be able to invest it on the opposite side of the river, and by commanding the Thomond-Bridge, cut off all communication of the garrison with the county of Clare. But to ford the river was a work of great difficulty; as a small body of determined men posted on the opposite side could successfully oppose the strongest force. Then, there was the whole of the Irish cavalry to contend against—still a most formidable and effective force. To produce any impression, Ginckle must also transport a large detachment of his force; and if, in the weakened state of his camp, the garrison should determine on a general assault, the result must almost inevitably be a general defeat. At this juncture, and while placed in this dilemma, an opportunity presented itself of crossing the river. The place selected was opposite to where a small island is situated, from which the Shannon is easily fordable to the Clare side. This pass was now guarded by an Irish officer named Clifford,\* at the head of four regiments of dragoons. This person had sold the pass to the English, and promised to allow them to cross without opposition. Ginckle was not slow to take advantage of this treachery, and immediately concerted his plans for crossing to the Clare side of the river, with a strong body of his troops.

Before doing so, he dismounted his batteries, and seemed to be making every arrangement preparatory to raising the siege. The garrison shouted with joy when they saw the enemy, as they thought, preparing for a retreat. They imagined the contest to be now at an end, and had not the slightest anticipation of danger. At length Ginckle had completed his preparations, and unknown to the Irish, had prepared a bridge of ten boats, which he laid in safety in the darkness of night, and passed over the island with 600

\* The name of Colonel Henry Luttrell is generally associated with this infamous transaction, and unjustly. He was tried by a court martial, and acquitted. It was most probably his treachery in other respects which caused him to be suspected in this. The name of Luttrell in the south of Ireland, is to this day associated with treachery and infamy. "*He could the pass*" is a common expression among the peasantry, now used by them to denote the iniquity of "informing."—See HALL'S IRELAND.

grenadiers, and a considerable body of horse and foot, without being discovered by the Irish. Having formed in order, they proceeded to ford to the main-land. The sentinels gave the alarm, and a slight resistance was offered; but Clifford rode off with his troops, as had been agreed upon, and did not even warn the Irish army of the approach of the enemy. As was to have been expected, the Irish camp was completely taken by surprise. The inhabitants, who lay near them, for security's sake, were thrown into a state of extreme alarm, and fled in all directions. Most of them rushed to Thomond bridge, to cross into the town, and many were crushed to death in the effort to crush across. Fortunately, Ginckle did not press the pursuit, else the slaughter would have been fearful. The English general, fearing an ambuscade, drew off his troops, and the greater part of the inhabitants found their way into the town. The Irish cavalry had left behind them their saddles and accoutrements, and were thus disabled, in a great measure, for future service. This was regarded as no slight advantage by Ginckle, who greatly dreaded this part of the Irish army.

Notwithstanding this success of the besieging army, there was still some doubt as to whether the siege should be persevered in, abandoned, or converted into a blockade. The season was now far advanced, and winter was at hand. The fortifications of Limerick were still uninjured; their garrison was healthy, numerous, and determined; King's island, an important position lying north of the English town, was still in their hands, and there was little hope of success unless this port could be secured. In this period of suspense and doubt, Ginckle hoping to induce the garrison to submit by offers of favourable terms, issued a proclamation, promising the officers and garrison of Limerick, if they should submit within eight days, free pardon for all past offences, restitution of their estates, and the free exercise of their religion. Sarsfield also was secretly communicated with, and the most brilliant offers were made to him, of honours and promotion in the service of William. But the virtue of the brave old general remained unshaken. The offers were all courteously, but decidedly, refused. Nor did the proclamation of pardon and favour to the garrison produce any effect, for the resistance continued the same as before.

Considerable dissension now prevailed in the English councils, as to whether the siege should be raised or not. The majority were of opinion that the season was now too far advanced to prosecute the operations of the siege; and it was with great difficulty that Talmash prevailed on the general to order another attack, which, it was understood, should be the last, if not attended with some very decided success. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd of September, a powerful body of cavalry and infantry was marched across the pontoons, commanded by Ginckle in person, Wirtemberg, and Scravenmore. A strong body of the Irish was posted at the Thomond bridge, to oppose their approach. A severe

struggle took place and the British forces were repulsed with slaughter. Their cavalry were thrown into confusion; and the infantry were terribly galled by the fire kept up on them from the gravel pits in their front, which were lined by Irish musketeers. Sustained, however, by fresh reinforcements, the English again returned to the attack. The struggle was renewed. Fresh masses pressed on amidst shouts and cheers on either side. As those in the front rank fell, fresh men started at once into their places, and thus the deadly struggle went on. Those who were behind pressed on those who were before, the vast body of angry combatants swayed to and fro, like the waves of an angry ocean. Above all, roared the din of the life-devouring cannon. A hailstone of shot was poured from the batteries on the devoted English, carrying havoc and destruction through their ranks. Thus did the struggle continue, until about four o'clock in the afternoon. The English seemed about to be on the eve of defeat, when the British grenadiers were ordered to the charge. They threw themselves forward upon the Irish with a dreadful impetuosity. With desperate valour they rushed on through the fire of the forts, pierced or bore down the Irish columns opposed to them, and threw themselves with all their weight upon the defenders of the bridge. The struggle was here for some time desperately maintained. The Irish, again reinforced, held their ground; and the piles of their dead showed the awful valour of their resistance. There was no flinching, no retreat, —but stern, inflexible, and deadly resistance.

In this state were matters; the English still bearing down with their dense masses of infantry, when the French officer commanding the bridge, fearing that the grenadiers would press forward through the gate, ordered the drawbridge to be raised! The Irish detachment, seeing their retreat thus, as if treacherously, cut off, and themselves exposed to certain destruction, broke and dispersed. Many rushed into the Shannon, to swim across into the city; but many were drowned: of the remainder, some 600 were bayoneted by the English grenadiers. The bridge was encumbered and blocked up with the dead bodies. Upwards of 100 were made prisoners, and their lives were only spared at the intercession of the English officers.

Ginckle now made a lodgement within ten yards from the bridge; yet still matters were little advanced towards a conclusion. His army had been weakened by its severe conflicts with the Irish, and he had no means of making up his loss by recruits; whereas the Irish could at once fill up their losses by fresh men. Had the garrison been united in their resistance, they could still have bid defiance to all the force which the besiegers could bring against them. But dissensions now prevailed within the walls, and did for Ginckle what fighting could not effect. The Irish party now became more anxious for peace than ever; especially after the raising of Thomond bridge by the French, and the consequent

massacre of their countrymen, which they imagined to be the result of the treachery of their allies. Since the disastrous battle of Aughrim, the Irish had also lost confidence in their leaders, and were dispirited by the sufferings and reverses which their frequent mismanagement and neglect had entailed upon them. They were therefore willing to come to terms with the enemy, before it was too late.

After a three days' truce, the Irish offered terms of capitulation to Ginckle: they demanded a free pardon for all who were now in arms for king James, restitution of their estates, freedom of religious worship, civil equality of catholics with protestants, and the payment of the Irish army by king William the same as his own troops. Ginckle refused these terms, but offered others of a liberal character. Negotiations went forward; and, at length, after a siege of six weeks, during which the English army had, in fact, made no impression on the strength of Limerick, the terms of a treaty were agreed upon, and signed on the 3rd of October, by the different authorities: thus putting an end to the Irish war. It is said that at the very time when the proposals for a capitulation reached the English camp, Ginckle was about to publish a proclamation, offering the Irish leaders terms of peace, as full and as honourable, as if the Irish had just gained a decisive victory. And, indeed, the position of Ginckle was now so critical, that it was his intent to bring the war to a conclusion at almost any cost. Winter was coming on, and his army was in great difficulties: Limerick was now better able to sustain a siege than when it drove William and his army from its walls; the garrison was, at least, 14,000, and abundantly supplied with the means of protracted resistance; added to which, a French fleet was daily expected, with reinforcements of men and supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, and which, in fact, arrived two days after the treaty was signed. All these were reasons why Ginckle should have been induced to offer favourable terms to the Irish, in order to bring the war to a conclusion; though, by doing so, he drew down upon him the reprobation of the bigots of protestantism and those men who still hungered and thirsted after more forfeitures and confiscations.

The celebrated treaty of Limerick consisted of two parts, civil\*

\* We subjoin the Civil articles of this most important document, the subject of so much after altercation and dispute:—

"William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part; and several officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenour of which said articles is as follows, viz.

ARTICLES agreed upon the third of October, One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety-one.

BETWEEN the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conningsby, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army on the one part.

and military. The CIVIL ARTICLES provided that all Roman catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion as in the reign of Charles II., their majesties promising, as soon as their affairs would permit them to summon a parliament, to give the Irish catholics further security in this particular. Roman catholics were to be required to take only the oath of allegiance, and no other. The Inhabitants of Limerick, and all those under commission of James in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo,

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown on the other part.

In behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the City of Limerick, and other Agreements made between the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the Governour of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said City, and submission of the said Army: it is agreed, That,

I. That Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of king Charles II. or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: and all, and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Luttrell, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermastown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunures, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by

and all the commissioned officers then serving in the Irish army, were to enjoy free possession of their properties and estates, with full liberty to exercise their professions and callings as in the reign of Charles II. The catholic gentry were also allowed the use of arms as gentlemen. The Military articles stipulated for the surrender of Limerick, and the other fortunes in the possessions of the Irish, and provided that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, and be supplied with shipping if required, to convey them to France, or elsewhere, at the expense of the British government. That the Irish should have gained such terms as

parliament, the lords justices, and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles shall be sued, molested, or impeached at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impeached, or made accountable for the rents, or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defense of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyroconnel, and lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron De Ginckle, shall interceed with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands,

Present,  
SCRAVENORE,  
H. MACCAY,  
T. TALMASH.

CHAR. PORTER,  
THO. CONINGSBY,  
BAR. DE GINCKLE.

these was highly honourable to their valour, and sufficiently proved the estimation in which the British generals held them. Certainly, a nation of poltroons could never have obtained such favourable terms. But the British were also urged to a speedy settlement of the war, by the consideration that if it were longer protracted, all the advantages they had gained might be snatched from their hands. Already, indeed, was it known that a French armament had sailed from Brest, laden with military stores and reinforcements, for the aid of the Irish. The French fleet, however, arrived too late; for the treaty had been agreed upon and signed two days before it entered the waters of the Shannon. The French exclaimed against the "treachery" of their allies; but the Irish had now suffered enough through their French alliance, and were sincerely anxious for obtaining a peace on the most favourable terms.

Limerick was taken possession of by the British army, on the 4th of October, when general Talmash entered it at the head of five British regiments. The town was found exceedingly strong, though many of its buildings had been reduced to ruins. On the following day, a scene occurred that has, perhaps, no parallel in history. The Irish army was drawn up on King's Island, to choose between the service of England and France. Ginckle's object was to induce as many of the Irish as possible to enter the British service, or to disband and return to their homes. On the other hand, the object of generals Sarsfield\* and Wanchope was to induce them to enter the service of France, which offered promotion to the officers in proportion to the number of men they brought over with them. Separate proclamations were issued by Ginckle and Sarsfield, setting forth the advantages they should enjoy in the services of England and France. The Irish clergy, also, harangued the Irish troops in favour of the service of France. It was then agreed that, on the following day, the Irish army should be drawn up at Thomond gate, and, after the addresses to the men from both sides had been concluded, they should be marched past a flag, raised at a given point,—and that those who chose England were to file off to the left, while those who preferred France were to march onwards.

"The sun, perhaps," says a popular writer, "scarcely ever rose on a more interesting spectacle than was exhibited on King's Island, when the morning for the decision of the Irish soldiery arrived. The men paraded at an early hour; the chaplains said mass, and preached each a sermon at the head of their regiments.

\* General Sarsfield, created by James, Earl of Lucan, was the darling of his army; and his memory is yet fondly cherished among the Irish people. After the Irish war had been brought to a conclusion, Sarsfield entered the service of France, and gathered immortal honour in the wars of the Low Countries. His name, with that of the Irish brigade, is associated with the most brilliant parts of French history. Sarsfield was killed at the battle of Landen, in 1693, in the very arms of victory. It is recorded that, as he lay on the field, after having received his death-wound, he put his hand to his breast, and feeling the life-blood ebbing forth, he drew it away covered with blood, when gazing wistfully at it for a moment, he said, as if to himself, "*Oh! that this were for Ireland!*" Alas, for poor Ireland! The most brilliant armies of its sons have been to the glory of the stranger and the foreigner, rather than to that of their own country.



The catholic bishops then went through the lines, blessing the troops as they passed. They were received with military honours, rendered more imposing by the affectionate devotion which the native Irish have ever shown to their prelates. After this ceremony, refreshments were distributed to the troops, and a message sent to Ginckle and the Lords-justices that "all was ready." The Irish army, fifteen thousand strong, received the British cortège with presented arms. The Lords-justices and the generals rode slowly through their lines, and declared that they had never seen a finer body of men. Adjutant-general Withers then addressed them in an excellent speech, recommending the English service in very forcible terms; after which the army broke into column, and the word "march" was given.

The walls of the town were covered with citizens; the neighbouring hills were crowded with the peasantry of Clare and Limerick; the deputies of the three kings stood near the flag; but, when the decisive word was given, the deepest silence reigned through the vast and varied multitude, and not a sound was heard but the heavy tread of the advancing battalions. The column was headed by the Irish Guards, fourteen hundred strong, a regiment that had excited Ginckle's warmest admiration. They marched past the flag, and seven men only ranged themselves on the side of England. The next two regiments were the Ulster Irish, and they all filed to the left. Their example, however, was not generally followed; the greater part of the remainder declared in favour of France. A similar scene took place at the cavalry-camp; and, out of the whole, Ginckle only obtained about one thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot. So little pleased was he with this result, that he was inclined to pick a quarrel with the Irish leaders; and the treaty would have been broken almost as soon as signed, but for the presence of the French fleet, which forced the English authorities to suppress their resentment.

On the twelfth of October, the Irish cavalry that had chosen the service of France passed through Limerick, on their way to Cork from Clare. This gallant body had been the darling and the pride of the Irish during the eventful war, and their departure was viewed with deep and bitter regret. The citizens assembled to bid them a final farewell; but their hearts died within them; a few faint cheers, as faintly answered, spoke the sadness, as well as the depth, of their mutual affection. Tears and blessings accompanied them to the Water-gate; and when the last file had passed out, a deep groan burst from the citizens of Limerick, who felt that their national hope was now destroyed. The infantry followed in a few days; but their number was greatly thinned by desertion, before they reached the place of embarkation. There are no persons so strongly attached to their native soil as the Irish peasants. Those who have witnessed the administration of justice at the assizes, well know, that transportation is more dreaded than hang-

ing, by the criminals who stand at an Irish bar. It is not wonderful therefore, that many, after the momentary excitement was over, should repent of their determination, and resolve to stay in the land of their affections. The reluctance to embark was greatly increased by the accounts which were received from France of the receptions given to the first divisions. Louis was enraged at the termination of a war which employed so large a portion of the forces of his great enemy; and, though his own niggardliness in sending supplies, and the long delay of reinforcements, was the chief cause of the evil, he unjustly vented his resentment on those who had voluntarily chosen his service. No quarter was assigned to the troops; the regiments were broken up, and the officers reduced to inferior ranks, and the generals excluded from the court. This disgraceful treatment was not, however, long continued. In a few years, the Irish brigades were deservedly esteemed the most valuable part of the French army."

Shortly after the treaty had been signed, the chief part of the British army was removed from Ireland; the resisting spirit of Ireland was now considered crushed; hostilities entirely ceased; and the war was ended.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Condition of Ireland at the close of the war—Measure of William—Confiscation of Estates—Penal laws against the Catholics.

THE condition of the Irish people at the termination of the Civil War was most lamentable. All the pursuits of industry had been checked; there was no inducement to labour, for men knew not whether they or their enemies would reap that which they had sown; the tenure of property was most insecure, depending on the issue of the great struggle, on which the entire nation looked on in agonizing suspense; the most active labourers were drawn into the ranks of the Irish army; the country was overrun by rapparees, brutalized by oppression, and often desperate from want. In such a state of things, all civilizing influences were impossible. War, especially civil war, is utterly destructive of social progress. It degrades, prostrates, de-humanizes, and often brutalizes, an entire people.

And yet Ireland perhaps suffered less during the Civil War than at any other period during the century. The reason was, that the ordinary state of Ireland when at peace was invariably one of quiet oppression;—a state as destructive of civilization, and as galling and degrading to a people, as the short and sharp struggle of actual insurrection and warfare. But, during the administration of Tyrconnel, the Irish people were governed somewhat after the manner that they wished to be. The popular wishes were at least

consulted. The popular religion was recognized and honoured, and the popular leaders were admitted to a share in the controul of the government. The people were also imbued with a new spirit during the present contest. They felt that they were now struggling for their existence as a nation,—one of the most ennobling and inspiriting of all ambitions. Besides, during the greater part of the war, the country was under the sway of the Catholic armies, by whom the people were efficiently protected in the enjoyment of their industries and properties. Hence, we say that the sufferings of the great mass of the Irish people were perhaps less at this period, than during the ordinary state of peace in which the Irish lived under the English government.

We regret that there are so few records of the real state of the people at the period of which we write, that our statements on this head must be mainly grounded on *inference*. All the historians of the period are too busily occupied with the detail of parliamentary and military operations, to recollect that such a thing as a people was in existence. The history they write is merely that of a few of the more prominent individuals on the stage, while the great mass of the nation—unless in so far as they contributed to swell the ranks of the combatants on either side—was passed over and forgotten. As far, however, as can be gathered from the accounts that have come down to us, the sufferings of the Irish people during the Civil War, especially in those districts which were the scene of military operations, must have been very great. The barbarities inflicted by William's army upon the defenceless peasantry, both catholic and protestant, were of the most horrible kind. No demons could have revelled in cruelty, and gloated over suffering more keenly than they did. The struggle was thus embittered, and excesses rendered more frequent on both sides,—though, to the honour of the Irish, their army and generals were throughout actuated by the most chivalrous and honourable spirit towards their enemies.

The pecuniary exactions, and imposts of various kinds, levied on the Irish people, for the maintenance of the war, must have been grievously felt by them; and would have been so even in the most flourishing condition of trade and industry; how much more so in a time of general embarrassment, of bank restrictions, of deranged currency, of interrupted industry, of civil war. The immense number of desperate rapparees now roving idle and desperate about the country, gives some idea of the ruin that had been wrought upon the homes and industrial pursuits of the Irish people. All this could not fail to cause, for a long time to come, a feebleness and lethargy of all the powers of the social system, and a retrograde movement both of the wealth and population of the country. At the conclusion of the war, also, Ireland was drained of its best and bravest sons, who in crowds sought refuge in the armies of the continent,—causing another source of weakness to the poor, distracted, and trodden-down country.

Nor was the conduct of William and his government, subsequent to the Peace of Limerick, calculated to raise Ireland from the deep mire of poverty into which oppression had sunk her. It is probable that William himself was not disposed to act with cruelty towards Ireland; indeed, there is good reason to suppose, that he would have treated her with comparative kindness and forbearance. But, unfortunately, he was in the hands of the "protestant ascendancy" party, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, who compelled him to carry out their bigotted and tyrannical measures upon the now-subdued and crushed Irish catholic party. William could not do justice to Ireland, even had he wished it: he was completely at the mercy of a bigotted faction, who used him as an instrument for their own selfish and detestable purposes.

William, throughout, had a strange mixture of parties to deal with. In England, the episcopalians urged him to persecute the presbyterians in Scotland; the presbyterians called on him to put down the episcopalians; and in Ireland, a "protestant ascendancy" called on him to subject a whole nation of catholics to oppression. As opposed to all these parties, William was powerless; and though they compelled him to pass severe laws, yet it is to his honour, that he generally endeavoured to administer them in a spirit of mercy. In the course of his reign, he discovered symptoms of lenity towards the catholics, which seemed to show, that if he had not been king of England, he would not have been the oppressor of Ireland.

The lenity of William was, however, completely overborne by the insolent and domineering faction, to which the people of Ireland were now delivered over. They inveighed loudly against the favourable terms granted to the Irish people by the treaty of Limerick; and determined to take the first opportunity of violating them. They were especially enraged at those articles of the treaty which secured civil rights to the catholics; and assailed General Ginckle with the utmost virulence, because of his liberal concession to his enemies. Those true inheritors of the old Cromwellian spirit, declared that they would be satisfied with nothing short of the extirpation of the catholics; and justified their demand, as their bigotted fathers had done, by quoting the most bloody example of religious extirpation from the books of the OLD TESTAMENT. The protestant clergy in general, of all sects, denounced the treaty in terms of unmeasured violence; and it was not long before the same hideous spirit was embodied in the acts of the protestant ascendancy in parliament.

One of the first points on which the spirit of the ascendancy was shown, after the success of William's army, was in reference to the properties of the Irish catholics. It was obvious, immediately after the battle of the Boyne, that the war, like all those which had preceded it, was to become one of confiscations and forfeitures. William was, no doubt, urged to this policy by the avaricious

harpies constituting the English ascendancy and "Old Castle" parties. They remembered the plunder that had been obtained in the days of Cromwell and James, and longed for a repetition of the same disgraceful system; nor did they wait long. For, it appears from a report presented to the English House of Commons, that the forfeitures made by the government of king William, amounted to no less than one million, sixty thousand and odd acres, stripping three thousand, nine hundred and twenty-one persons of lands, valued at that day, at £3,819,948 sterling.\*

The most extensive forfeiture was that of the Earl of Clancarty, whose extensive estates in Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, were seized, and fraudulently sold by the commissioners at Chichester house. An attempt was made by William to preserve the family from destruction; but it was of no avail: the "protestant ascendancy"—some of the leading members of which, among others Sir Richard Cox, had already obtained grants of confiscated lands,—obtained a declaration from the county of Cork Grand Jury, that the restoration of the Earl's estates would be "prejudicial to the protestant interest,"—in other words, that it would be disagreeable for the holders of the property to disgorge the plunder they had obtained.

This extensive seizure of Irish Estates by the government of William, completed the confiscations of the seventeenth century,—a century of injury, exasperation, and revenge—of war, bloodshed, and spoliation. The forfeitures for "rebellion" during the century amounted to about eleven millions and a half acres,—the entire surface of Ireland amounting to only about twelve millions of acres! "It is a subject of curious and important speculation," says Lord Clare, in his celebrated speech on the Union,† "to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven millions and forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the case of the forfeitures:—

Confiscated in the reign of James I. the whole of the	} 2,836,837
province of Ulster, containing acres ... ..	
Set out by the Court of Claims, at the Restoration, acres	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688, acres ... ..	1,060,792
Total ... ..	11,697,629

\* "The mode in which the lord-justices and the "Castle party" proceeded, is an edifying example of the mode by which the forms of law have been so often prostituted, to sanction injustice to Ireland. They indicted the Irish gentlemen who possessed any estates, of high treason, in the several counties over which they had jurisdiction; and then removed them all by *certiorari*, to the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. By this ingenious contrivance, those who were to be robbed lost all opportunity of making their defence; indeed, in most cases, they were ignorant of their being accused; and the Irish government were saved the trouble of showing how the Irish people could be guilty of high treason, for supporting the cause of their rightful monarch against a foreign invader. They felt conscious, that this was not a matter to be proved easily; and we must give them due credit for the prudent modesty of their silence."—TAYLOR.

† Delivered February 18th, 1800. Be it remembered that there was no man less likely than Lord Clare to exaggerate the above picture in its outline or colouring.

So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six old families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. ; but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English Republic inflicted by Cromwell ; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. *The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation, at the Revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world.* If the wars of England, carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire. But the continued and persevering resistance of Ireland to the British Crown during the whole of the last century, was mere rebellion, and the municipal law of England attached upon the crime. What, then, was the situation of Ireland at the time of the Revolution, and what is it at this day ? *The whole power and property of the country has been conferred by successive monarchs of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers, who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title ; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontent in sullen indignation.*"

But the hand of the oppressor was most clearly discernible in the severe penal laws against the catholic Irish, enacted in the course of William's reign. In flagrant violation of the treaty of Limerick, which stipulated that the catholics should "enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, and such as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.," the earliest opportunity was adopted to crush them down by a series of cruel and insulting penal enactments, unexampled in the history of any other age or country. The condition on which persons claiming the benefit of the acts founded on this Treaty, should take the oath of allegiance, was in these simple terms : "I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary. So help me God !" The government, regarding this as a concession to the catholics, resolved to throw it overboard : nineteen days after the signing of the Treaty of Limerick, they passed an act professing to abolish the old oath of supremacy, and impose a new one, requiring a declaration which no conscientious catholic could make, and which commenced as follows : "I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, confess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the sacrament in the LORD'S SUPPER, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at, and after the consecration thereof

by any person whatsoever,—and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous,” &c., &c.

This declaration, it will be perceived, was levelled at the entire Irish catholic people, who were now and henceforward to be placed under the ban of protestant exclusiveness and cruelty, and thrust beyond the pale of social privilege and brotherhood. It was ordered that every member of the Irish parliament should take the above oath and declaration; consequently, catholics were at once and entirely excluded from all share in the government of the country. All persons holding office under government, were also compelled to take the oath; consequently, the catholics were wholly excluded from all civil, military, or ecclesiastical offices in the state. Even barristers were compelled to take it, under a penalty of £500; consequently, the entire rights, liberties, properties, and industries of the Irish nation were left to be prosecuted, defended, adjudicated, and disposed of, by a protestant bar and a protestant bench. This was only the commencement of a series of persecutions, which increased in cruelty and rancour, as the catholics sunk under the weight of their oppression. All resistance among them had now ceased, their arms were wrested from them. Their own army had quitted Ireland for continental service, immediately after the surrender of Limerick. The Irish catholics were now, and henceforward, treated as a nation of hereditary slaves, who had no legal existence, and were allowed to survive only that they might subserve the purposes of their protestant lords and masters.

It is revolting to trace the proceedings of the Irish parliament subsequent to this period. The catholics being completely shut out from the legislature, it became a mere instrument of cruelty and tyranny in the hands of a vulgar and bigotted religious ascendancy. Henceforward the legislation of these banded tyrants was a legislation of coercion and barbarism. Their object, which they zealously pursued throughout the long century which followed, was to crush and trample down all Irish and national spirit, to extinguish all mind and intelligence, and reduce the Irish people to a state of worse than Eastern servitude and degradation. The parliament, which should have been the instrument of popular government, and general protection for all classes, became the instrument of aggrandizement for the few, and of enslavement for the great mass of the people. Indeed, the most absolute rule of a despot would have been preferable to the ingeniously multiplied tyrannies of these Irish Protestant Parliaments.

One of the first acts of the Irish parliament in the reign of William, was to enact that catholic clergymen of every description should leave the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698, under penalty of imprisonment and transportation; and if they returned

from transportation, they were to be adjudged guilty of *high treason* and to *suffer death* accordingly ! Such was the first attempt at fulfilment of the Treaty of Limerick by the Irish parliament !— But we have not told all. It was further enacted that whoever should harbour a catholic priest, should be fined £20 for the first offence, double that sum in the second, and forfeiture of moveable property and the life rent of landed property, for the third offence. Attendance on public worship was also enforced, under a penalty according to a harassing statute passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth.\*

Another enactment of the same parliament was of a still more degrading and insulting nature. It was directed against the intelligence of the nation. Aware that there is no more effective method of poisoning or enslaving the minds of a people, than by obtaining a direction of the education of its youth,—and that, so long as Irish parents and Irish teachers educated Irish children, the hatred of the Irish people to English and protestant ascendancy would be perpetrated, the Parliament next passed an infamous act to restrain the education of the Irish youth both at home and abroad. The feeling of servitude was thus to be engrafted in the natural mind. The intellect of Ireland was to be held in trammels. To be rendered patient under oppression, everything that could give them a knowledge of their rights was forbidden. To make them passive under insult and suffering, it was necessary that they should be degraded and crushed, if possible, below the condition of ordinary humanity. The statute for this purpose is so expressive, and its object, as an instrument of persecution, so unambiguous, that it cannot better be described than in its own words. It provided, “that, if any subjects of Ireland should after that session of parliament, go, or send any child or person, to be educated in any popish university, college, or school, or in any private family, or if such child should, by any popish person, be instructed in the popish religion, or if any subjects of Ireland should send money or things toward the maintenance of such child or other person, already sent, or to be sent, every such offender,

\* 7 & 9 Wm. 3. sess. 1. c. 26. All popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart this kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698. And if any of them shall be at any time after the said day within this kingdom, they shall be imprisoned, and remain there without bail till they are transported beyond the seas out of the king's dominions, wherever the king, his heirs or successors, or chief governors of this kingdom shall think fit: And if any, so transported, shall return again into this kingdom, then to be guilty of high treason, and to suffer accordingly.

And from the 29th of December, 1697, no popish archbishop, &c., shall come into this kingdom from any parts beyond the seas, on pain of twelve months' imprisonment, and then to be transported in manner aforesaid; and if, after such transportation, any of them return again into this kingdom, they shall be guilty of high treason, and suffer accordingly.

And any person that shall, from the 1st of May, knowingly conceal, or entertain any such popish archbishops, bishops, &c., hereby required to depart out of this kingdom, or that after the said day shall come into this kingdom, shall for the first offence forfeit £20, for the second double the sum, and if he offend the third time, shall forfeit all his lands and tenements of freehold or inheritance, during his life; and also all his goods and chattels; one moiety to the king, his heirs and successors, and the other moiety to the informer (so as it do not exceed £100) and the surplussage of what shall remain, to the king.

December 1st, 1697. Resolved, that part of the act 2d. Eliz. chap. 2d. which obliges every person, not having a lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, to resort every Sunday to church, and there abide during the time of common prayer, preaching, and other service of God be there ministered, under pain of forfeiting for every neglect, 12d., ought to be put in execution.—*CON. JOUR.* vol. II. f. 984.



being thereof convicted, should be for ever disabled to sue, or prosecute any action, bill, plaint, or information in law or equity; to be guardian, administrator, or executor to any person, or to be capable of any legacy or deed of gift, and besides, should forfeit all their estates, both real and personal during their lives."

The framers of this law were not contented that a measured punishment should be dealt against this offender; but he was deprived of the protection of the law; he could never, even after having paid the penalty of an entire forfeiture of his property, again reinstate himself as a member of society. His debtor could not be compelled to pay him. He could not secure by laws the fruits of his labour, forcibly seized from him by ruffians. He must be content to live beyond the pale of society, providing for himself like one of the beasts of the field, having no ties which bound him to mankind, or mankind to him. To what would the nature of such a man be likely to turn? This act was immediately carried into rigorous execution. About the same time, in equal violation of the treaty, an act was passed for the general disarmament of the Irish catholics. The ascendancy, who had learnt what Irish bravery could do, at Limerick and Athlone, were noticed to do every thing they could to prevent all armed resistance for the future. They feared that the lion might become enraged by their tortures, and they took the precaution of paring his claws!

After all these infamous acts had been perpetrated, and the treaty of Limerick so shamefully violated, the government had the wonderful impudence gravely to bring in a bill to confirm the Articles of Limerick! This had now been deferred to the ninth year of William's reign, by which time, the acts already passed, imposing severe penal disabilities on the catholics, rendered the confirmation of the treaty a mere farce. And after all, the treaty was only *nominally* confirmed. The first and most important article, which provided for the security of the catholics from all disturbances on account of their religion, was entirely omitted; those parts of the second article, which confirmed the catholic gentry of Limerick, Clare, Cork, Kerry, and Mayo, in the possession of their estates, and allowed all catholics freely to exercise their several trades and professions, were also omitted; likewise, the fourth, the seventh, the ninth, and other articles which extended the benefits of the peace to Irish officers abroad, which allowed the catholic gentry to ride armed, and which provided that the oath of allegiance agreed upon, should be the only oath required from the catholics. Never was any legislature guilty of so atrocious a breach of public faith: but it mattered not, the Irish parliament had no character to lose, and the bill passed through the Commons with but slender opposition. Several of the Lords strenuously resisted the bill, insisting that it put the catholics in a worse condition than before; and they had even the spirit to enter their protest against it, by which they were joined by six bishops, whom William—

actuated by a spirit more liberal than that of his government, had recently elevated to the episcopal bench. This monstrous act was shortly followed by three others, passed in the same spirit, namely one for the prevention of marriages between catholics and protestants; another, to prevent "papists" from being solicitors; and a third, to prohibit their being employed as gamekeepers!

Another series of barbarous acts were directed at this time against the commerce and manufactures of Ireland. For, even though civil war had wasted the country, the industry of the Irish had been making steady progress, and the manufacturing activity of the country was gradually on the increase. Perhaps we are ready to over-estimate the mischief inflicted by war on the industry of a people; forgetting that, unless in the very midst of the struggle, the ordinary pursuits of life go forward unmolested and uninterrupted. Notwithstanding the dangers and excitement of the period, men still keep their eye on the main chance, and occupy their time in industrial occupations, just as in times of general peace and prosperity. Certain it is, that during the Civil War which ended with the capitulation of Limerick, the industry of Ireland had prospered more than it had done during the peace which it enjoyed under the government of England. Even war, with all its horrors, proved less injurious to Irish interests than tranquility and "protection" under English law and English government!

It will be remembered that, in the reign of Charles II., certain acts had been passed, prohibiting the export of Irish wool, cattle, &c., to England or her colonies; but at the same time granting FREE TRADE between Ireland and all other countries, whether at war or peace with England. In consequence of these measures, the Irish directed their attention to the growth of home manufactures. In consequence of the prohibition laid by the English government on the export of their wool, they were compelled, as it were, to manufacture for themselves, in order to work up their raw material, and thus find a market for their produce. The Irish woollen and other manufactures thus received a great impetus, and factories were erected in various parts of the country. Trade increased, and Ireland seemed in a fair way of becoming a wealthy and happy nation.

These prospects were, however, interrupted by the Civil War of 1689, which for a time deranged or suspended the pursuits of industry in various parts of the country. But after the restoral of peace, Ireland again began to show signs of returning prosperity. William, who was willing to encourage the growth of Irish commerce and manufacture, during the first four years of his reign, when he governed in his own sense, acted with judgment and lenity towards his Irish subjects in reference to their pursuits of industry. The island, again restored to peace, assumed a new aspect; the land became better cultivated, and plenty abounded; the catholics, who, greatly to the exasperation of the ascending party, were at

first dealt leniently with by William—having restored to them some 233,106 acres of the confiscated estates,—engaged extensively in the export and import trade to the continent, particularly in the linen, yarn, and frieze trade. The woollen manufacture, especially, continued to increase; and Ireland promised soon to take the lead in this department of national industry.

England now looked on with a jealous eye, for she saw her neighbour growing rich by the pursuits of trade. England could never bear that Ireland should outstrip, or even rival her, in any department; and accordingly means were soon adopted to check the growing prosperity of Irish manufactures. As the English parliament had compelled Charles to prohibit the exportation of Irish wool, so they now wished to compel William to prohibit the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures. They accordingly presented a joint petition to the king,\* stating that “the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland had long been, and would be *ever*, looked upon with great jealousy by his English subjects, and praying him, by very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same.” The reply of William was brief, but characteristic; it ran as follows:—

“My Lords and Gentlemen,—I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the “woollen manufacture of Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there: “and to promote the trade of England. July 2, 1698.”

The servile answer of the *Irish* parliament to this peremptory statement of William, was to the effect that “the woollen manufacture being the settled staple trade of *England*, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here (namely in *Ireland*) for the purpose.” The Irish parliament, always anti-national and anti-Irish, thus willingly lent themselves as tools to crush Irish industry, satisfied with obtaining in return the wretched equivalent of a vile anti-national “No Popery” code, which gratified their bigotted hatred at the cost of the very best interests of the Irish people.

So far as the discouragement of the Irish woollen trade was concerned, William was as good as his word. Various acts were

\* The Address of the House of Commons to king William was couched in a most slavish tone. According to this document, the Irish owed the universal gifts of light and air, life, and a soil to tread upon, more to the English parliament than to God Almighty. It stated that “being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend on preserving the woollen manufactures as much as possible to this realm, they thought it became them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and the increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. That they could not without trouble observe, that Ireland, which is dependent on and protected by, England, in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves, and as profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great benefit of both nations; that the consequence thereof would necessitate his majesty’s parliament of England to interpose to prevent this mischief, unless his majesty, by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England, by making the subjects of Ireland preserve the joint interests of both kingdoms: wherefore they implored his majesty’s protection and favour in this matter; and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employs in Ireland to use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland (except to be imported hither), and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland; to which the Commons of England should ever be ready to give their utmost assistance.”

passed by the English parliament,\* which were afterwards recognised and confirmed by the Irish parliament,† for the prostration and ultimate destruction of this important branch of manufacture, for which the natural resources of Ireland so admirably adapt it. A duty of 20 per cent. was imposed on broad, and of 10 per cent. on narrow cloths; the exportation of all woollen goods from Ireland to other countries, was strictly prohibited, except to England and Wales, and with the licence of the commissioners of the revenue. But previous to this, heavy duties had been laid on the importation of Irish woollens into England, which amounted to a prohibition, consequently these acts were levelled at the entire export trade of Ireland in this branch of manufactures. And they had their effect: they accomplished the purpose for which they were devised. The woollen manufactures of Ireland were completely ruined; and thus 12,000 families in the metropolis, chiefly protestants, and 30,000 families dispersed in other parts of the kingdom, were cruelly deprived of their means of subsistence. A smuggling trade, the remains of the former legitimate free intercourse, was for some time kept up with France and Spain; but at length the woollen

\* William and Mary, c. 32; 4 William and Mary, c. 24; 7 and 8 William, c. 28; 9 and 10 William, c. 40; 10 and 11 William, c. 10.

† As it has not unfrequently been alleged against the catholics that, if they had the power, and possessed ascendancy in the Irish legislature, that the protestants have done, they would use it for purposes of their own aggrandisement, and to the injury of other religious sects,—it may not be uninteresting and unimportant here to place in juxtaposition, the acts passed in the catholic parliament of James and those passed in the protestant parliament of William, allowing the reader to judge for himself, which of the two legislated most in the spirit of constitutional freedom, and for the true interests of Ireland:—

#### ACTS PASSED IN THE CATHOLIC PARLIAMENTS OF JAMES.

An act declaring that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland; and against writs and appeals to be brought for removing judgments, decrees, and sentences in Ireland to England.

An act for taking off all incapacities from the natives of this kingdom.

An act for liberty of conscience, and repealing such acts and clauses in any acts of Parliament which are inconsistent with the same.

An act for the encouragement of strangers and others to inhabit and plant in this kingdom of Ireland.

An act for vesting in his Majesty the goods of absentees.

An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh wools into this kingdom.

An act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation, &c., &c.

#### ACTS PASSED IN THE PROTESTANT PARLIAMENTS OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

An act, 3 William, recognised by the Irish parliament (thereby recognising the supremacy of England), for excluding Catholics from parliament.—*Lords' Journal*, v. i. p. 496.

An act restraining foreign education.—7 William, c. 4.

An act for disarming Papists, containing a clause rendering their spoliation, robbery, &c. legal.—7 Will. c. 6.

An act for banishing archbishops, priests, &c. for the purpose of extinguishing the Catholic religion.—9 Will. c. 1.

An act for discouraging marriages between Catholic and Protestant.—9 Will. c. 8.

An act confirming (i. e. violating) the Articles of Limerick.—9 Will. c. 11.

The acts for discouraging the Woollen Trade of Ireland, which afforded subsistence to 12,000 Protestant families in the metropolis, and 30,000 dispersed in other parts of the kingdom, passed in the English parliaments (1 Will. and Mary, c. 32; 4 Will. and Mary, c. 24; 7 and 8 Will. c. 28; 9 and 10 Will., c. 40), and recognised afterwards by the Irish parliament, in the Bill passed 25th of March, 1699.

An act completing the ruin of the woollen manufactory, and imposed with all its violations of the trial by jury, &c. by the English parliament on Ireland.—10 and 11 Will. and Mary, c. 10.

Such were the Protestant parliaments from the hands of which Ireland afterwards received its destitution, and such the constitution to which the monopolists of the present day still wish that we should revert! Such men and such assemblies were much more fitting to entertain the petitions of coalheavers for the exclusion of Papists from the trade; or the infamous castration clause in the Bill for mending the laws against the growth of Popery; or to burn Molyneux's book by the public hangman, than to legislate for the rights and interests of a free nation.

trade was almost entirely destroyed, and the ruins of the manufactories may to this day be seen in many places, speaking of the former industry and wealth of unfortunate Ireland.

While William thus fulfilled his promise of discouraging the woollen manufacture in Ireland, he failed to keep his promise in reference to the encouragement of the linen trade. A tax of 30 per cent. was imposed on striped Irish linens, and other descriptions of linen goods were also interfered with in the same way. The linen trade, hitherto extremely flourishing, was soon prostrated, and the thousands of Scotch\* and Flemish settlers, who had been "planted" or induced to settle in Ireland, by promises of encouragement by the government, were reduced to a state of great suffering and distress. All attempts to establish the linen trade in the South, when any such attempts were made, were frustrated, chiefly through the avarice of the protestant clergy, who would not be satisfied without an extravagant *modus* for the tithe of flax, which actually amounted to a prohibition of the trade.

At the same time, means were sedulously adopted to crush Irish industry in various other ways. Irish silks, cottons, malt, beer, and almost every other article, were similarly prohibited. The provision trade, always one of the greatest importance to Ireland, was grievously interfered with; no fewer than twenty-four embargoes being placed on it within nineteen years! And thus were the promises of the English government fulfilled; and thus was Irish industry, instead of being encouraged, prostrated to the very dust.

The Irish people, driven from one branch of trade, endeavoured to maintain themselves by another. It was necessary that they should live: and in order to live honestly, they were willing to labour. But the evil genius of monopoly now reared its ugly head in the land; and the Irish catholics were even begrudged the leave to toil in their own land. A singular instance of the mean and malicious conduct of even the poorest classes belonging to the ascendancy party at that time, is furnished by the petition of the protestant coal porters of Dublin against the employment of catholic labourers. "A petition of one Edward Sprag and others, (we extract from the Commons' journals) in behalf of themselves and other *protestant porters*, in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a *papist*, employed porters of his own *persuasion*, having been examined and read, it was ordered to be referred to the examination and consideration of the committee of *grievances*, and that they should report their opinion thereon to the house!" The idea of the Irish House of Commons entertaining the case of the employment of catholic coal porters as a *grievance* would be ludicrous, but that it is disgusting and insulting in the extreme. It was not enough that protestant porters were employed (and they do not complain of not being hired) but they were not

\* Eighty thousand Scotch families had settled in Ireland after the battle of the Boyne. They were the principal linen manufacturers and exporters.—*Discourse on Ireland*, p. 33—36.

satisfied without the monopoly of the trade: their demand was tantamount to this—that “papists” should not be employed at all.

Another instance of the bigotted and hostile spirit with which the Irish were regarded in England at this period, is furnished in a petition presented to the English House of Commons, from Folkestone in Kent, and Aldborough in Suffolk, complaining “that the Irish of Waterford and Wexford, by catching herrings and sending them to the Streights, were forestalling and ruining the markets of the petitioners.” This petition was actually ordered to be taken into serious consideration by a committee; though what became of it afterwards is not now known.

We have now given a brief summary of the measures which followed the treaty of Limerick; and the simple statement of them is sufficient to prove the shameful manner in which its provisions were violated. Though the articles of that treaty were solemnly ratified under the Great Seal of England, and “the faith and honour of the English crown were pledged to their fulfilment, they were, almost without exception, violated and broken on the very first opportunity. The liberty of conscience and security of property, which the Irish catholics had stipulated for and obtained, were trampled underfoot, and a system of tyranny and persecution was commenced and persevered in, more odious than any that has ever yet disgraced the annals of national cruelty and crime.

A century of unmingled oppression and suffering followed the peace of Limerick, during every period of which, the Irish people suffered far more than they had done during even the hottest part of the war. One set of governors followed another, but always with the same results to the Irish nation. Bigotry succeeded bigotry, and oppression succeeded oppression. The records of each succeeding reign or administration, was only a repetition of the same course of tyranny on the part of the governors, and of suffering on the part of the governed. The ramifications of oppression extended throughout the entire frame of society. All the officers of government imitated the conduct of their superiors. Magistrates, who belonged exclusively to the dominant faction, lorded it in tyrant pride, within their several jurisdictions. The example was imitated by their officers and servants, and extended itself downwards to the pettiest underling of the government, and even the remotest capillary artery of society was permeated by the destructive poison.

Any descriptive detail that we could give of the sufferings of the Irish people during this lamentable period must fall far short of the reality. It would, indeed, be impossible for any pen, no matter how graphic or eloquent, to depict the daily and hourly sufferings of a whole people, endured, without intermission, from infancy to old age—from the cradle to the grave. We can readily appreciate the miseries and horrors of a period of destructive civil warfare. We see the blood, we hear the groans, we witness the deaths;

the circumstances make a deep impression upon our minds, and we imagine them to be the very worst that civilized society can suffer.

But there is a greater misery than this, though one that is calculated to make less impression on the mind of the general observer. It is a period of slow national torture, by means of the law—of quiet oppression and tyranny inflicted by a bigotted “ascendancy”—of insult, and cruelty, and wrong, heaped upon an entire nation by Act of Parliament—of calamity and mischief inflicted upon a crushed and plundered people for the exclusive benefit of the smallest and least deserving class in the state. What must be the feelings of a nation, when they perceive law and religion alike converted into instruments of torture against them—when they see justice systematically perverted, and government used as a mere instrument of coercion and plunder?

It might be true, that all this was perfectly *legal* and *constitutional*—terms ordinarily employed by governments to justify any cruelty however base, any oppression however revolting. And it is too often considered as a *justification* of even the rankest government injustice, that such and such things are done under the forms, and by the sanction of, the law. The English people are peculiarly liable to be imposed upon by this fallacy; and especially when Ireland is in the case. We are told that in the government of Ireland, everything is done in a perfectly legal and constitutional manner; and with this they are satisfied,—forgetting, that under the forms of law and constitution, the most cruel and destructive despotism may be perpetrated upon a people. And, what was the constitution now in Ireland? The ascendancy of an upstart aristocracy, who had obtained their properties by wrong, and were now banded together to retain them by injustice. Laying down the sword, they took up the law, which they converted into an instrument of coercion more oppressive even than the other.

A more intolerant and bigotted body than the protestant ascendancy party of Ireland, probably has never existed, to curse and torture a people. Possessing an exclusive controul over the parliament—for the catholics were carefully excluded from all share in the representation—they used it only as an instrument for building up and strengthening their own unjustly acquired power. They even did not scruple to set at defiance the English government itself, when it interfered—as it occasionally did in the reign of William—in favour of the Irish catholics. In the very first parliament held after the restoral of peace, they became involved in a dispute with the king about their “privileges;” and they threw out one of the two certified bills of supply, returned from England, on the ground that they were “unconstitutional.”\* It was only

\* These bills of supply were deemed “unconstitutional,” because they had not originated, as they ought, in the Irish Commons. They rejected one bill, and passed the other, on the ground of the emergency of the case, but declaring “that it was, and is, the undoubted right of the Commons, to originate all money bills.” Lord Sydney, the Lord Lieutenant, reprimanded them for their ingratitude to their deliverer, and immediately prorogued the parliament, which parted in great indignation.

because of William's desire to adhere to the terms of the Treaty of Limerick, that this constitutional flame was kindled in the breasts of the Irish ascendancy. At other times, when it served their purpose, both the law and the constitution were readily enough trampled under foot.

It is easy to understand the motives and the principles on which the protestant ascendancy governed Ireland during this long century of woe. They knew that they owed the possession of their estates to fraud, and they trembled lest they should again be wrested from them by the Irish people. They therefore sought to crush them; to destroy them, and, if possible, to extirpate them. Their government was one entirely of fear and of force. They never did justice for justice's sake; while they often perpetrated cruelty for cruelty's sake. They never granted relief, unless to subserve their own interests. They made no concessions, offered no terms, gave no quarter. They never yielded an inch of ground that they could keep; and they kept all that they could get. They knew that they could never be respected; and they therefore desired to make themselves feared. As the tyrant hateth his victim, so did these monster wolves, into whose hands were now intrusted the government of Ireland, hate and trample upon the gallant but now prostrate people of that fated country.

The mind can scarcely comprehend the wide range of mischiefs that ensued;—how injustice perpetuated itself throughout all ranks, until at length it grew into a habit, and was accounted even as a duty;—how wrong begot wrong, and corruption corruption, until society became a seething mass of misery and ruin;—how poverty, privation, ill-treatment, and insult, operating upon the oppressed race like a murderous poison, inflicted suffering far worse than mere physical pain—dulling the understanding, blighting the morals, and often causing slavish submission to oppression, alternated with fierce outbreak and revolt, with daylight drunkenness and riot, and midnight outrage, incendiarism, and murder,—until at length the mischiefs, long working in the heart of the people, had reduced them to the lowest stage of civilized beings, and their existence became actually pleaded by the wrong-doers as a defence of their own abominable cruelty, and a sufficient reason why they should be perpetuated for ever!

It has been said that, during the century of legalized cruelty and crime that followed the close of the war, "Ireland had no history." It was as if its very life had been crushed out of it—and it lay, a prostrate, mangled, and corrupt mass, without form or motion. But this is a mistake. The century of woes which followed the peace of Limerick, is one of the most eloquent periods of Ireland's history,—eloquent not of heroism, of achievement, of victory,—but eloquent of suffering and of endurance. The history of that century is necessary to understand the future history of the Irish people. Without it, their present attitude, and demeanour,



and language, would be unintelligible. A century, even of the intensest suffering, must constitute a great epoch in the history of any people. It may be painful to read; but still it must be read, if we would thoroughly know the history of that people, their character, and social condition. A nation is built up on the past. Layer upon layer of experience succeed each other, and make a people what it is. One layer could not be taken away without completely altering the character of what remains.

To understand the mind of any people in the present age, we must know what they have enjoyed, achieved, and above all, what they have *suffered*, in every past age. Considered in this light, the century of penal persecution is the most eloquent and instructive of all the epochs in the history of Ireland. In fact, it was *necessary*, to form the present opinion and condition of Ireland; constituting, as it does, the grand and essential ingredient in the events that are there daily occurring, under our own eyes. Indeed, there is scarcely one man in Ireland in whom the past history of that country does not now walk incarnate. At this very day does the catholic Irishman triumph with the defenders of Limerick, lament with the routed at Aughrim, and grind his teeth with the betrayed at the Boyne. In himself he contains a whole cycle of experiences, none of which can be taken away without entirely altering his individuality. All history has educated him. He is the result of the experiences of his race; and there is no action, nor enjoyment, nor suffering of the past, to which there is not now something corresponding in his own life.

It is only necessary to take the history of one man, to see in it the epitome of the history of a nation. His life is made up of a succession of experiences, which determine his future character and condition. These several experiences constitute what is called the *EDUCATION* of the man; and not one of them could be taken away, were such a thing possible, without essentially changing his character. Every day is his moral and mental condition affected by the influence of the persons and circumstances around him. And just as the education of man—his experience, his sufferings, his enjoyments, his privations, his acquisitions—influence and determine his character in after life,—so do the experiences of a nation in the same manner determine its future development and position in the scale of nations. All the properties of a history are indeed to be found in one man; and the leading phenomena of history in all ages, are thus explicable by individual experience. A nation is but an assemblage of men, each of whom acts as his own human feelings, the same in every age, impel him to do. The aggregate acts, under all circumstances, as the individual does. Coerce a man or a nation, and you shall have sullenness, suspicion, resistance, revenge, and deadly hate. On the other hand, treat a man or a nation with kindness and justice, and you shall have joyfulness, confidence, willing obedience, generousness, and general love and sympathy.

The prospects of Ireland were at this period gloomy in the extreme. They were such as to cause the darkest despair; and yet a century had to elapse before anything like hope was to revisit the Irish people. While time brought relief to all others, and civilization was soothing affliction, and drying up the tears of distress in almost all lands, time brought no change, civilization gave no relief on Irish ground. The Irishman continued to trace the same eternal circle of woes; year after year passed by, and found him sinking only the deeper into the mire of poverty and social degradation; every struggle which he made for deliverance only served to draw his bonds the tighter around him; he became revengeful, desperate, and dangerous, and, thrown upon his own unbridled will, retaliated, in deeds of darkness, upon the society which had made him its miserable victim. Ireland retrograded in civilization for a time; the country became besavaged,—and this, while other nations were marching steadily onwards in the career of improvement.

In this consideration there was, and, indeed, there still is, reason almost to despair of the ultimate liberty of Ireland. The mind becomes cast down by the contemplation of generation following generation to the grave without contributing in the slightest degree to the improvement and advancement of their race,—oppression only strengthening its bulwarks, and erecting its barriers against the advance of the popular cause. Yet ought man never to despair: all history forbids despair; for it shows that, notwithstanding all obstructions, and hinderances, and oppositions, the tendency of humanity is still ONWARDS. The advance may be slow—sometimes it may seem to be checked, and even turned backwards, but still it is certain in the end. If Providence be patient in the fulfilment of its designs, it is necessary that we should be so to. Besides, it is necessary that before man can attain his full liberty, he should labour, and even suffer for it; and no labour and suffering are too great a price to pay for the precious blessing. Human progress towards emancipation is necessarily slow and gradual, but still it is certain. The Almighty has an eternity for the accomplishment of his purposes. Even a century of woe and suffering may be one of the necessary conditions of the future emancipation and prosperity of Ireland.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

The reign of Queen Anne.—Further legal oppression of the Irish.—History found in Statute books.—Jacobite persecution of the Catholics.—Resignation of Irish members.—Resistance to the projected penal code.—The ASCENDANCY determine that it should pass.—The object of the Act to break up Catholic property.—Provisions of the Act to prevent the farther growth of popery.—Its oppressive character.—Its persecuting operation on Dissenters.—Excuses for enacting the penal code.—Its demoralising and destructive effects.

THE degradation and enslavement of the Irish Catholics was completed in the reign of queen Anne, compared with whom, William

might almost be considered as the friend and benefactor of Ireland. The instrument employed for this purpose, as heretofore, was the LAW; by means of which, the nation was reduced to a state of misery and wretchedness, almost unexampled in the history of human suffering and wrong. The penal code of queen Anne, was, as Burke truly calls it, "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

It has been said, and with truth, that the history of a nation may be gathered from its Statute book. The laws are generally a reflex of the national character and condition. They are, at all events, a deliberate expression of the mind of the supreme government of society; and if they are not representative of the opinions of the governed, they are, at least, representative of the character of those who govern. They also re-act powerfully on the condition of the people for whom they are devised; and immensely influence their future progress and prosperity on the one hand, or their sufferings and decay on the other. Considered in this light, the Statute book is most instructive in its illustration of Irish history. In the truthful and forcible language of an Irish writer,—*"The history of Ireland can be traced through the Statute book, like the track of a wounded man through the crowd—by the blood."*

On the death of William III, the high church or jacobite party in England, again came into power, and the persecution of the Irish catholics was carried on with renewed vigour. It is a singular fact, that the English catholics when in power, have generally been quite as oppressive of the Irish catholics, as any other party or class of religionists. Thus, it was when the English jacobite—the partizans of the exiled Stuarts, who had been driven from England because of their bigotted catholicism,—it was when these catholics were in power, that the atrocious penal code was devised and carried into effect, for the torture, the prostration and enslavement of the catholic population of Ireland. At the very same time that the corrupt bigots of the English government were passing the infamous ACT OF CONFORMITY for the dissenters of England, they were also devising and enacting a still more persecuting law for the catholics of Ireland, which was boldly and not inapplicably styled, "An ACT to prevent the further growth of Popery."\*

\* The Duke of Ormond was lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1703, when the Irish House of Commons waited on him to present the first "Bill to prevent the further growth of Popery," for transmission to England. The Duke promised to do so, giving them at the same time his promise, "that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner, and do everything in his power to prevent the growth of Popery." It is a singular fact, that at this very time, Ormond was in regular correspondence with the exiled James, and was ready, on the first opportunity, to deliver up the country to his "popish" sway. The Duke afterwards joined the Pretender, and his immense estates were forfeited to the crown. Yet this, we have every reason to believe, was one of the principal authors of the cruel Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics!

When it was known that such an act was in contemplation, numbers of the members of the Irish House of Commons not yet entirely dead to a sense of shame, hastened to resign their seats, desiring that writs might be issued to choose other members in their room. To such an extent did this desertion reach, that the house actually found itself under the necessity of passing a resolution to the effect, "that the excusing of members, at their own request, from the service of the house, and thereupon issuing out new writs to elect other members to serve in their places, was of dangerous consequence, and tended to the subversion of the constitution of parliament." This was followed by another resolution, by which it was made a standing order of the house, that no new writs should be issued for the election of members who excused themselves from serving in parliament; and by this and other means the practice of desertion was put an end to. These resolutions, however, are sufficient to show, that many members of the Irish parliament were thoroughly ashamed of the projected measure, and did not wish their names to be in any way connected with it.

A gallant attempt was made by the remnant of Catholic intellect and power in Ireland to resist the odious act. They asked leave to be heard by counsel at the bar of the Irish house of commons against the measure; which was granted. The counsel on the occasion were, Sir Theobald Butler, Mr. Counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice. In a series of powerful appeals to the honour, the justice, the reason of the house, they showed how gross was this attempt, to violate the solemn provisions of the treaty of Limerick. Sir Theobald Butler, who was the principal speaker, demonstrated in a long and eloquent speech, that almost every clause in the proposed act, relating to the Roman catholics of Ireland, was a gross violation of one or other of the articles of that treaty,—articles, he said, solemnly engaged to them as the public faith of the nation. He insisted "that all the Irish, then in arms against the government, had submitted thereunto, and surrendered the city of Limerick and all the other garrisons in their possession, when they were in condition to have held out, till they might have been relieved by the succours then coming out of France; that they had taken such oaths to the king and queen, as by the said articles they were obliged to take; that their submission was upon such terms as ought to be then, and at all times, made good to them; and that, therefore, to break those articles, would be the greatest injustice for any one people in the whole world to inflict upon another, being contrary to the laws both of God and man."

These and similar cogent arguments were pleaded at the bar of both houses of parliament, by the counsel for the catholics, but were all completely disregarded. The protestant ascendancy were determined to violate the treaty of Limerick, and to break the public faith with the Irish people: they were determined that the

bill should pass ; and remonstrances accordingly proved of not the slightest avail. They even put off the counsel, and thrust them forth from them with mockery and insult. They insolently told the petitioners, "that if they were to be deprived of the benefit of the articles of the treaty of Limerick, it would be their own fault, since, *by conforming to the established religion* they would be entitled to these and many other benefits ; that, therefore, *they ought not to blame any but themselves* ; that the passing of that bill into a law was needful for the security of the kingdom at that juncture ; and in short, that *there was nothing in the articles of Limerick* that should hinder them to pass it."\* Immediately after the catholic counsel had been thus dismissed, the house proceeded : the bill was read through, and passed, and upon the 4th of March, 1703, it received the royal assent, and became the law of the land.

It is not difficult to detect the objects for which this atrocious penal code of Queen Anne was devised. It was to annihilate entirely catholic property and influence. It was to complete what the royal and republican confiscators of Ireland had begun, and for this could only be done under the guise of an act of parliament, sanctioned by the authority of the English Monarch. It was feared that the catholics might still be able to regain their original footing in the country by means of the property and wealth still left in their hands. "The colony," says Mr. Wyse,† "still trembled in the midst of the surrounding nation. It was not sufficient to scotch the snake, it was absolutely necessary to kill it. Education had been prohibited : they were debarred from the honours and distinctions of the state. It was now resolved to strike at the root from which both the desire and attainment of these advantages most necessarily spring.

"The catholics had become enriched by commerce : they were yet allowed to re-purchase, to enjoy, to transmit the lands which, once the property of their ancestors, had been violently wrested from them by the vicissitudes of the late revolution. A new code was necessary, of that exceeding energy and extension to all possible cases, that might search through every class of catholic society, and after stripping them of all property, knowledge, and public spirit, which still remained behind, might cast them out, a mere rabble, beneath the foot of their protestant masters."

The following brief summary of the provisions of the act to prevent the further growth of popery, will show the real objects and tendency of the measure, better than any illustrative commentary of our own :—

The third clauses of the bill provided, that any heir of a Roman catholic, who should declare himself to be a protestant, should acquire the property of his father's estate, in preference to all the

\* *Commons' Journals*, Vol. III, p. 546.

† *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, p. 19.

other members of the family. And not only this ; but the father, from the moment of such declaration of conformity to the established religion on the part of his son, was debarred from selling, mortgaging, or otherwise disposing of, any part of his estate, or changing it for the payment of any of his debts. The estate may have been the purchase of his own hard labour and industry ; yet, from the moment of his son's " conversion" to protestantism, he became merely the tenant for life only, of his own purchase, and freehold ; the son, though never so undutiful, profligate, and extravagant, being at liberty to sell, or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of the estate, purchased it may be, with the sweat of his father's brow, upon his face. The father could not borrow a single farthing on it ; settle a jointure on his wife ; portion his daughters, or make provision for any of his male children from it ; or leave a legacy, though never so small, to his father or mother, or other poor relations, chargeable upon it. He was at once, by this act, divested of the ownership of his own estate ; which was given as a bribe to the son who had been the first to desert the religion of his fathers, in favour of that presented and established by the English government.

The fourth clause prohibited the catholic father, under a penalty of £500, from being a guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of, his own children. But if any of the children, no matter how young, pretended to be protestants, they were at once to be taken from their parents, and put into the hands of a protestant relation, or, for want of such relation, into the hands of some person, appointed by the Court of Chancery, by whom they were to be educated, at the entire cost of the catholic parent. And if a legacy or estate fell to any of the children, he had no power to take charge of it ; but it was put into the hands of a protestant, who might mismanage and embezzle it before his face, and yet he could not interfere in the slightest degree to prevent it.

The fifth clause prohibited protestants who possessed property, from inter-marrying with catholics, under very heavy penalties.

By the sixth clause, every professor of the catholic religion was henceforward declared incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, houses, or real property of any kind, or any rents or profits derivable from the same. Catholics were also prevented holding any lease of lives, or any other lease, for any term exceeding thirty-one years.

The seventh clause rendered catholics incapable of succeeding to protestants. Inheritances, of every kind, descending from protestants or their wives, were to pass over the nearest relations, if they were catholics and refused to forsake their religion, and descend to the nearest protestant relation, "just as if all such papist relations were dead."

The eighth clause erected a law of *gavel-kind*, for the compulsory division and breaking down of the catholic properties. It

provided that, if a protestant heir to a catholic estate did not present himself within three months after the death of its owner, it was to be divided, share and share alike, among all his sons; or in want of such, among his daughters; or, if he died childless, among his nearest relatives.

The ninth clause enacted that none should have the benefit of the act unless they conformed to the Church of Ireland, and abjured the catholic religion. The other clauses down to the fourteenth, related to the qualifications for holding public offices and employments; they provided, among other things, that no person in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of holding the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the test-act passed in England,—a provision which had a most oppressive effect on the protestant dissenters of the north, and against which they loudly inveighed.

The fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth clauses prohibited all catholics from purchasing houses or tenements in Limerick and Galway, or entering these cities for the purpose of dwelling in them, under pain of having their whole property forfeited and being imprisoned for a year.

The twenty-fourth clause imposed the oath of abjuration and the taking of the sacrament according to the form of the episcopal church, as a qualification for voting at elections—a test which acted alike to the exclusion of the protestant dissenting population of Ulster, and the catholics of the rest of Ireland.

The twenty-fifth clause vested in her Majesty all advowsons possessed by Roman catholics.

Such was the act to prevent the further growth of popery,—an act which, for cool and refined barbarity, has, perhaps, never been equalled in the history of nations.

Such was the fulfilment of the treaty of Limerick, which guaranteed to the catholics the same privileges they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.,—which faithfully promised, on the part of the government, to “procure for the Roman catholics such security as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their religion”,—and which further extended to them the right to “hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every, their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities” which they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.!

PUBLIC faith and honour were grossly violated, in order that the catholic population of Ireland might be trampled on, and, if possible, extirpated the land which gave them birth. Its object and tendency was, to take property entirely out of the hands of the catholics, and to reduce them, one and all, to the condition of serfs and bondsmen—the mere tillers of the soil for their protestant task-masters. Their inheritance was to pass away from them, and the land to be finally possessed by strangers.

The entire act was one of tyranny and wrong; but probably the

most infamous part of it was that which held out the temptation to the children to spoliage their fathers through the abandonment of their religion. The provision to this effect was of a fiendish character: rending asunder the ties of nature and social intercourse,—sowing the seeds of suspicion and hatred in the domestic circle, the very last sanctuary of human virtue,—bribing the children to turn traitors to their family, their religion, and their country, by holding out to them the baits of Mammon and Moloch. The disobedient son, the profligate, or the rake, had held up before him the privilege of pillaging his own father, the condition simply being that he would embrace the religion of the protestant ascendancy! Are we to feel surprised that the Irish people should detest a creed, so identified throughout their history, with robbery and oppression,—and resist the bigotted party which has directed both law and religion from their divine origin and purpose, with instruments of the basest cruelty and torture? Under their management, religion, instead of sweetening the bitter cup of life, has infused it with poison; instead of comforting, it has been employed by them to tear and lacerate the hearts of millions; and instead of breathing the spirit and speaking in the voice of God, it has become the voice of his bitterest enemies.

The clauses in the act, introducing the sacramental test and the oath of abjuration, affected the presbyterians of the north as much as they did the catholics of the south,—calling them off from all civil offices and places of trust, and depriving them, at one swoop, of the exercise of the elective franchise. It was supposed that the insertion of these clauses by the English Tory parliament would cause the rejection of the bill; a considerable part of the Irish House of Commons being composed of dissenters: but rather than let slip the opportunity of torturing the catholics, they basely consented to sacrifice their own rights, and passed the bill entire, including the clauses which sealed their own disfranchisement.\* It is true, they complained of the excluding test, and obtained a promise from the government that it would be repealed on the first opportunity. But no sooner had they lent themselves

\* Dr. TAYLOR gives the following explanation of the insertion of the disqualifying clauses by the English Parliament :—

“By a strange concatenation of events, this law proved penal to protestants as well as papists. The English ministers were at this time engaged in a negotiation with the Emperor of Germany, for obtaining from him a full toleration of protestantism in his dominions; and were by no means willing to put it in his power to retort, that he treated protestants far better than catholics. They laboured, therefore, to dissuade the Irish Parliament from urging the measure; but their efforts were vain. The faction of the ascendancy was not to be deterred from persecution by a regard for foreign protestants, because their war was not against the religion but the property of the catholics. The Whig ministry of England was now caught by its own devices. They had excited and maintained a popular clamour against popery for several years, in order to strengthen their influence; and now, it was to be feared, that, if they acted justly they would themselves be driven from their posts as friends of papists. They knew, however, that the Irish Parliament was composed chiefly of dissenters, and therefore inserted the clause imposing the sacramental test, hoping that this would cause the rejection of the entire measure. But the English ministers had formed too high an estimate of the consciences of the Irish faction. They sanctioned the clause almost without debate; and, to use the phrase of one of their own writers, “swallowed their scruples and the sacrament together.”



as tools to pass the atrocious act against the catholics than, it was at once carried into rigorous effect against themselves. Scarcely had the act passed, when the Commons resolved that, by an act to prevent the further growth of popery, the burgesses of Belfast (the protestant city of the north) were obliged to subscribe the declaration, and receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of Ireland." A number of the burgesses of Belfast not complying with this injunction, the offices of those who refused were at once declared vacant. Many and strenuous efforts were made in this and the following reigns to obtain the repeal of the disqualifying clauses; but it was not till the year 1782, that the protestant dissenters of Ireland were again freely admitted to civil rights and the exercise of political privileges.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in carrying the new law into effect. The revolting character of most of its provisions made men ashamed to execute them. But the commons, now that they had fairly entered on the work of persecution, were determined to "go through" with it, and they had therefore recourse to publishing resolutions, branding "all magistrates and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put them in execution, as the *betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom*." They also resolved (June, 1705,) that the saying or hearing of mass by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interests of the PRETENDER," (who was about this time expected to invade Scotland); and that "such judges and magistrates as wilfully neglected to make diligent enquiry into, and discover, such wicked practises, ought to be looked upon as enemies to her majesty's government." But, as most of the magistrates were ashamed of the new office of *spy* and *informer* to which they were now promoted by these resolutions of the commons, and as they were now classed with the odious and abominated tribe of common informers, discoverers, and priest-catchers, there was found some difficulty in prevailing on them to undertake the office of discovering and informing. To obviate this difficulty, and surround the office of informer with honourableness and respectability, they voted the profession to be "an honourable office" unanimously resolving "that the persecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service to the government."

And now there were let loose bands of government harpies, licensed to prey upon the vitals of the ill-fated country. The spy, the discoverer, the informer, went about hatching crimes, when they could not find them; inventing violations of the law, when they were not to be perceived; and informing of wicked practises, whether they were discovered or not. There was no longer any security or safety in society. Every family was at the mercy of a government ruffian. The holiest and most sacred of domestic ties were violated. The sanctuary of home was liable, at any time, to

be invaded by the meanest scoundrel. Catholics were informed against ; the harpies who had fastened on them, would not be shaken off unless their ravenous appetite for plunder was in some measure gratified. Who was to believe the protestations of the innocent ? They were tried, judged, and condemned, by their sworn enemies. Fines, imprisonments, and forfeitures followed, and thus the miserable catholics were reduced to lower and lower deeps of misery and suffering. God help the country that is abandoned by its governors and rulers to the mercy of bigotted petty magistrates, and of hireling spies, informers, and police !

One would have imagined that the Irish House of Commons would have been satisfied with the cruelty of their first act, without resorting to a second. The torture already inflicted on the catholics by its means was such as would have satisfied a Nero or a Dioclesian ; but it was not sufficient for the christian and protestant legislators of Queen Anne. The monument of sectarian atrocity had not yet been reared to its full height ; and some new provisions were yet wanting to complete the hideous structure. In 1709, another act was passed, to explain and amend the act to prevent the further growth of popery, which imposed additional severities, and completed the misery of the Irish people. This act was passed under the lord-lieutenancy of the Earl of Wharton, whom Swift described as “ a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion ; ” —one who “ sunk his fortune in endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and raised it by going far in the ruin of another,”—for though “ his administration of Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least for high crimes and misdemeanours, yet he gained by the government of that kingdom, *in two years, five and forty thousand pounds*, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the *prudential*.”

The new law, which this infamous lord-lieutenant was instrumental in passing, enacted, among other things, that no catholic shall be capable of holding any annuity for life ; that the child of a catholic on conforming, shall at once receive an annuity from his father,—and that the chancellor shall compel the father to discover, upon oath, the full value of his estate real and personal, and thereupon make an order for the support of such conforming child or children, and for securing such a share of the property, after the father's death, as the court shall think fit ; that catholic wives who shall declare themselves protestants shall be enabled to compel their husbands to secure them jointures, and to give them a separate maintenance if demanded. The anti-educational clauses were also strongly enforced in this bill, no catholic being allowed to teach, even as an assistant to a protestant master.

This act was, however, mainly directed against the catholic priesthood, whom it hunted down with terrible cruelty. While it offered a salary of £20 per annum to “ popish priests who should conform ” ; it provided rewards for the discovery of “ popish prelates, priests, and teachers,” according to the following scale :—

For discovering an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person, exercising any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction £50

For discovering each regular clergyman, and each secular clergyman, not registered..... £20

For discovering each popish schoolmaster or usher..... £10

Other clauses in this act were directed against catholics serving in the office of sheriff, or upon juries,—it being sufficient that the plaintiff challenged a juror for being a papist, to cause his immediate rejection.\*

\* We give the following clear and succinct summary of the penal laws enacted against the catholics (though it anticipates several of the enactments passed in succeeding reigns,) from Mr. O'Connell's recently published work on "Ireland and the Irish;" shewing the extraordinary manner in which the English government fulfilled the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick:—  
"The Irish in every respect performed with scrupulous accuracy the stipulations on their part of the Treaty of Limerick.

"That treaty was totally violated by the British government, the moment it was perfectly safe to violate it.

"That violation was perpetrated by the enactment of a code, of the most dexterous but atrocious iniquity that ever stained the annals of legislation.

"Let me select a few instances of the barbarity with which the treaty of Limerick was violated, under these heads:—

#### First.—PROPERTY.

"Every catholic was, by Act of Parliament, deprived of the power of settling a jointure on any catholic wife,—or charging his lands with any provision for his daughters—or disposing by will of his landed property. On his death the law divided his lands equally amongst all his sons.

"All the relations of private life were thus violated.

"If the wife of a catholic declared herself a protestant, the law enabled her not only to compel her husband to give her a separate maintenance, but to transfer to her the custody and guardianship of all their children.

"Thus the wife was encouraged and empowered successfully to rebel against her husband.

"If the eldest son of a catholic father at any age, however young, declared himself a protestant, he thereby made his father strict tenant for life, deprived the father of all power to sell, or dispose of his estate, and such protestant son became entitled to the absolute dominion and ownership of the estate.

"Thus the eldest son was encouraged and, indeed, bribed by the law to rebel against his father.

"If any other child beside the eldest son declared itself, at any age, a protestant, such child at once escaped the controul of its father, and was entitled to a maintenance out of the father's property.

"Thus the law encouraged every child to rebel against its father.

"If any catholic purchased for money any estate in land, any protestant was empowered by law to take away that estate from the catholic, and to enjoy it without paying one shilling of the purchase money.

"This was law.—The catholic paid the money, whereupon the protestant took the estate. The catholic lost both money and estate.

"If any catholic got an estate in land by marriage, by the gift or by the will of a relation, or friend, any protestant could by law take the estate from the catholic and enjoy it himself.

"If any catholic took a lease of a farm of land as tenant at a rent for life, or lives, or for any longer term than thirty-one years, any protestant could by law take the farm from the catholic and enjoy the benefit of the lease.

"If any catholic took a farm by lease for a term not exceeding thirty-one years, as he might still by law have done, and by his labour and industry raised the value of the land so as to yield a profit equal to one-third of the rent, any protestant might then by the law evict the catholic, and enjoy for the residue of the term the fruit of the labour and industry of the catholic.

"If any catholic had a horse, worth more than five pounds, any protestant tendering £5 to the catholic owner, was by law entitled to take the horse, though worth £50, or £100, or more, and to keep it as his own.

"If any catholic being the owner of a horse worth more than five pounds, conceal his horse from any protestant, the catholic for the crime of concealing his own horse, was liable to be punished by an imprisonment of three months, and a fine of three times the value of the horse, whatever that might be.

"So much for the laws regulating by act of Parliament, the property—or rather plundering by due course of law, the property—of the catholic.

It is impossible to describe the misery which followed the enactment and enforcement of these abominable laws. The nation lay entirely at the mercy of its plunderers and oppressors. Discoverers and informers, countenanced by the law, preyed upon the people; disregarding alike the ties of blood, of friendship, and of nationality; setting at utter defiance the natural laws of man and the ordinances of God.

The established religion became the mere engine of tyranny. The forced attempts to extend it, sapped both public and private virtue, and gave birth to hypocrisy of the most odious description.\*

The government itself was in a state of constant terror. It was alarmed lest its victims should rise against its manifold cruelties. The government was thus always ready to suspect danger, even when it did not exist. Its own fears betrayed its consciousness of the tyranny which it practised. Hence, in the year 1708, on the

\* 1 notice.—

#### Secondly.—EDUCATION.

"If a catholic kept school, or taught any person, protestant or catholic, any species of literature, or science, such teacher was for the crime of teaching punishable by law by banishment--and, if he returned from banishment, he was subject to be hanged as a felon.

"If a catholic, whether a child or adult, attended, in Ireland, a school kept by a catholic, or was privately instructed by a catholic, such catholic, although a child in its early infancy, incurred a forfeiture of all its property, present or future.

"If a catholic child, however young, was sent to any foreign country for education, such infant child incurred a similar penalty--that is, a forfeiture of all right to property, present or prospective.

"If any person in Ireland made any remittance of money or goods, for the maintenance of any Irish child educated in a foreign country, such person incurred a similar forfeiture.

#### Thirdly.—PERSONAL DISABILITIES.

"The law rendered every catholic incapable of holding a commission in the army, or navy, or even to be a private soldier, unless he solemnly abjured his religion.

"The law rendered every catholic incapable of holding any office whatsoever of honour or emolument in the state. The exclusion was universal.

"A catholic had no legal protection for life or liberty. He could not be a judge, grand juror, sheriff, sub-sheriff, master in Chancery, scribe clerk, barrister, attorney, agent or solicitor, or seneschal of any manor, or even gamekeeper to a private gentleman.

"A catholic could not be a member of any corporation, and catholics were precluded by law from residence in some corporate towns.

"Catholics were deprived of all right of voting for members of the Commons House of Parliament.

"Catholic Peers were deprived of their right to sit or vote in the House of Lords.

"Almost all these personal disabilities were equally enforced by law against any protestant who married a catholic wife, or whose child, under the age of fourteen, was educated as a catholic, although against his consent.

#### Fourthly.—RELIGION.

"To teach the catholic religion was a transportable felony; to convert a protestant to the Catholic faith, was a capital offence punishable as an act of treason.

"To be a catholic regular, that is a monk or friar, was punishable by banishment, and to return from banishment an act of high treason.

"To be a catholic archbishop or bishop, or to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever in the catholic church in Ireland, was punishable by transportation--to return from such transportation was an act of high treason, punishable by being hanged, embowelled alive, and afterwards quartered."—*Memoir on Ireland*, p. p. 10--16.

\* The legislature itself seemed conscious that their coercive measures against the catholics tended to make hypocrites rather than protestants, for in the year 1725, fearful of the converts, made by the penal code, they enacted "that no person that is, or shall be, converted from the popish religion, ought to be elected, or admitted to serve as a member of this house, for the space of seven years next after his conversion; and unless he produces a certificate of having received the sacrament, according to the usage of the church of Ireland as by law established, thrice in every year, during the said term."—*Commons' Journal*, vol. v. p. 290.

bare rumour of an intended invasion of Scotland by the Pretender, forty-one of the Roman catholic nobility and gentry were arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Dublin; the government, however, was afterwards ashamed of its arbitrary conduct, and ordered them to be set at liberty, "remitting their fees, though they amounted to eight hundred and odd pounds." Another instance of the terrified state of the government mind, which would be ludicrous but that it indicates so dreadful a state of things, was that in connection with a holy well in the county of Meath, called St. John's well,—a kind of place of pilgrimage where numbers of maimed, diseased, and infirm persons, resorted in summer for the cure of their several disorders. The idea of these cripples assembling together even for such a purpose, was alarming to the government; and they at once took the matter into their serious consideration! A resolution was consequently adopted by the House of Commons, that the sickly devotees "were assembled in that place, to the great hazard and danger of the public peace, and the safety of the kingdom!" And forthwith, fines, imprisonments, and whippings, were made the penalties of "such disorderly and tumultuous assemblies"; penalties which were afterwards carried into the most rigorous effect.

It has been supposed that the real object of the protestants, in devising these monstrous penal laws, and carrying them so cruelly into effect, was to drive the whole body of catholics out of the kingdom. And certainly, their effect was to force such of them as could do so, to emigrate in great numbers. Those catholics who were in the possession of wealth, transferred their capital to other countries, whither they went, and founded commercial houses, many of which, even to the present day, retain their high character and prosperity. The Irish protestant corporations and the Irish protestant parliament, took care that they should have no opportunity of returning to Ireland, to enrich their native country with either their industry or their skill; for the former enacted laws within their several localities, excluding Roman catholics from all profitable branches of trade, and in many instances, even from residence within the walls of the town;—while the latter ordered, in the year 1713, "that an address be made to her Majesty, to desire her, that she would be pleased not to grant licenses to papists to return into the kingdom." At the same time, hundreds of protestant Palatine families\* were brought over and settled in Ireland, and large sums of the public money set apart for their maintenance, until they were able to maintain themselves by their own industry.

We have now given a brief outline of this dreary period, but sufficient to show the fiendish malignity which characterised the legislation of the time. The plans of the persecutors were now

\* An interesting account of the descendants of a portion of these people, settled in the vicinity of Adare, near Limerick, is to be found in "Hall's Ireland." To this day they are very different in character, and distinct in habits, from the people of the country.

completed, their ingenuity in torture was almost exhausted, and they sat down to watch the effects of their horrible machinations. In the graphic language of Mr. Wyse, "The last consummation was now perfected. The land was reduced to a waste, yet fear and discord still reigned; solitude was everywhere, but peace was not yet established. Emigrations became numerous and frequent; all who could fly, fled. They left behind a government in prey to every vice, and a country the victim of every wrong. The facility of acquiring property by the violation of the natural duties of social life, was too powerful a temptation: dishonesty, treachery, and extravagance prevailed. The rewards of conformity cast at large the seeds of mutual distrust in the breasts of child and of parent. Hypocrisy and dissimulation were applauded and recompensed by the laws themselves. A nursery for young tyrants was formed in the very bosom of the legislature; habitual oppression and habitual subserviency degraded and debased the upper classes. The lower, without rights, without lands, with scarcely a home, with nothing which truly gives country to man, basely crept over their native soil defrauded of its blessings, 'the patient victims of its wrongs the insensible spectators of its ruin,' and left behind them, between the cradle and the grave, no other trace of their existence, than the memorial of calamities under which they bent, and of crimes which were assiduously taught them by their governors."\*

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Ireland at the accession of George I.—State of Agriculture—Oppressions practised on the people by the landlords—The Trade of Ireland ruined—Distressed state of the Irish operatives—The Legislation for Ireland—Further oppressions of the Catholics—The spirit of the people crushed—The Irish Protestant ascendancy thrown off—Ascendancy of the English parliament—Horrible proposal of the Irish parliament against Catholic priests—The factions of the day all hostile to Ireland—Dean Swift—His efforts to create a national resistance to the government—Exclusive dealing—Wood's half-pence—The Drapier's letters—Death of Swift—Reign of George II.

IRELAND was in a wretched condition on the accession of George I. to the throne of Britain. Human cruelty had almost exhausted itself in devices for its oppression; and the people, hopeless and spirit-broken, lay down to die, amid the ruins of the national wealth and industry. Multitudes of the Irish people had gone into voluntary exile, rather than bear the horrible misery of English rule. Agriculture was ruined; even the ploughing of land being in many cases prohibited. Vast tracts of country, formerly arable, were cleared for the feeding of sheep: the population were driven off, and those who could not emigrate, were speedily reduced to

\* Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association, p. 24-5.

beggary. Entire villages and hamlets were depopulated.\* Country seats and plantations went to ruin, for their owners chiefly resided abroad or in England, whither the rents of their lands were conveyed and spent. Woods were also cut down, that the produce might be exported to swell the grandeur of their owner's trains; and the country soon presented the appearance of a barren and desert waste. Agriculture being discouraged and the lands converted into pasturage, the people of Ireland soon did not grow sufficient food for their own consumption; and corn was actually imported from London as the cheapest market.

The oppressions practised by the landlords† upon their tenants were of the most dreadful kind: they screwed and racked them‡ all over the kingdom, and soon reduced the class of substantial yeoman farmers to the same condition with their degraded serfs,—a condition worse than that of any other class of rural labourers in Europe. Enormous rents were extorted from them, for their miserable cabins§ and potatoe-plots,—at the same time that, from the ruin of agriculture, they were hindered from providing their own bread, and had no money wherewith to purchase it. Hence the land swarmed with beggars, almost five out of every six of the families of the poor, being left a burden on the charity and benevolence of the remainder. The wealth of Ireland was all drained away to maintain in affluence and luxury its absentee landlords, so that the country might justly say what Luther said of himself, "Poor Ireland makes many rich!"

The TRADE of Ireland, so necessary to employ the surplus population of every limited country, was now completely ruined. It had been sacrificed to the base commercial jealousy of England, which did not, by any means, gain what Ireland lost. The act passed in William's reign, prohibiting the exportation of wool manufactured in Ireland, though it inflicted ruin and beggary upon thousands of Irish families, and broke her capitalists and merchants,

\* About this period the population of Ireland was reduced to under one million and a half of souls.

† Every Squire, almost to a man, is an oppressor of the clergy, a racker of his tenantry, a jobber of public works, very proud, and generally illiterate. \* \* \* The detestable tyranny and oppression of Landlords are visible in every part of the kingdom.—SWIFT.

‡ Another great calamity, is the exorbitant raising of the rents of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack rent,—leases granted but for a term of years,—tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised, on the expiration of the lease, proportionably to the improvement they shall make. Thus is honest industry restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; he will if he can cover his family with a coarse home-spun frieze. The artizan has little dealings with him; yet he is obliged to take his provisions from him at an extravagant price, otherwise the farmer cannot pay his rent.—SWIFT'S TRACT "ON THE MISERABLE STATE OF IRELAND."

§ The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep-pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potatoe-plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable, than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty!—SWIFT'S TRACT "ON THE MISERABLE STATE OF IRELAND."

did not benefit England to the extent that the English monopolists anticipated. Though the Irish were prohibited exporting their woollen manufacture, they still exported their wool, which was now sent in immense quantities to France, Spain, and Portugal, where it was worked up into fabrics, and in many cases kept English goods out of the market. "At the passing of this fatal act," says Swift,\* "the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, though no way interfering with the English; we made no broad-cloths above 6s. per yard; coarse druggets, bays and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half-works, and gaudy stuffs, were the only product of our looms: these were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the northern nations, from which we had in exchange, timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and hard dollars. At the time the current money of Ireland was foreign silver, a man could hardly receive 100l., without finding the coin of all the northern powers, and every prince of the empire among it. This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, &c. for our own wear, for rents, for coals, for hardware, and all other English manufactures, and, in a great measure, supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation."

No sooner, however, had the clamours of the English manufacturers compelled William to pass the infamous act, than the trade, hitherto so prosperous in Ireland, was put down; the profitable commerce of Ireland with the northern countries was entirely lost, and the advantages at once transferred, for the most part, to France, Holland, Spain, and other continental nations. Numbers of Irish towns, which had been entirely supported by the woollen manufacture previous to the passing of the unhappy bill, were at once ruined; the English operatives returned to England, overstocking the markets there with labourers; many of the Irish operatives emigrated to those countries whither the suppressed trade had gone; and numbers more, who could not emigrate, begged about from door to door in the garb of misery, pleading on the inmates to take their wares from them at any price to prevent their families starving of hunger. In the meantime smuggling flourished. Wool was exported to foreign countries in spite of all edicts to the contrary. Custom-house oaths are never considered to be very sacred things. Masters, with loadings of Irish wool, swore that they were bound for one of the English wool ports, but unloaded in France or Spain; bringing back wines, brandy, and fruit,—moidores, pistoles, and louis-d'ors, "without which," says a writer of the period, "we should scarcely have a penny to turn upon." Indeed, Ireland was now subjected to a commercial slavery, which left neither her credit, her commodities, nor her industry, at her own disposal. She was entirely bereft of shipping; and the



magnificent ports and havens, which Nature has so bountifully bestowed on Ireland, were of no more use to her, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon. The commercial condition of Ireland at this period may be summed up in a word:—she imported £40,000 worth of goods per annum, of a kind that yielded no advantage to the people; and she exported £700,000 worth of another kind of goods, for which the people received not one farthing's benefit in return.

The legislation of the period continued to be of the most barbarous kind. The country was treated as a mere conquered province, by a parliament in which she had neither friend nor representative. The English ministry were in the habit of looking down upon Ireland as upon a nation of slaves and outcasts, who had no more claim upon their kindness or consideration than the savages of Central Africa. The object of all their laws seemed to be to destroy the people by setting them against each other—class against class, and creed against creed. The legislation against the catholics continued of the same atrocious character. The penal code of queen Anne was perfected by the passing of several horrible enactments, over which the proprieties of modern language would almost draw a veil. The very darkest parts of the picture were filled up; and the anti-social system of tyranny completely consolidated.

The catholics were constantly under the suspicion of the government, and treated as the merest serfs and rebels, the laws being rigorously executed against them during the whole of the reign; and the occurrence of the Scottish Rebellion of 1715, afforded the government the pretence for treating them with renewed cruelty. That rebellion was raised and carried on almost exclusively by Scotch presbyterians. The Irish catholics still felt the smart, and saw the scars of their former wounds; and they knew very well that they would be made a sacrifice to the least attempts towards a change. They therefore remained quiescent, and took no part in the rebellion for the restoral of the Pretender to the British throne. The government, however, seized the opportunity of devising new schemes for the oppression of the catholic population. The penalties against teaching "popery" were enforced with great severity. The catholic chapels were shut up; the priests were dragged from their hiding places, sometimes from the very altars, and hurried into loathsome dungeons, and from thence banished for ever from their native country. This persecution was the necessary and intended effect of a resolution passed by the Commons about this period, to the effect "that it was *the indispensable duty* of all magistrates to put the laws in *immediate* execution against all popish priests; and that such of them as neglected to do so, should be looked upon as *enemies* of the constitution!"

Measures such as these had a most crushing effect on the spirit and character of the people. The great body of the nation now seemed inert and dead. There was no presiding spirit to direct or guide

them—there was only a mass of blank materiality, destitute of vitality and energy. There was no sign of resistance to the general oppression: the worm turns, but the Irish people did not. They suffered in silence and gloomy submission; and were only abased the lower for their patience. Their spirits were utterly crushed and broken. The entire catholic population felt humbled to the dust before their protestant competitors. The estates of the catholic proprietors gradually crumbled away under the pressure of the penal laws; the wealth of the country was rapidly accumulating in the hands of the dominant few; and the great mass of the people were fast sinking into the condition of miserable yet seemingly satisfied paupers. A deadly blight fell upon the nation. Its heart seemed wearing out. The people perished by inches. Their self respect departed from them, and they sunk to the lowest depths of moral and social degradation. By degrees they lost the very notions of liberty, and seemed to regard themselves as creatures at the mercy of their lords. An utter abjectness of spirit distinguished the Irish catholics. The country gradually sunk, and lost its place among European nations. Limb by limb it perished, until the gangrene reached the heart of the nation itself. Thus Ireland fell, and all that survived in the midst of the wreck, were monopoly, pauperism, and protestant ascendancy!

It is almost gratifying to reflect that the next step of the English government was to throw off the vile tools that had hitherto aided them in the prostration of Ireland,—namely the Irish protestants. They had willingly lent themselves to humble in the dust their Catholic brethren; but at the same time, they had put their own necks into the noose. The English government, now that their work was accomplished, no longer cared for them. The Irish protestant constitution in church and state was now established,—and who so likely to reap the advantages as the Irish protestants! But no! These were, not for Irishmen of any creed, but for Englishmen. The ascendancy was now, and henceforward, almost exclusively English, and for English purposes. The aid of the Irish presbyterian was now rejected with contempt. “The poisoned chalice was returned to his own lips. He had succeeded in barbarizing, in demoralizing, in impoverishing, the Catholic; but when he came to inspect the work of his own hands, he found that he must continue to dwell in the midst of the ruins and desolation, and have the barbarism, and vice, and poverty, which he had so madly created, for ever raging around him. He had succeeded in excluding the catholics from all power, and for a moment held triumphant and exclusive possession of the conquest; but he was merely a *locum tenens* for a more powerful conqueror,—a jackal for the lion,—an Irish steward for an English master; and the turn soon came round, when he was obliged to render up reluctantly, but immediately, even this oppressive trust. The exclusive system was turned against him: he had made the executive

entirely *protestant*: the Whigs of George I. made it almost entirely *English*.\*

The means by which the ascendancy of England was accomplished, were characteristic. The English parliament took advantage of the fact, that the Irish House of Lords had resisted the right of appeal to the House of Lords in England, and resolved to pass "an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of England." This act reduced the Irish parliament to a mere echo: its independence was completely gone. The Irish House of Lords was entirely deprived of their jurisdiction in cases of appeal; for the act declared that *the British parliament "has full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people of Ireland."* The Irish legislature, however, still continued in existence, with sufficient power to torture and persecute the Irish catholics,—indeed, this was almost the only use that they afterwards made of their legislative authority.

Soon after the act destroying its independence had been passed, the Irish Parliament set to work and devised new laws against popery. Increased penalties and disqualifications were inflicted on the catholics, which were enforced in the same sanguinary spirit as before. Blood-money, in increased measure, was unsparingly lavished for the capture of priests. Priest-hunting became a fashionable sport. One hideous act, for which we can scarcely find words, was passed by the Irish parliament, and which was even of too monstrous a nature to be sanctioned by the English legislature: it contained a clause subjecting any catholic priest who came to Ireland to the penalty of—castration!† The bill, as passed by the Irish parliament, was laid before the lord-lieutenant, to be transmitted to England, with the remarkable request on their part, "that he would recommend the same in *the most effectual manner* to his majesty." His grace replied, "that as he had so much at heart a matter which he had recommended to the consideration of parliament at the beginning of the session, they might depend upon a due regard, on his part, to what was desired." The infamous bill was, however, quashed, through the influence chiefly of Cardinal Fleury with Mr. Walpole,—who consoled the Irish parliament by commending to them the care of the public peace, stating "that, in his opinion, that would be greatly promoted by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions; that such persons only should be put into the commission of the peace, as had *distinguished* themselves by their steady adherence to the protestant interest." It is questionable whether, in any age or nation, it was ever proposed to promote religion by means so hideous as those recommended on this occasion by the Irish parliament. The mere proposal of such things is suf-

\* WYKE'S *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, p. 27.

† O'CONNOR'S *History* p. 190 note—Also CURRY'S *Review*

sufficient to show the spirit of the ascendancy which now lorded it over the Irish people. It only remains for us, before concluding the dark catalogue, to notice another hideous act passed in this reign, by which it was enacted (1726), that any popish priest who should marry a Roman catholic to a protestant, should be guilty of **FELONY** and suffer **DEATH** accordingly!

Walpole was the leader of the great English Whig party, who now succeeded the Tories, in the government of Ireland. Whatever might be the principles about which these two factions were divided in England, their mode of governing Ireland was precisely the same. They both agreed in the policy of persecuting "the papists," and keeping down the Irish. Hatred to the religion of Ireland—hatred to Ireland itself—and the maintenance of English supremacy,—were the guiding maxims of the Whig parliament and ministry of the first George. There was then no party among the English people to appeal to, in favour of "Justice to Ireland." The ministry that offered to treat Ireland then, on the same terms with England, would have been scouted as mad and desperately wicked: it would have been denounced as "popish"—a word which was then considered equivalent to every thing that was horrible and hideous. One thing is certain, the whigs completed the subjection of Ireland to the English parliament. They made the Irish legislature a mere mockery, converting it, at best, only into an instrument to record and carry into effect, the acts passed against Ireland in the English parliament; at the same time that it carried on a tyranny of the most disgraceful kind upon its own account.

Out of the deep gloom which now enveloped the national spirit of Ireland, there broke forth one meteor flash, which merely served to make the surrounding darkness more visible. There was no presiding spirit among the catholic body, capable of filling it with life: the entire mass seemed inert and dead. It was reserved for an Irish protestant—an 'Englishman born in Ireland'—a churchman, and of the ascendancy church—to make the only great effort during this reign, to revive the patriotic feeling in Ireland, and to direct the energies of the Irish people to national objects. Yet it is to be questioned whether the patriotism of Dean Swift was not more instigated by factious considerations than by disinterested feelings of good for his fellow men. The inveteracy with which he resisted the claims of the dissenters, and the feelingless manner in which he spoke of the misery and degradation of the Roman catholic population of Ireland (for whose relief he proposed to do nothing), showed that the principles of civil and religious liberty had little influence over his mind. Swift was a thick-and-thin Tory of the old school,—prejudiced and factious, caring more for the ascendancy of his party than the well-being of the community. Swift had been sent to Ireland in order that he might be got out of the way of his own party in England,—he himself considered his appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick's as at best only an honourable

exile,—and he landed in Ireland in June, 1713, to take possession of his preferment, a chagrined, disappointed, and miserable man. Swift had no love for Ireland and Irishmen: on the other hand, he took every opportunity of expressing his detestation of both the country and the people.\*

Seven years passed after Swift's arrival in Ireland, during which, he was employed in the duties of the cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, and in carrying on his loves with Stella and Vanessa, until the year 1720, when all at once, Swift appeared as a patriot, and for a time united both the catholics and protestants in a fierce opposition to the government. The time was propitious for a great national effort at self-relief. The country lay crushed beneath the load of irresponsible and class legislation; and the condition of the great mass of the Irish people was miserable in the extreme. To quote the graphic description of Swift himself, at this period,† —“whatever stranger took a journey in Ireland, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwellings of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be a comfortable sight to an English spectator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back into his own country, whither he finds all his wealth transmitted. *Nostra miseria magna est.* There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearness of necessaries of life: because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take, or go a-begging,) without raising the price of cattle and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of building in this city; because workmen have

\* Swift, on all occasions, manifests a great anxiety to draw a line between the native Irish and the English settled in Ireland. He calls the Irish protestants “Englishmen born here,” and he speaks of them in the Drapier's letters, as “the true English people of Ireland.” Swift had no idea of being confounded with the Irish people, whom he sweepingly described in one of his pamphlets, as “idle, savage, beastly, and thievish.” This is not exactly the language of an Irish patriot.

† See the pamphlet entitled “*A Short View of the State of Ireland*,” published 1727. Scott's Edition of Swift, vol. vii., p. 118.—9—10.

nothing to do but to employ one another, and one-half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of bankers, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but most ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver, and one-third of our gold; so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two, and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire."

Swift was not slow to perceive that a chief portion of the misery of Ireland was attributable to the monopolizing statutes of William III, which prohibited the exportation of woollen goods from Ireland to foreign countries, and had thus almost entirely ruined the principal Irish manufactures. Swift was one of those men, who, whatever be the name of their politics, have a constitutional hatred of tyranny under certain forms. He soon saw, and felt keenly, the injustice and evil done to Ireland by the oppressive statutes of William; and his soul burned within him to give expression to his feelings on the subject. "Do not," said he one day to his friend Delany,—“Do not these corruptions and villanies of men eat your flesh and exhaust your spirits?” Swift was not long in giving vent to his indignation in words, which he did in the short treatise published in 1720, entitled “*A proposal for the universal use of Irish Manufacture, &c., utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wear-able that comes from England.*”. The only remedy that occurred to Swift, for the evils under which Ireland laboured from the causes referred to, was that of creating a home market for the goods which the Irish were so iniquitously prohibited from exporting to other countries. For this purpose, he sought to establish a kind of national association or agreement to use Irish manufactures in preference to those imported from England. In his pamphlet, he suggested, whether the parliament, instead of legislating upon politics and divinity, ought not bestow some attention on the affairs of the nation? and asked “What if the House of Commons had thought fit to make resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not the growth and manufacture of Ireland”—spreading the execution of this resolution, by their own practice and encouragement? Ladies, also, were recommended to use Irish stuffs exclusively for the furniture of their houses, and for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters. “Upon the whole,” said Swift, “and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken by male and female, *never to appear with one shred that comes from England*, and let all the people say AMEN.” He also argued the necessity of working up the various kinds of Irish raw material by the Irish people themselves; dissuading from the use of English coal in preference to Irish, and adopting the observation of somebody that “Ireland would never be happy, till a law were made for burning everything that came from England *except the people and their coals.*”

This pamphlet of Swift's attracted universal attention. The people hailed it with delight; the government and monopolists with alarm and indignation. The English government, jealous of everything like independency of spirit in Ireland, seized and prosecuted the printer of the pamphlet, as being a seditious, factious, and virulent libel, published with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance. Upon trial, however, the jury, though they had been carefully selected by the government, brought in the printer NOT GUILTY. The lord chief-justice received their verdict with astonishment, and after an harangue, sent them back to reconsider their decision. The same verdict was returned, and again and again were the jury sent back; until eleven hours had elapsed and they had been sent back nine times, when they reluctantly left the matter in the judge's hands by a special verdict. Great indignation, among all parties, followed the tyranny of the judge; and the issue was a virtual triumph for Swift and the popular party. The trial of the verdict was deferred from term to term, until the arrival of the Duke of Grafton as lord-lieutenant, who granted a *noli prosequi*, and thus put a stop to the affair. Swift improved his advantage, and almost annihilated the judge by a succession of bitter epigrams and satires.

The next subject which attracted the Dean's attention, and drew forth the shafts of his ridicule, was the project to establish a National Bank, which was shortly after abandoned. But the great question upon which Swift distinguished himself, and in connection with which his name has been handed down to posterity as an Irish patriot, was Wood's patent for issuing a copper coinage, and which he strenuously and successfully resisted through the famous letters of "The Drapier." There being a deficiency of copper coinage in Ireland, a patent had been granted to one William Wood, for coining copper money for the use of Ireland. Wood had obtained the patent through the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, one of the mistresses of George I., to whom Wood had promised a share of the profits. It was passed without consulting the lord lieutenant, or privy council, or parliament of Ireland; and, conferring as it did, the right of exercising one of the highest privileges of the government, upon an obscure individual, there was a large party among the ascendancy faction of Ireland, who declaimed against the patent and prepared to offer it their strenuous resistance. Just as the struggle was commencing, Swift spoke out in his celebrated Drapier's Letters; which at once attracted an extraordinary share of attention. They were strong in argument, brilliant in humour, and abounded in that bitter personal satire, which is, in general, so attractive to the multitude. Misrepresentation also was not spared, Wood being assailed as originally "a hardware-man" and "low mechanic," but who was now an avaricious and unprincipled proprietor, eager to ruin the whole kingdom of Ireland, merely in order to secure an exorbitant profit to himself.

The nation was soon thoroughly roused against Wood's project. The Irish parliament also, alarmed lest their monopoly of legislation should be further interfered with by the English government, joined in resistance to the scheme, and addressed the crown against it. Parties of all denominations expressed their abhorrence of the hated new copper coinage. The tradesmen to whom it was consigned, refused to receive it, and endeavoured by public advertisement, to remove the scandal of the accursed traffic. Associations were formed for refusing the currency; which extended, from the most wealthy and respectable classes, down even to the hawkers and news boys, who gave notice to all gentlemen, ladies, and others, who shall have occasion to buy news, poems, songs, letters, lampoons, &c., that they will not receive or offer in exchange any of William Wood's drossy halfpence or farthings, because they can neither get news, ale, tobacco, brandy, nor snuff, for such cursed stuff."

The opposition gradually gathered strength; Wood's effigy was burned by the populace; and it was even considered unsafe in any one to be supposed favourable to Wood's project. The administration, finding themselves hard pressed, endeavoured to let the scheme drop gradually, by limiting the issue of halfpence to £40,000 instead of £100,000. But the public would not be thus appeased; and their demands increased instead of abating with the concession. Swift now seized the opportunity of pressing upon public attention the real merits of the case. In the Drapier's fourth letter, Swift boldly treated of the royal prerogative, the almost exclusive employment of the natives of England in places of trust and emolument in Ireland, the dependency upon England to which that kingdom had been reduced, and the power which had been assumed, of binding the Irish nation by laws to which it had not given consent by means of its representatives,—insisting that "all government without the consent of the governed, is of the very nature of slavery." Swift also alluded to the acts of secret influence, and threats of open violence which had been employed to ram Wood's half-pence "down the throats" of the Irish,—concluding this part of his letter in the following language:—"The remedy is wholly in your own hands, and, therefore, I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised amongst you, and to let you see, that, by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be, as FREE a people as your brethren in England."

No sooner was this bold avowal made, than the arm of the government was raised to strike down the author. A proclamation was immediately issued, offering a reward of £300 for the discovery of the writer of the fourth Drapier's letter; Harding, the printer, was thrown into prison, and a prosecution immediately commenced against him, at the instance of the Crown. Swift was not daunted by this menacing procedure of the government, but boldly went to



the levee of the Lord Lieutenant, then Lord Carteret, and demanded in the hearing of his courtiers, the meaning of these severities against a poor industrious tradesman, who had published two or three letters designed for the good of his country! Carteret, with considerable readiness, evaded the expostulation, by a quotation\* from Virgil!

When the grand jury assembled, and the bill against the printer of the Drapier's letter had been presented to them, after some consideration, they brought in a verdict of *ignoramus* upon the bill. Whithed, the Lord Chief Justice, could only gratify his impotent spite by dissolving the grand jury, who returned into society honoured and thanked for their patriotism, while the Chief Justice was execrated for his arbitrary conduct. The next grand jury of the county and city of Dublin presented Wood's scheme as a fraud upon the public, and expressed their gratitude to the patriots by whom it had been exposed. The government were now afraid, that if they persevered with their ill-considered project, a civil war might ensue; and they prepared, with all dispatch, to revoke the patent. Wood was indemnified by a grant of £3000 yearly, for twelve years; the administration was discomfited; and Swift and the Irish party obtained a decided victory.

"The DRAPIER" now became one of the most popular men in the country. He was almost worshipped by all ranks of the community. It is too often the lot of the patriot to outlive his popularity; and, when the occasion of his great success has passed from the memories of men, to be passed by and forgotten, if not to become the maligned and aspersed of all parties. But, to the honour of the warm-hearted and enthusiastic people for whom Swift risked his safety, he carried with him to his grave the benedictions of the Irish nation. Even when he had become next to a moping idiot, his steps, when he walked out in Dublin, were attended by thousands of people, who showered down blessings on his head. When he visited a town in which he was not usually resident, his reception was something like that of a sovereign prince.† Bells were rung, bonfires were kindled, and triumphal processions took place in his honour. Dublin warmly cherished the patriot, and the citizens constituted themselves into a kind of body-guard in his defence. It is related that, "When on one occasion, Walpole meditated an arrest, his proposal was checked by a prudent friend, who inquired if he could spare ten thousand soldiers to guard the messenger who should execute so perilous a commission."‡

After this great event in his life, Swift continued at intervals, to direct the attention of the people to the consideration of their rights and interests, by means of pamphlets upon various topics,

\* *Rex dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt moliri*——

† SIR WALTER SCOTT'S *Life of Swift*.

‡ *Ibid*.

under attractive titles. He was also engaged in his vocation of churchman, in resisting any relaxation of the penal laws against the dissenters. He held up this body to severe and repeated ridicule, as mere pretenders of zeal for the reformed religion and the protestant succession. He also ridiculed the claims of the catholics\* to relief from penal disabilities; but insinuated, that if relaxation were to be made at all, it ought to be rather in favour of the Roman catholics than of the protestant dissenters. He compared the former to a lion chained and deprived of his fangs and claws; and the latter to a wild cat loose, in full possession of its teeth and talons, which it was ready to fix into the body of the Church of England. The Dean also took a lively interest in the disposition of church property on several occasions, and zealously defended the great body of the clergy from what he considered to be the encroachments of the bishops.

After the death of Dean Swift, the spirit of resistance to the oppressions of the government, again subsided; and a long period of quiescent suffering ensued. The efforts of Swift to encourage the growth of Irish manufacture, entirely failed,—chiefly owing to the fact, that, in spite of all patriotism, the great mass will continue to purchase the best, handsomest, and cheapest commodities in the market (no matter by whom made) so soon as the first fire of the zeal which dictated the renunciation of foreign manufactures has spent its fury; but also on account of the want of unity and combination among the Irish people at this period. The catholics felt that they had nothing to struggle for: they were treated as strangers and foreigners in their own land. Ireland was now an estate farmed by English managers: public opinion had no influence in it: the law, backed by the soldiery, was the instrument employed for the subjection of the natives, who, having no prospect of relief, ceased to make the slightest exertion in their own behalf. Hope was altogether extinguished, and the nation seemed a dead mass, unable to resist, in the slightest degree, the encroachments of the ruling power. "With this part of his country's history," says Moore, "an Irish Chronicler has little else to do than to mourn over it and be silent."

On the accession of George II., in 1727, the Catholic nobility, gentry, and clergy, approached the throne in a humble and loyal address. Lord Delvin headed the respectable deputation which presented it to the lord lieutenant, to be forwarded to his Majesty. But though emanating from the heads of a body representing five;

\* The following passage from Swift's writings will sufficiently show to what a miserable state of Helotism the great body of the Catholics were now reduced: "We look upon them," says he, "to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more; and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away. In the meantime, the common people, without discipline or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined."

sixths of the Irish people, not the slightest notice was taken either of the deputation or the address. It was not even known whether it was ever transmitted to his Majesty, as desired, or not. It is supposed that the document was suppressed, because it was considered impolitic to acknowledge that there were any Roman catholics even in existence. They were to be altogether forgotten in the nation: the law did not recognise them: they were to have neither part nor lot in the legislation of their country.

It was supposed that the Primate, Boulter, had a large share in the suppression of the catholic address. This churchman ruled Ireland with a rod of iron; having an especial hatred to the catholic part of the population. The union of the catholics with the protestants in their resistance to Wood's halfpence, had been highly alarming to him. He feared that they might fraternize on other points; and complained, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle,—“I find that the people of every religion, country, and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a *most unhappy influence* on the state of this nation *by bringing on intimacies between papists and the Whigs*, who before had no correspondence with them.” The Primate feared for the Protestant Ascendancy, knowing that it was based on disunions and bitter dissensions among the people. But he might have spared himself his alarm. England had only to raise the ghost of popery, as of old, and the resistance at once subsided, and the people fell to pieces again,—the protestants pursuing their career of malignancy against their catholic fellow subjects as before.

The miserable remnant of a franchise yet remaining to the Irish catholics was now (about 1727) taken away from them; and it was done surreptitiously. It seems that Primate Boulter attributed the growing fraternization between the catholics and protestants to the small share still possessed by the former, of the elective franchise, and accordingly it was resolved at once to deprive them of it. A bill was introduced into parliament with the false heading of “A Bill to *regulate*, &c. the election of members to Parliament,” in which provision was made for the total disfranchisement of the Irish catholics. The bill was hurried through both houses, and passed, before the catholics were aware that such a measure was even under consideration; and it received the royal assent before they could even offer their formal protest against it! This measure completed the enslavement of the Irish people,—leaving nine-tenths of the nation at the entire mercy of an irresponsible and unprincipled oligarchy.

About the same time, several grievous additions were made to the penal code. Applications having been made by the representatives of some ancient Roman catholic families, for the reversion of outlawries, incurred by the insurrection of 1641,—and the law agents who were employed on the occasion, being catholics,—the protestant ascendancy, fearing that they might prevail on their

clients to come forward again with applications at a future opportunity, brought a bill into parliament, absolutely disqualifying all Roman catholics from practising as *solicitors*—the only branch of the legal profession in which they were then allowed to practice. While the bill was passing through the House of Commons, several Roman catholics of Dublin and Cork commenced a subscription for the purpose of legally and constitutionally opposing it,—when advantage was taken of the circumstance to give information to the government, that the money thus collected, was intended for no other purpose, than to bring in *POPERY* and the *PRETENDER*. A committee of the House of Commons was forthwith appointed to investigate the affair, and they found that all that had been collected in these two cities for the purpose mentioned, was the sum of five pounds! And yet they resolved, that it appeared to them, “that *great* sums of money had been collected and raised, and a fund established by the Popish inhabitants of the kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to *the protestant interest*, and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment”; and they further resolved to address the lord-lieutenant, calling upon him “to issue his proclamation to all magistrates, to put the laws against Popery in execution.” In consequence of this address, the proclamation was issued, and all penal laws against the catholics were strictly enforced. In the meantime, the bill disqualifying catholic solicitors from the exercise of their calling, had received the royal sanction, and passed into a law. About the same time, bills were passed for registering the popish clergy, and for annulling all marriages between catholics and protestants. Barristers or solicitors marrying catholics were subjected to all the penalties and disqualifications of catholics. The converts from catholicity were also treated with the indignity due to them for the desertion of their faith, when tempted by filthy lucre: they were disabled from acting as justices of peace, so long as their wives or children continued catholics; and numerous enactments were passed of an almost equally oppressive character with those from which they had escaped by the desertion of catholicism. Another notable act of the Irish Commons at this time deserves to be mentioned: persons robbed by privateers, during war with any popish power, were to be reimbursed by Grand Jury presentment; and the money was ordered to be levied on the goods and lands of popish inhabitants only!

We have now nearly completed our melancholy record of the bigotted and intolerant legislation of this period. The contemplation of it is most painful, and enough to make the heart sick. It would be easy for us to trace the working of these penal laws, and to pourtray the misery, suffering and sorrow, which they carried throughout the nation; but the detail would occupy too much space, and besides, it is unnecessary. The simple statement of the provisions of the acts themselves, is sufficient to exhibit the enor-

mity of the legislature which passed them into a law, and to render all rhetorical illustration and embellishment a mere work of supererogation.

It is awful to reflect that all this cruelty was perpetrated upon the Irish catholics, under the pretence of regard for the interests of religion! Christianity itself, pure and spotless, was dragged through mire and blood, by men who spurned its commands, mocked its precepts, and defied its injunctions. Protestantism became the watch-word of a faction, who were ready to sacrifice all honour, virtue, morality, and religion, and trample them under-foot, merely to subserve their own vile and selfish purposes.

It is usual, in this country, to speak with horror of the persecutions of popery; and no doubt they were bad enough. But a darker chapter by far, in our country's history, is, the persecutions of protestantism. The records of religious persecution in all countries, have nothing more hideous to offer to our notice, than the protestant persecutions of the Irish catholics. On them all the devices of cruelty were exhausted. Ingenuity was taxed to devise new plans of persecution, till the machinery of penal iniquity might almost be pronounced perfect. It ought also to be remembered that the persecutions of "Popery" occurred in a rude and barbarous age, when such practises were sanctioned by the manners and customs of the time; whereas the persecutions of "Prelacy" occurred in a comparatively civilized and enlightened age, in the days of Locke, and Addison, and Swift, when the English constitution had become full-blown, "the pride of the world and the envy of the surrounding nations."

It was not, however, either in protestantism or episcopacy that the disposition to persecute the Irish catholics originated. Generally speaking, all sects are nearly alike as regards their toleration of other sects. So long as they are placed on the same level, they will regard each other with nearly the same feelings. But give to any one of them the power and the temptation, and it will persecute. It was because protestantism was identified with the English ascendancy in Ireland, and because that ascendancy had at its command the physical force of the government,—that the cruel penal laws against the Irish catholics were enacted. The civil establishment of religion in all countries has led to results of the same kind; though in none, have its evils, fed and swoln through a thousand channels, reached to so enormous a magnitude as they did in Ireland in the beginning and middle of the eighteenth century.

All the means of persecution, however, that could be brought to bear against the catholics, did not check the increase of their numbers. Like the oppressed Hebrew, under Pharaoh, "the more they afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew." Notwithstanding coercion, banishment, civil disabilities, and pains and penalties of all kinds, in order to induce them to embrace the creed of their protestant masters, the catholics went on multiplying in an

increasing ratio from year to year. Even though catholic industry was crushed, and catholic property broken up, and the entire catholic population condemned to poverty and ignominy, their religion flourished and extended,—while protestantism stood still and even retrograded in point of numbers. At the commencement of the century, the catholics were only about a million and a half: at the close of the century they were five millions strong. Thus “captive Israel multiplied in chains.”

It is to be remarked that all such attempts to crush opinion by means of penal laws and the instruments of physical force, are certain to fail in the end. Thought refuses to obey the material laws, and invariably rises above them. The public mind is always exceedingly stubborn, in its resistance to the attempts made to coerce it into particular forms of thought and action. A religious creed, especially, cannot be put down by force, unless the people professing it can be wholly exterminated. And it would have been both laborious and dangerous in the extreme, to have now made such an attempt with the Irish Catholics—though a “massacre” was more than once generally spoken of. Besides, they were still needed as a kind of serfs, to cultivate the soil and give it value. They were therefore allowed to exist, shorn of every vestige of privilege, and reduced to the very lowest condition in which it was possible for human beings to live.

### CHAPTER XXX.

Ireland in the reign of George II.—Ignorance of the English people on the condition of Ireland.—The Irish Parliaments.—The PARLIAMENTS—Abolition of title of Agistment—Dreadful sufferings of the Irish people—Famine of 1740—Protestant horror of the Catholics—Projected massacre—Rebellion of 1745—The Earl of Chesterfield—Ireland remains tranquil—More sanguinary statutes—Foreign service of the Irish—Recruiting for France—Irish families in foreign service—Means taken by the English to withdraw them from the army of France—Farther odious measures contemplated by Lord Chesterfield—Is recalled—Revival of the penal cruelties against the Catholics—Stone, the Irish primate—The opposition to government—Charles Lucas—Collision between Government and Parliament—The “scrambling committee”—French invasion—Catholics express their Loyalty—Union projected—Protestant mob—Singular proceedings—Death of George II. Condition of Society in Ireland in the reign of George II.

WHILE the Irish people were thus reduced to the last state of misery, the managers of Ireland appointed by the English government, persevered in the same undeviating policy of coercion and injustice. All lords-lieutenant were alike, whether appointed by the Whig or the Tory factions.\* They came to Ireland, not to govern its

\* Of the two parties the Whigs were the most implacable enemies of the Catholics; the enmity of the Irish whigs proceeded from a consciousness of injustice and a dread of retaliation; that of the English was the result of a spirit of freedom and ill-judged patriotism. They cherished liberty as the first of blessings and the exaltation and glory of England, as paramount to

people, so that they might prosper, or accumulate wealth, or become contented and useful citizens, but rather to prevent their prospering, to keep the population poor, to break their spirits, and above all, to prevent them competing with the trade and manufacture of England. The English governor, for the time being, was not allowed to consult the wishes of the Irish people: he was only a tool in the hands of the dominant faction, to serve their own selfish purposes. He had also the English government to consult, which generally knew little of the Irish people, and never studied their interests, unless with the view of obstructing them.

As for the English people, they at this time knew little more of Ireland than they did of Cochin-China,—further than it was a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish papists, who were kept in awe only by means of English troops; and the general opinion was, that it would be better for England if Ireland were sunk into the depths of the sea,—the tradition prevailing, that there must every forty years be a rebellion in Ireland.\* There was not the slightest inducement, therefore, for any English manager to govern Ireland in a liberal spirit,—seeing that there was no encouragement in the Irish parliament, no support from the English people, and no movement of any kind among the Irish catholics themselves. He would have been deemed a mad knight-errant, who in those days, would have proposed a measure of justice, no matter how small, for the Irish people.

The Irish parliaments of the time were the mere instruments of maintaining the tyrannical ascendancy of the protestant faction. It is true, that under the administration of the duke of Dorset, (1781) the opposition party, self-styled the PATRIOTS, became a strong body in the House of Commons. But their PATRIOTISM was generally confined to serving themselves, for they took care never to pass any laws whose object was to benefit the mass of the people. Shortly after the duke of Dorset assumed the lord-lieutenancy, the English government, eager to escape from the control of the Irish parliament, endeavoured to obtain a grant of the supplies for twenty-one years. The “patriots,” however, mustered strong against the government, and rejected the government proposition by a majority of one.

the laws of nations, to all moral or religious obligations. They abhorred popery as the parent of servile and passive obedience, and viewed Ireland as the rival and competitor of England. To extirpate the one and keep down the other became a principal object of the policy of the whig administration under George I. The annals of this reign are stained by frequent persecutions of the catholic gentry and clergy, by disgraceful additions to the code, by iniquitous decisions of the courts of law, by unconstitutional encroachments on the charter of Irish independence, and by the frequent recurrence of famine.—O’Conor’s *History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 188.

\* “I have seen,” says Swift, “the grossest suppositions passed upon them: that the wild Irish were taken in toils; but that in some time, they would grow so tame as to eat out of your hands. I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by your neighbours, your tenants at Pepper-harrow, ‘whether I had come from Ireland by sea?’ and upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country-town, I have known crowds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.”—SWIFT’S WORKS, vol. vii., p. 12.

These 'patriots' shortly afterwards proceeded to increase the burden of the established church upon the Irish people, by abolishing the tithe of agistment or tithe of pasturage. This tithe fell principally upon the class of occupiers of land, who were certainly the best able to pay for the religion which they had themselves established. It was also by far the most profitable tithe which the clergy enjoyed, and was collected without difficulty or causing popular commotion or resistance. But the Irish legislature, which of course consisted principally of Irish landed proprietors, resolved to get rid of the burden and place it upon other shoulders,—even though they should thereby rob the church which they had so zealously endeavoured to serve by means of the penal laws. They passed a series of resolutions abolishing the tithe of agistment, under the pretence of serving the "protestant interest" (meaning we suppose, *their own*),—and thus relieved themselves from the burden of supporting the state church—handing the clergy over from the wealthy protestant landholders to the poor catholic peasantry, on whom the burden of supporting them has ever since chiefly lain.

The oppressive exactions which followed this shameful measure, caused fearful suffering throughout the land. As only about one fortieth part of the lands of Ireland was at this time under tillage,\* and those under pasturage were entirely exempted from the payment of tithe by the resolutions of the Irish Commons, the new burden must have been severely felt. Every article the catholic peasant possessed was now taxed to pay a clergy which he hated. Though he himself famished, and his children were in absolute want, he must still pay the clergyman his tithe while an atom of property remained; and all the while, that the rich protestant landowner, who had relieved himself of the burden, was rolling in affluence, and swaggering over the ruin of his country and the degradation of its people. The scourge of tithe-proctors commenced,—for the rectors needed some such class to stand between them and the universal odium of the people,—and now the peasantry were given up to all the goadings of injustice and all the cruelties of clerical exaction.

Agriculture having received a great blow by these and other measures, and a season of drought having occurred, the consequence was a desolating famine, in the year 1740, one of the most destructive in the memory of man,† in which *four hundred thou-*

\* See PRIMATE BOULTER'S Correspondence.

† Famine had been making periodical visits to Ireland before this period; sparing neither the protestants of the North nor the Catholics of the South. In 1727, Primate Boulter made a journey into the North, which was chiefly inhabited by protestants, and "met all the roads full of whole families, who had left their homes to beg bread, since their neighbours had nothing to relieve them with," accordingly many hundreds of them perished from famine. (See BOULTER'S LETTERS, vol. I, p. 128.) "The pious Boulter," says Mr. O'Connor, "exerted himself to check this evil. He applied the public money to the purchase of provisions in the districts inhabited by catholics, to be transmitted to those parts peopled by protestants. This inhuman policy provoked resistance; the civil and military powers were exerted in vain to remove the



and persons are supposed to have perished. "The progress of starvation in besieged cities," says Mr. O'Connor, "can present but a faint image of the calamities of the Irish people in 1741. During the siege of Rome, by Totila, the citizens were reduced to the most loathsome and disgusting food. During the siege of Paris, by Henry IV., the churchyards were despoiled of their dead, and the bones ground into powder for sustenance for the living. The sufferings of the Irish surpass all that history has recorded and imagination can represent; after having consumed their whole stock of provisions, they had recourse to cats, dogs, mice, carrion and such other putrid and nauseous food as famine usually seeks, and when this wretched sustenance failed, these miserable beings endeavoured to prolong the remains of life, by feeding on dockings and nettles. Their countenances exhibited the colour of the weeds on which they fed. They crawled from the cabins into the fields in quest of nettles, their exhausted strength disabled many from returning. The companions of their misfortunes were unable to help them back, and they waited with calm resignation for the stroke of death, the last refuge of misfortune! The streets, the highways, the fields were covered with dead bodies, where they remained unburied, a prey to kites and vultures, infecting the air with their putrid exhalations; fluxes and malignant fevers invaded every house, whole villages were laid waste, and 400,000 persons are computed to have perished by famine and pestilence! The mortality fell chiefly on the catholics, being the poorest class who had not means to purchase provisions, and whose filthy and wretched cabins were more accessible to the ravages of pestilence, than the comfortable dwellings of their task-masters. This was the fifth or sixth famine, that in the course of 20 years, desolated a country gifted with the most luxuriant soil, indented with innumerable bays and harbours, presenting unrivalled advantages for trade and manufactures, and capable of maintaining treble the number of its people under any tolerable system of government."

This thinning of the nation by death did not increase the means of subsistence for those who remained. They were only plunged still deeper in poverty. All trade was interrupted; the wealth of the country was drained away by absentees; and when any signs of returning plenty appeared, they proved only the stimulants to new excesses by the protestants. By means of inflammatory sermons from the pulpit, inflammatory pamphlets from the press, and inflammatory resolutions from the houses of legislature, a spirit of fierce hostility and rancour against the catholics was kept up in

provisions. The sense of all other dangers vanished in the dread of immediate starvation. The government stores were plundered of the provisions, and carried off in triumph by the populace." Boulter also endeavoured to check the evils resulting from the discouragement of tillage, by a bill (passed in 1727) requiring all persons who kept in actual occupation one hundred acres of land, to till five acres at the least under a penalty of 40s. per acre. This act did nothing whatever to check the evil, and years of scarcity and distress continued to follow each other without intermission.

the minds of the protestant population. This was raised to a high pitch of excitement in the year 1743, about which time England was threatened by a French invasion under Marshal Saxe; and a rebellion was at the same time anticipated among the disaffected and exasperated Irish. The protestants seized the opportunity of raking up the old stories of the Irish insurrection in 1641, and the gunpowder plot of 1605, exaggerated into the wildest and most extravagant fictions, but highly calculated to effect the objects for which they were devised, and to excite the abhorrence of the protestant population against their catholic fellow countrymen.

To such a pitch did this excitement rise, that a general massacre of the catholics was actually spoken of. One nobleman and privy-councillor, of great power and influence, was so enthusiastically excited against them, that he openly declared in the Council, "that as the papists had begun the massacre on them, about an hundred years before, so he thought it both *reasonable and lawful*, on their parts, to prevent them, at that dangerous juncture, *by first falling upon them.*"\* This barbarous suggestion was overruled in that assembly, though it was not altogether lost upon the country; for, in the course of the same year in which the proposal was made, a conspiracy was actually formed among the protestant inhabitants of Lurgan, to rise in the night time and destroy all their catholic neighbours in their beds.† Fortunately, the conspiracy was discovered in time to put a stop to the intended massacre. The government, however, did not let slip the opportunity afforded by the public odium excited against the catholics, of devising other severe measures against them. A general disarmament of them took place; the government fearing that they might rise in aid of the anticipated invasion of the Pretender. Their priests were mercilessly hunted down,‡ the sanctity of domestic life being outrageously violated in the search for the chosen religious teachers of the Irish people. All Roman catholic chapels were closed, and religious service put an end to. Monastic institutions were suppressed by government proclamation (1744). The foulest sluices of political rancour were thrown open and deluged society with their nuisance; terror and persecution reigned on all sides; and the miserable nation again felt itself delivered over to a faction whose very tender mercies were cruel.

\* CURRY'S *Historical Review*, p. 555.

† *Ibid*

‡ In one of his letters, Primate Boulter states the number of priests at 3,000, "a number," observes Mr. O'Connor, "incredible, considering the violence of the persecution against them. Many of them indeed had returned from exile and displayed that invincible courage and persevering constancy which religion inspires. The spirit which invited them to the ministry lightened their chains and bolts, illumined their dungeons, supported them in exile, and prompted them to return under fictitious names at the risk of their lives. These were mostly the sons of reduced gentlemen, had tasted of ease and affluence in their younger years, and were accustomed to refinement of manners and the graces of education; they were now confined to the association of poverty and ignorance, were exposed to the merciless pursuit of priest-catchers and to the cold and damps and starvation of bogs and caverns. When the rage of persecution abated, they issued from their hiding places bare-headed, bare-footed, half-naked, and half famished, proceeded from cabin to cabin, instructing the ignorant, consoling the unfortunate, infusing the balm of religion into the wounds of the wretched. Against these men the iron hand of power was raised to crush them as the last of malefactors."—*History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 211.

The Scotch rebellion of 1745 excited the apprehensions of the English government for the safety of Ireland. They remembered the desperate struggle of the Irish on behalf of James II., and they feared lest the cruelty and injustice of the last half century would render them but too ready to seize the opportunity of bursting their chains, and revenging themselves on their oppressors. The guilty conscience of the Irish protestants conjured up visions of a retaliation which was never meditated. Alas! the poor catholics were now too much crushed under the iron heel of despotism, even to writhe. Their spirits were utterly broken by the degrading servitude they had so long endured. They had long since ceased to hope for redress; and dreamt not for one moment of avenging their wrongs. The struggle for power was to them nothing. They felt that all they had to do, was to toil, to suffer, and to die. Still they were feared, as the tyrant always fears his victim; and it was now deemed necessary to soothe, to soften, and to conciliate them. With this view, the Earl of Chesterfield,—widely celebrated for his famous letters to his son, in which he teaches politeness without heart, and manners without morality,—was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland at this important juncture.

The earl of Chesterfield was one of those accomplished 'men of the world' who cover over all their actions with the same heartless gloss of politeness and etiquette,—who would not be rude for an empire,—who, if they administer poison, must give it in a gilded cup,—who smile as they stab you to the heart, and are ready to perpetrate a pun while signing a death-warrant. Ireland was now placed under the administration of this manner of man. He was sent to "conciliate" the catholics, though hating their religion with a perfect hatred, and entertaining for them all that contempt which distinguished his English contemporaries. But it was now deemed necessary to gain in some measure the confidence of the Irish people, and to prevent them from joining in the formidable rebellion of the Scottish Highlanders against the government. The rigorous execution of the penal laws was therefore in some measure relaxed. The Roman catholic priests were set at liberty, their chapels were opened, and they were protected from molestation in the exercise of their worship. These acts of favour were so unusual and unexpected to the Irish people, that they were almost ready to fall down and worship the polite Earl as a demigod. Underneath this conciliating exterior, however, Chesterfield entertained sentiments and views as hostile to the Roman catholics as any of the English governors who had preceded him. In his speech to the parliament shortly afterwards, he recommended a strict execution of the atrocious penal laws, and further additions to the code,—suggesting "whether nothing further can be done, either by *new laws* or by *the more effectual execution of those in being*, to secure the nation against the great number of papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their *pernicious influence on civil society* did not both require and authorise restraint."

Nor was this speech without intention of performance; for, shortly after it had been delivered, two atrocious and unnatural penal statutes were enacted,—the first annulling all marriages that should be celebrated between protestants and papists, after the first of May, 1746; and the second, ordering that any popish priest who married two protestants, or a protestant and a papist, should be hanged! Such was the manner in which Chesterfield stabbed while he smiled! Thus did he dupe the catholics by an appearance of lenity and liberality, while he secretly indulged the rancour of the ascendancy party by the enactment of new and sanguinary statutes. The policy, however, succeeded. The catholics regarded Chesterfield with high favour, while the protestants cherished his administration with every mark of esteem. Ireland remained perfectly quiet during the year 1745, the catholics showing not the slightest disposition to aid Charles Edward Stuart in his daring enterprize to recover the throne of his fathers. At the close of the session, the Irish parliament “acknowledged, with cheerfulness and the utmost gratitude, that the profound tranquillity, which, without any extraordinary increase of public expense, the nation had hitherto enjoyed, was the result of his EXCELLENCY’s wise and vigilant administration; formed upon the principles, and carried on by the uniform exercise of *lenity* without remissness, and of firmness without *severity*.”

An act of some importance was passed during the administration of Lord Chesterfield, to withdraw, if possible, from the ranks of the French and Spanish armies, the Irish officers serving under those governments. It will be remembered by our readers that the flower of the Irish army entered the service of France, after the peace of Limerick. That gallant body of men, nineteen thousand strong, soon rendered themselves famous in continental history. In every great battle did they signalize themselves by their bravery, till the Irish brigade became a word of terror to its enemies. The French government highly valued the services of their gallant allies, and resolved to keep up the strength and efficiency of the force by systematic recruiting. A regular traffic was accordingly commenced and carried on, from most of the sea-ports in the south of Ireland,—contractors for recruits undertaking to supply a certain number of men, and providing vessels for their transport. Those who voluntarily embarked as recruits, were known by the name of “wild-geese;” but the rewards held out to the contractors were so tempting, that it is to be feared kidnapping was in many cases resorted to, and young men were seized and sent off by force, in order to complete the number that the contractors had engaged to provide.\* Proclamations against this system of recruiting for

\* The system of recruiting for France rests on unquestionable evidence. Captains Henry Ward and Francis Fitzgerald were hanged and quartered at the Gallows Green of Cork, on the 18th of April, 1722, for enlisting men for the service of the Pretender. On the 9th of June, and on the 16th of July, in the same year, Daniel Murphy, and Patrick Sweeney were hanged at Cork for recruiting for the Pretender. Those trials took place under a Special Commission. On the 14th of February, 1732, Captains

foreign service were often issued by the government, but invariably without effect: the exportation of recruits went on just as before.\* And it is a striking and remarkable fact, that even at the very time when England was actively at war with France and Spain, vessels belonging to both those countries regularly frequented the ports in the south of Ireland, taking in water and provisions, refitting themselves when damaged, perhaps carrying on a trade in smuggled goods, and in many cases publicly exchanging civilities and entertainments with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

Many of the best catholic families of Ireland were also in the habit of seeking fame and fortune in the service of France and Spain. They were deprived of all chance of rising to honour and emolument at home, were denied the enjoyment of their civil rights, and were doomed to submission to an ignominious and galling slavery. Thus treated at home, they carried their merits, their industry, and their bravery abroad, and offered them to the service of the foreigner. The military profession was considered the surest way to honourable advancement; and accordingly it was generally embraced in preference to all others. Hence, there is scarcely a catholic family in Ireland, that has not had some of its relations or connexions at one time or other in the pay of France, distinguishing themselves by their bravery in many a hard-fought continental battle.

It was not, however, until after the famous battle of Fontenoy, in which the British army were completely defeated, chiefly by the efforts of the Irish brigade, that the attention of the English government was drawn to the impolicy of allowing France to draw upon the military resources of Ireland. The honourable method would have been, to hold out to the Irish the offer of civil privileges and the enjoyment of their religion at home, together with a fair prospect of honourable advancement in the service of Britain, such as they enjoyed in foreign countries. But this did not suit the purposes of the Irish ascendancy, or of the English government. They accordingly adopted the mean and vindictive method of driving them, if possible, from the French armies; and now passed an act† disabling all Irish officers and soldiers that had been in the service of France or Spain since the 18th of October, 1745, from holding any real or personal property in Ireland, and that any real or personal property in possession, reversion, or expectancy, should belong to the first protestant discoverer. The Irish officers and soldiers, however, despised this impotent malice of the government, and shortly afterwards, they mainly contributed to the overthrow of the

Mooney and Maywick were executed at Stephen's Green, Dublin, for enlisting for foreign service. On the 16th of April, 1749, Dennis Dunn was executed in Cork "for enlisting John M'Fall to be a sergeant in the French army." Two other executions took place in the same city for a similar offence, in April and May, 1752. In May, 1756, Patrick Cronen was also executed in Cork for a like crime. Cases of this kind might be easily multiplied."—HALL'S IRELAND.

The Abbe M'Geoghegan states, from official documents, that more than 450,000 Irishmen had died in the service of France between 1691 and 1745!

† 19 George II. c. 6.

British army at Lafelt, which decided the fate of the war, and compelled Great Britain to accede to an inglorious peace.

It is said that Lord Chesterfield had resolved on other measures of penal coercion, besides those already mentioned,—such as the expulsion of the catholic bishops, a limitation of the number of priests, and a registry, together with the establishment of charter schools,†—by which means he expected to extirpate the catholic religion in Ireland. It seems that he had also planned the repeal of the law against purchasing landed estates, with the view of entrapping those of the catholics who had made money by trade and commerce, to invest their property in land, and thus expose them to the ruin of the gavel act, and of the ultimate reversion of their estates to protestants.‡ But before he could complete his schemes and carry them into effect, he was recalled from the superintendence of Irish affairs (1746), and his place was shortly afterwards supplied by the Earl of Harrington.

All fears of an Irish rebellion being now over, the ascendancy party again indulged in the cruelest rigour against the catholics. The pulpit and the press teemed with abuse of them and their principles, and the pent-up rancour of the protestants again burst forth, and deluged society throughout its whole extent. Advantage was taken of the prejudices thus excited, and every violence permitted by the penal laws was resorted to by the dominant party. At the head of this party was the primate, George Stone, a man of the very worst character,—vicious, profligate, debauched, and unprincipled. Nothing can afford a stronger proof of the utter prostration of public opinion in Ireland at this time, than the fact of such a man being at the head of the Irish Church—a man in whose every-day life, decency, morality, and religion were openly violated. Stone did not hesitate to employ the most disgusting means to effect the complete ascendancy of the English government over the Irish parliament. Even the bait of sensuality in its grossest forms, was held out to the younger members of parliament; and the residence of the archbishop in Dublin became little better than a tavern and a brothel.

† A new scheme, that of the protestant charter schools, devised to strengthen the English interest, was at this time forwarded with great activity. It was expected that the feelings of nature would surmount the scruples of religion; that catholic parents would resign the fond objects of their pious solicitude to the comforts of a protestant establishment, sooner than see them perish of want and misery which they were unable to relieve. Hence the origin of charter schools, the suggestion of Primate Boulter, the barbarous expedient of government by division. Its inhumanity was concealed under cover of zeal for religion, expressed in the methodical cant of concern for the salvation of papists. The plan of the institution was to tear the children of catholic parents from their embraces at a tender age, to bring them up in utter ignorance of their connexions, and to tutor them in principles of abhorrence to the religion of their forefathers. Such an institution was calculated to extinguish those tender affections which are the sources of our best feelings, which, connecting us with our immediate kindred by the relations of domestic charity, bind us to the great family of our species by the bond of universal benevolence. The charter schools were at first nurtured by the voluntary contributions of the nobility and higher order of clergy, afterwards fostered by government, and insensibly matured to a great chartered society, supported by immense parliamentary grants.—O'CONNOR'S *History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 213.

‡ O'CONNOR'S HISTORY, p. 232.

The great object of Stone was, to establish the ascendancy of the English government in Ireland so firmly, as to enable it entirely to dispense with the co-operation of the Irish parliament: it was to establish, in fact, a nearly unlimited tyranny. And so strong was the government, that the lord-lieutenant even ventured to refuse to forward to the king some resolutions passed by the House of Commons; but the house having adjourned, and declared their determination not to transact any public business until their document was forwarded, the viceroy was at length obliged to do his duty.

About the same time, a spirit of hostility to the government, of a still more alarming character, appeared in another quarter, which both the English ascendancy and the Irish "patriots" speedily united to put down. Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, having been elected a member of the common council, commenced an attack upon the usurpations of the board of aldermen. He did not confine himself, however, to local subjects, but commenced publishing a series of tracts on Irish affairs under the title of "*The Barber's Letters*," in which he loudly raised his voice against the encroachments of England, denounced the flagrant corruption of the servants of the government, and asserted the claims of Ireland to legislative independence. The oligarchy, including the "patriots," were alarmed at this proceeding on the part of Lucas; their patriotism being limited to preserving their own monopoly of power, they readily joined the government in its exertions to crush their new rival as a common enemy. The House of Commons accordingly summarily resolved (1749) "that Charles Lucas was an enemy to his country," and they presented an address to the lord-lieutenant, requesting "that Lucas should be prosecuted by the attorney-general, and a reward offered for his apprehension." Lucas, alarmed at these proceedings, left Dublin for some years; but on returning to it, after a period, was sent to parliament to represent his fellow-citizens. In this contest, the catholics took no part; it was entirely one of protestants against protestants. Lucas even courted the applause of the protestant public in his "*Barber's Letters*" by wantonly abusing the catholics,—though he was represented by the "patriots" of the House of Commons as an "artful agent of Popery." The catholics had at this time no voice, no opinion, no power in society; they were buried in despondency and slavery, and took no interest whatever, in public affairs. Hence it was observed by PRIME SERJEANT STANNARD, in a speech in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the conduct of Lucas and his party,—"*to the honour of the catholics be it remembered, that not a man of them moved tongue, pen, or sword upon the occasion; and I am glad to find that they have a grateful and proper sense of the mildness and moderation of our government!*" Alas! the catholics were now crushed so low that they had not the spirit or the courage even to be discontented!

A surplus having occurred in the revenue, and a bill having been introduced for applying it to the discharge of the national debt, the Duke of Dorset, then Viceroy, declared that his Majesty would give his *consent* to the arrangement, and a clause to this effect was accordingly added to the bill. The word "*consent*" proved exceedingly obnoxious to the parliament, and they rejected the bill. A long and violent dispute occurred between the parliament and the government; but the latter concluded the matter by withdrawing the greater portion of the surplus revenue from the kingdom by virtue of a king's letter! Public indignation was kindled against this arbitrary proceeding; and it rose to such a height that the Duke of Dorset was at length glad to abandon the reins of government,—making his escape from Dublin, under the escort of his guards, and a drunken mob hired to protect him from insult.

The next Viceroy appointed was the Duke of Devonshire (1755), who took the "patriots" into favour, and soon succeeded in converting them into very tractable courtiers. The means which he employed were, places and pensions,—always agents of wondrous power in the atmosphere of courts. The "patriots" soon distinguished themselves by their wholesale jobbing and extravagance,—voting large sums of money to themselves and their friends, under pretence of promoting works of public importance. The quondam "patriots" were soon generally distinguished by the name of "The Scrambling Committee." No event of national moment occurred during this administration; the same policy of government continuing throughout all the shiftings of parties and factions, and the changings of chief governors.

The repose of the Duke of Bedford's administration was interrupted (1759), by the invasion of a small French force under Thurot, who landed at Carrickfergus and took the town after an obstinate defence; but they were afterwards compelled to retire, on finding themselves unsupported by the people in the neighbourhood. On this occasion, the leading catholics throughout the country, summoned up courage to vindicate their characters from the suspicions of disloyalty, which was attempted to be raised against them, by addresses to the lord lieutenant, "testifying their warmest gratitude for the lenity they experienced under his Majesty's government, and their readiness to concur with the faithfullest and most zealous of his Majesty's subjects, in opposing, by every means in their power, all, both his foreign and domestic enemies.\* The ministry was pleased with the signs of loyalty; and, it is said, seriously contemplated the repeal of the most severe penal laws against the Roman catholics, and the Union of the legislatures of England and Ireland.

No sooner had the news of these measures flown abroad, than the city of Dublin became a scene of the greatest commotion. A

\* CURRY, p. 560.



protestant mob collected, and, forcing their way into the House of Lords, they seated an old woman on the throne, and got up a mock debate on the expediency of introducing pipes and tobacco! They forced the members of both houses whom they met, to make oath that they would resist a Union between the two countries, and give no vote but what was for the interests of Ireland. They even compelled the Chief Justice of the King's Bench to administer this oath to the Attorney-General, whom they met. Having thus indulged their humour, the mob next proceeded to acts of outrage, which, however were checked before much mischief could be done.

It is to be remarked that the anti-unionists of that day were the protestant community, the catholics taking not the slightest interest in the question. The protestant shopkeepers and tradesmen of Dublin feared that they would greatly suffer by the removal of the parliament, and hence their strenuous opposition to a Union. The project was, however, frustrated by the death of George II.; and the question was not revived for a considerable time after.

It may here be necessary, before entering upon another and a distinct era in the History of Ireland, to give a brief survey of the condition of Irish society towards the close of the reign of George II., as it will enable us the better to enter upon the consideration of the important period which succeeds it.

The great mass of the nation, during the reign of George II., were buried in a profound sleep of slavery. All rights had been taken away from them; the great majority possessed no property, real or personal; rags and poverty were their only inheritance. They lay exposed to the mercy of every petty ruffian of the protestant faction; and the tone of their rulers encouraged the cruel, avaricious, and unprincipled, to indulge in every excess. The whole people were like plants whose roots were in the air: they had no hold on the soil: they were landless; and lay naked and exposed on the surface of the earth, a nation of beggars. The class of substantial farmers, which existed in Ireland at the close of the revolutionary war, soon became extinct; they were reduced, by exactions, frauds, and robberies, to the level of the wretched peasantry themselves. The catholic farmer sunk into the dust before his protestant competitor, who was in all cases preferred to himself, and had every advantage over him. The estates of the catholic gentry also crumbled gradually under the pressure of the penal laws; and the great bulk of the landed property of Ireland fell gradually into the hands of the protestants. The old aristocratic families were trodden down, and their inheritances were enjoyed by an essentially vulgar, bigotted, and base class of men, whose want of all those superior qualities supposed to belong to our aris-

toocracy, only rendered their ascendancy the more painful and intolerable.

A considerable portion of the large landed proprietors of Ireland did not live in the country, but annually drained away their rents, wrung from the starving peasantry by land agents and middlemen, to be spent in countries from whence the Irish people derived no benefit whatever. Of those landlords who resided upon their estates, the great majority were grasping tyrants, living in constant dread of the natives, over whom they ruled with a rod of iron, and taking every opportunity of crushing them to still lower depths of misery and degradation. Descended from a class of men who had gained possession of their properties by force and fraud, they continued to govern in the same spirit, both in the House of Commons and on their own estates, treating the Roman catholic population like a set of animals created merely for their service, and the gratification of their cruelties.

Mr. Arthur Young, the celebrated agriculturist, as well as the shrewd and impartial observer, has left us a picture of the Irish landlord of the period, which those who know the best acknowledge is not in the slightest degree overcharged. "The landlord of an Irish estate" says he, "inhabited by Roman catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm: the language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery: there is too much of this contradiction in Ireland. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an honest unlimited submission; speaking a *language* that is despised, professing a *religion* that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of *written liberty*. Landlords that have resided much abroad, are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind, so that even in this polished age, there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England."

"Nay, (says the same writer), I have heard anecdotes of the lives of the people being made free without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that that is common; formerly it happened every day, but law gains ground..... The execution of the law lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chuses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where *manners* are in conspiracy against *law*, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse?

.....They know their situation too well to think of it ; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat." \*

The oppressions and exactions suffered by the enslaved peasantry from their despotic landlords, were of the most deplorable kind. Though the Irish people were themselves starving, they must still find the means of paying the exorbitant rents demanded of them by their lords. Though "the bulk of the people," according to the Duke of Bedford, "were not either regularly lodged, clothed, or fed," Irish estates had "risen within thirty years to nearly double their value !"† Another cause of grievance and great suffering was the exactions of the tithe-mongers ; who "squeezed out the very vitals of the people, and by process, citation, and sequestration, dragged from them the little which the landlord had left them."‡ The tithe proctors, the harpies employed by the clergy to collect their dues from the miserable peasantry, were generally persons of the worst character, long familiar with cruelty, whom no misery could melt into compassion, no sorrow move to pity or forbearance. The cruelties and oppressions practised by this class are too fearful to be written ; we might fill volumes with the details, and the subject would still be unexhausted as much as before.

When it is considered, also, for whom these hateful exactions were made, their irritating operation upon the minds of such of the catholic peasantry who were not utterly deadened into insensibility to pain, may well be imagined. The Irish clergy of the period were a class of men grossly scandalous in their life and conversation. They had no concern for the good of their flocks : no sympathy with them, no knowledge of them : they did not even know their language : their only object was to shear them. Their anxiety was rather to diminish than to increase their congregations, in order that they might be saved all trouble on their account. The religious character of the Irish clergy was disgraceful. Many of them were open 'infidels,' and deemed it no reproach to be called so. Swift, on being appointed Dean of St. Patrick's, was publicly charged by another Dean of the church with Atheism, and no notice was taken of the charge. Dean Swift himself, in one of

\* ARTHUR YOUNG'S *Tour in Ireland.*

† "The substance and the manners of this country (in 1758,) are not to be estimated by the efforts towards luxury and splendour made by a few in the metropolis. The bulk of the people are not regularly either lodged, clothed, or fed. And those things which in England are called necessities of life are to us only accidents ; and we can, and in many instances do, subsist without them. The estates have risen within these thirty years to nearly double the value, but the condition of the occupiers of the land is not better than it was before that increase ; nor can I imagine any resource for raising money here but by an immediate tax upon the land. The monstrous debt of England, and the facility with which sums are seemingly raised every year, is a problem far beyond my comprehension, and which I heartily wish I may never live to see solved."—*The Bedford Correspondence, recently published, edited by Lord James Russell.*

‡ ARTHUR YOUNG.

his stinging satires, charged the majority of the episcopal bench with open and scandalous irreligion,—

“Of whom there are not four at most  
Who know there is an Holy Ghost :  
And when they boast they have conferred it,  
Like Paul's Ephesians never heard it ;  
And when they gave it, 'tis well known.  
They gave what never was their own.”

Swift was allowed publicly to say this, and a great deal more, without the slightest remonstrance. Indeed, the public life of the heads of the church justified Swift and other libellers in all that they then said of the profligacy of the established clergy. We have already alluded to the licentious and profligate career of Stone, the Primate of Ireland, who converted his residence into a brothel in order to debauch the young members of parliament, and thereby increase his political influence. Stone was severely attacked by the opposition : but, so usual was immorality then among the protestant clergy, that no allusion was made to the scandal brought upon religion by the profligate conduct of the Archbishop.

How different was the life and example of the poor persecuted teachers of the Roman catholic faith ! They shared in all the sorrows and sufferings of their flocks, to whom persecution only drew them the closer. Ministering to them by night and by day, in storm and in sunshine, in times of rejoicing and in times of sorrow,—they became the comforters, counsellors, and guides of the great body of the people. “They who know”—to quote the beautiful and touching language of Mr. Wyse,—“how deeply prized is the slightest word, the most transient smile, in the hour of desertion and sickness—they who know what it is to have drunk out of the same chalice the same searching draught of misfortune and pain—they who know what it is to have a bosom to repose on when fatigued, and a staff to lean on when faltering, and a counsellor to guide in doubt and in peril, will easily comprehend the all-commanding influence of that communion which then existed between the catholic clergy and the catholic laity of Ireland. Skelton has been admired for the Christian mildness with which he endured the obscurity and rudeness of a distant village. There were many Skeltons amongst the catholic clergy, educated in the splendid courts and the learned halls of the continent, accustomed as much as he was to the elegant aspirings, and the consoling enjoyments of a studious and dignified leisure ; but unlike Skelton, they dwelt not in the tranquil shadow of a protecting and paternal government but in the midst of the shadow of death, with the inquisitor eye of a persecuting code about their paths ; teaching in the very sight of the gibbet, and often laying down their lives in testimony of the doctrines which they taught, with a calmness, a constancy, an exultation, which would have dignified even a primitive Christian, and in wildes and wastes, pathless and houseless, whose names, in more than one instance, were scarcely known to the very legislators

who sought their blood. But their courage, though of the highest temper, was purely passive. Forced by the impolicy of the legislature abroad, they had, in many instances, been educated under the immediate influence of the court and principles of the Stuarts. The passive obedience doctrines of that despotic school had been sanctified in their minds by every stirring circumstance of former sacrifice, and by every additional stimulant of actual suffering and wrong. They trembled at the possibility of plunging still more deeply, and inextricably into persecution, the suffering church of Ireland. They bowed their heads to the passing visitation, to the out-poured vial, to the depths of the wisdom of the Omnipotent and the Almighty God. They would not risk *le bien pour le mieux*; deeming even an interval of suffering, leniency, and an absence of pain, repose. Under the crumbling day-by-day persecution, they sat humbled and inert. It required nothing less than the sword of the exterminator to arouse them from their sleep. Even after the relaxation of the penal laws had taken place, it was a long time\* before they could recover their original stature. By long bending, they had become bent; their mind, like a human body long confined within too small a prison, had been doubled up within them, and refused itself to the free functions of other citizens. The scourge had ceased, and the fetter had been unlocked; but for many years afterwards the scar and the brand remained behind."

The dreadful oppression practised upon the peasantry in all parts of Ireland, in course of time brought forth their congenial fruits. They saw themselves victimised on all hands, and the strong arm of the state ever ready to be turned against them. Neither the world, nor the world's law, was their friend. Government was a harsh and cruel taskmaster, which did nothing for the people but impose upon them pains and penalties of the most hateful kind. But the Irish peasantry were not politicians. Though suffering from protestant oppression and monopoly, they did not combine and exert themselves to throw it off, because they did not understand their true position. They merely *felt* that they suffered; and they saw that the nearest link in the chain of causes was the agrarian tyranny that so closely pressed upon them. This was the evil that came home to each of them at their own doors; and again and again, when driven to despair, did they break out in agrarian insurrections all over the country, for revenge and self-assertion.

The number of secret associations which sprung up among the peasantry about this period, was very great. They extended

\* A singular instance occurred of this feeling in one of the principal towns of Ireland after the concessions of ninety-three. The pastor of one of the largest parishes in the city had never been seen in the public promenade. For forty years he had lived in the utmost exclusion from protestant eyes, shielding himself from persecution under his silence and obscurity. But the influence of the persecution remained after the persecution itself had passed away. A friend induced him, for the first time, a little after the bill had passed, to visit the rest of the town. He appeared amongst his fellow-citizens as an intruder, and shrunk back to his retreat the moment he was allowed. It was with difficulty, and on the most urgent occasions only, he could be prevailed on to quit it. Seldom he appeared on the walk afterwards, and it was always with the averted eyes, and the faltering step of a slave.—WYSE'S *Historical Sketch*.

throughout every province and country in Ireland; and embraced the protestant as well as the catholic population. The WHITEBOYS or LEVELLERS were the most formidable of these associations. They sprung up in Tipperary, and soon extended over the South and West of Ireland. Assembling by night, dressed in white shirts (whence their name) they houghed cattle, levelled enclosures, turned up the ground, burned farm-yards, and otherwise destroyed and damaged the property of their tyrant lords. They originated chiefly in the attempts of the landed proprietors to convert the small holdings of the peasantry into pasturage, in order to accomplish which, it was necessary that they should "clear off" the people from their estates. The destitution attendant upon such measures, could scarcely fail to drive the wretched people to those acts of desperation and revenge which generally follow in the footsteps of distress and ignorance. The people may be slow to reason, but they are always quick to feel. And they now *felt* in all its bitterness the misery of the agrarian slavery to which they had so long been doomed. Entirely shut out from freedom, denied the commonest rights of men, treated through life with savage cruelty by their superiors, their resources consumed or abstracted from them by taxation and rackrenting, and after all, driven out by force from the miserable hovels which they called their homes,—how much was all this calculated to make demons of the men subjected to such treatment! Was it wonderful, that such wrongs should, at length, seek a visible expression, though it was in acts of violence and outrage on property? What had property done for them, that they should regard it, or its possessors with respect? It had become simply an instrument for their oppression; until at length it provoked the retributive curse which attends misused or abused trusts. The crimes of the oppressed are only the punishment which inevitably follows upon the crimes of the oppressor. The Whiteboyism of Munster was thus to be traced directly to the deeds of the landlords themselves; the "wild justice" of the period being only the natural consequence of their own cruel and tyrannous treatment of the Irish people.

But the secret associations of the time were not confined to the South of Ireland, or to the catholic population only. The protestant peasantry of the North also felt the oppressions of the landlords; and combined in various lawless associations for self-assertion and retaliation. The OAKBOYS rose in Armagh, against the law which compelled the peasantry to spend a considerable portion of their time in making the roads. They complained that the sweat of their brows had been wasted upon private roads, and that the rich had entirely exempted themselves from the work. They rose against the law in 1764; and, from the oak-branches they wore in their hats, they received the designation of "Oak-boys." The "Steel-boys" was another secret association of about the same period, for the redress of a local grievance. Their origin was, as

follows:—An absentee nobleman, the marquis of Donegal, who held immense estates in Antrim, resolved upon raising a large sum of money by letting the land at small rents, but receiving large fines upon renewal of their leases. The peasantry were unable to raise money sufficient for the purpose, and rose against “the forestallers,” saying, they would “pay their landlords *in steel*.” Hence the name of **STEEL-BOYS**, by which they were known.

Though the real cause of these disturbances was apparent to all, the landlords refused to relax their system of persecution. Instead of removing the grievances under which the peasantry suffered, they resorted to the usual remedy of Irish legislators, namely severe and sanguinary laws. Punishments were devised of the most barbarous kind. By one enactment, the supposed guilty were to be hanged without even the formalities of a trial. To quote from the liberal and impartial observer, Mr. Arthur Young:—“The **WHITE-BOYS**, being labouring catholics, met with all the oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance; the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the objects of general indignation: acts were passed for their punishment which seemed calculated for the meridian of *Barbary*: this arose to such a height, that one by one they were to be hanged under circumstances, without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed by the following sessions marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would if executed, tend more to raise than quell insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of this case, which, in fact, lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like those who ought to be as free as yourselves: put an end to that system of religious persecution, which for seventy years, has divided the kingdom against itself. In these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrections; perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor instead of oppressed persecuted vassals.”\*

At the same time that the legislature seized the opportunity of making the **White Boy** and other outrages, a pretence for increasing the coercive measures against the peasantry, the protestants also used them as a political engine against the catholic body. Though the outrages were as prevalent among the distressed protestant peasantry of the North, as among the distressed catholics of the South of Ireland, the dominant faction laid all the blame on the latter, who were accordingly doomed to receive the principal share of the punishment. The disturbances in Munster, though

\* ARTHUR YOUNG'S “*Tour in Ireland*,” vol. ii, p. 41, 2.

originating entirely in the causes above mentioned—namely, rack-renting, clearing-off, and tithe exactions,—the protestants at once proclaimed them to be “popish” in their origin, and to form only part of an extensive plan for the entire extirpation of protestants and protestantism in Ireland. The protestants were taught that it was the catholics who had wronged them; and the one set of victims were thus hounded on to wreak their vengeance on the other. The attempt was also made by the protestant ascendancy to connect some of the leading catholics with the White Boy outrages, and also with the French invasion.

The first victim to the government vengeance on this occasion, was one Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen in Tipperary, a man of ardent philanthropy, devoted to the interests of the poor and oppressed, and therefore, a fit subject for persecution by the protestant oligarchy: his parishioners were all poor and destitute; most of them had been sufferers from the exterminating system pursued by the landlords of Tipperary; and many of them were implicated in the riots and outrages which had lately been prevalent throughout the county. In the course of these disturbances, Sheehy had often been tried as “a popish priest,” but had been acquitted for want of evidence to convict him. The government, however, determined on compassing his destruction, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for his apprehension as a traitor—on the ground that he had procured money from France to pay to the White Boys and enlist them in the service of the Pretender. On hearing of this proclamation, Sheehy surrendered himself, on condition that he was to be tried before the Court of King’s Bench, Dublin, instead of at Clonmel, where he feared the power and malice of his enemies would have prevailed. His offer was accepted; he was tried at Dublin; and, after a long and searching scrutiny of fourteen hours, he was honourably acquitted. His enemies were only made the more inveterate by this termination of the trial. They were determined to effect his destruction at all events; and they accomplished it in the following manner:—they circulated a report, that a man named Bridge had been murdered to prevent his giving information, and that Sheehy was a participator in the crime. He was accordingly at once arrested; tried by his enemies at Clonmel; and, on the very same evidence that had been rejected and reprobated at Dublin, he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged and quartered! With his dying breath Sheehy declared his innocence: and there can scarcely be a doubt, that his death was neither more nor less than a cold-blooded judicial murder. During the trial, the protestant faction surrounded the court-house in great force, and excluded the prisoner’s witnesses. Even his attorney narrowly escaped with his life and fled by night to Dublin.—The pretended murder of Bridge enabled the Tipperary landlords about the same time, to apprehend, try, and condemn to death, on the same evidence, many other individuals obnoxious



to them. Yet there was never, at any time, reason to believe that Bridge was murdered at all. Indeed, it was positively sworn by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he had privately left the kingdom some time before the murder was said to have taken place; and it was notorious, that he was alive for many years after Sheehy's execution.

The reign of terror had now proceeded to a dreadful height. No man knew that his life was safe for a moment. Suspicion haunted the steps of the catholics: they lived in constant dread; and numbers of them, who could do so, fled the country, and sought refuge in the wilds of America. "Such," says Dr. Curry, "during the space of three or four years, was the fearful and pitiable state of the Roman catholics of Munster, and so general did the panic at length become, so many of the lower sort were already hanged, in jail, or on the informer's lists, that the greatest part of the rest fled through fear; so that the land lay untilled, for want of hands to cultivate it, and a famine was with reason apprehended. As for the better sort, who had something to lose, (and who, for that reason, were the persons chiefly aimed at by the managers of the prosecutions), they were at the utmost loss how to dispose of themselves. If they left the country, their absence was construed into a proof of their guilt: if they remained in it, they were in imminent danger of having their lives sworn away by informers: for the suborning and corrupting of witnesses on that occasion, was frequent and barefaced, to a degree almost beyond belief. The very stews were raked, and the jails rummaged in search of evidence; and the most notoriously profligate in both were selected and tampered with, to give information of the private transactions and designs of reputable men, with whom they never had any dealing, intercourse, or acquaintance; nay, to those very persons they were often found to be strangers, when confronted at their trial."\*

The unsettled state of society in the western districts of Ireland may be inferred from the statement of the intelligent tourist, from whom we have already quoted, in reference to Connaught, in the year 1767: he declares that he could not "give any description of Connaught, not having ventured into it, being without a pass from any of the haughty and tyrannous landlords whose will alone was law in that country."!

\* CURRY'S "*Historical Review*" p. 826.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Growth of principle among the Catholic party—Increase of wealth among them—The Catholic merchants and tradesmen—Liberalising tendency of commercial pursuits—Dr. Curry, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Wyse—Difficulty of rousing the Catholic body—The Irish parliament—Bill for the registry of priests rejected—Rejoicing of the Catholics—The first CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION formed—Their ADDRESS to the throne—Favourably received—Accession of George III.—Address of the Catholics of Ireland—Remonstrance of Grievances—Its failure—Dissensions among the Catholics—Concessions to the Catholics—Bill of 1776.

At the very time that the system of penal tyranny had reached its full height, and the protestant ascendancy flattered themselves that their power was to endure for ever, principles were silently at work, which were afterwards destined to level with the dust both the system and its agents. Tyranny always contains within it the seeds of its own destruction. It is a beautiful remark of Curran, that "Man, destined to the grave—nothing appertaining to him is exempt from the stroke of Death: his life fleeteth as a dream, his liberty passeth away as a shadow, *so too of his slavery*—it is not immortal: the very chain that grinds him is gnawed by rust, or is rent by fury or by accident, and the wretch is astonished at the intrusions of freedom unannounced even by the harbinger of hope."

So far as the penal laws were designed to impoverish and humiliate the Roman catholic population, they had succeeded to their fullest extent. They were now entirely divested of all civil and religious privileges by law, and the great bulk of the property of the country was in the hands of the protestants. But the protestant failed to reap all the pecuniary and personal advantages that he anticipated from the exclusive system of legislation. In what respect was he profitted by having a portion of earth in a land of beggars? What signified his property to him, if he lived in a state of constant terror and alarm? Besides, he soon found the inconvenience of the laws preventing the catholics purchasing, or taking long leases of landed property. If he wished to dispose of his estate, and a Roman catholic was willing and able to buy it, he could not, because the law prevented. If he was anxious to improve his property by granting long leases, and Roman catholics were found ready to take them, they could not, because the law prevented. If he wanted to secure money in landed property, and he found a Roman catholic proprietor willing to take it, he dared not lend it, because the son of that catholic, by turning protestant, might rob him of the entire amount.

The penal laws were thus soon found to act prejudicially to the protestant landed proprietor as well as to the catholic; and, accordingly, numerous attempts were made to evade them. To this the Protestants were stimulated by motives of self-interest, rather than

regard for the public well-being. The government, also, was obliged to relax in its system of persecution. The penal system was too hideous to be kept in constant operation: it was too complex, too expensive, and too troublesome, to be enforced in all its details. Besides, government felt, that if catholic property and catholic labour were completely prostrated, taxes could not be obtained from the catholic population, and the revenue must fall off. The catholics were the great body of consumers, and if they possessed nothing, nothing could be extracted from them. This is always a telling consideration with governments. The penal laws, therefore, were not enforced with the same rigour. They were held in *terror* over the heads of the community, to be used on those occasions when it was deemed necessary to be more than usually harsh and cruel with the Roman catholic population.

But the main hope of the amelioration of the catholic sufferings lay in a body of men who now came into notice,—and who had been fostered, perhaps created, by the oppressive operation of the penal laws themselves. While the landed property of the country was slipping out of the hands of the catholics, and they seemed verging rapidly towards pauperism; the MERCHANTS and TRADESMEN of Ireland were laying the foundations of future fortune, prosperity, and liberty. When the protestants devised the oppressive laws against the catholic landed proprietary, they imagined that all the wealth of the country would immediately flow in their own direction. But they were mistaken; for they forgot that before wealth came to them it must exist; and it could only come into existence by the industry and commerce of the population. But the protestant was too idle, and too aristocratic, to busy himself in such concerns: he contented himself with framing the laws, which he endeavoured to do, so as that he might enjoy all the rewards of industry without its toils. Hence the profitable pursuits of trade and commerce were left to the catholics, who were induced to betake themselves to the acquisition of personal property, as it had almost entirely escaped the malignant ingenuity of the first framers of the penal code. Almost all the trade, therefore, that English jealousy had allowed Ireland to retain, in course of time fell into the hands of the Roman catholics. A body of men thus arose, enriched by commerce, united to the people by the powerful ties of a common interest, sympathy, and relationship, and needing only to be put fairly in motion to work out the emancipation of Ireland.

And COMMERCE, in all climes and countries, has been the genuine friend of civilization. Liberty invariably follows in its steps; together with knowledge, religion, and social happiness. It breaks down in time the despotism of the mightiest tyrants. The spirit of commercial enterprise has, at all times, been opposed to the spirit of barbarism, and is destructive of feudal and class legislation. It is hostile to monopoly, and to all exclusive rights and privileges. Without commerce, indeed, no nation has ever made distinguished

progress in the higher stages of human civilization. And well did the cruel Protestant oligarchy know the weight of the curse they inflicted upon Ireland, when they deprived her of her trade, and ruined her manufactures !

Fortunately, also, there rose up at this juncture, three distinguished individuals, who, in a short time, were enabled to infuse quite a new spirit into the catholic body. When a nation has been long placed in circumstances of a trying and dangerous nature, and the proper time for relief at length arrives, Providence always takes care to raise up men that are fitted to battle with and command those circumstances. Leaders spring at once into their places ; and the work to be done is accomplished as if by miracle. The three men who appeared in aid of the catholics at this juncture, were Dr. Curry, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. Wyse.

DR. CURRY was a physician in extensive practice in Dublin ; a kind benefactor to the poor, and an ardent friend of his oppressed country. He was descended from an ancient Irish family, that of the O'Corra ; many of whom had figured in past history. His grandfather was a captain in the service of king James, and had fallen at the battle of Aughrim. A remnant of property saved from the general wreck, enabled his father to educate him abroad, like most other Irish youths of the period. The young CURRY returned to Ireland, full of aspirations after the liberty of his fallen country. He was soon shocked by the fierce bigotry of the times, as displayed by the protestant population. It is related by Mr. O'Connor,\* that in one of these periodical exhibitions of intolerance, when the pulpit vied with the press in maligning and misrepresenting the religion and principles of the catholics, pouring out the most slanderous abuse on the dead in order to feed the flame of the existing hatred against the living,—that Dr. Curry, passing through the Castle-yard of Dublin, on the 23rd of October, 1746, overheard a young girl, passing from one of these intolerant sermons against the catholics, exclaim with uplifted hands and horror vividly expressed on her countenance “ *Are there any of these bloody papists now in Dublin ?* ” The incident, which would only have excited the laughter of a less reflective mind, filled Dr. Curry with the deepest anxiety. He found that the child's terrors proceeded from the anniversary sermon preached that day in Christ's church : he procured a copy of it, and found it surcharged with historical slander and the grossest misrepresentations. From that day he dedicated the whole weight and energies of his mind to the cause of catholic emancipation ; repelling the calumny, and checking the asperity which issued from those seats which had been set apart for the exercise of truth and benevolence. His principal work, entitled “ *A Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland, from the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to the*

\* “ *HISTORY OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS,*” p. 223.

Settlement of King William," remains to this day a monument of his industry and ability. It added much to our historical information of Ireland, removed many of the calumnies of the enemy, and cleared the way for the exertions of future labourers in the same field.

MR. O'CONOR of Ballengar, the ancestor of The O'Connor Don, was intimately associated with Dr. Curry in his efforts for the emancipation of the catholics. He was descended in a right line, from Roderick O'Connor, the last of the kings of Ireland; but the estates of the family had been completely broken down by the long persecution which the Irish catholic landlords had to undergo, until only a shred of property remained. Eight hundred acres of bad land, overburdened with debt, was barely sufficient to keep him and his family above the level of poverty. He was poor, and lived in a cottage,\* devoting himself for the greater part of his life, to the study of the history and the antiquities of his native country. Mr. O'Connor's first public appearance as a defender of the catholics of Ireland, was as a pamphleteer, in 1747. Sir Richard Cox had charged Lucas, the author of "The Barber's Letters," with being an incendiary and a papist, whose design was to make way for the introduction of the Pretender. Mr. O'Connor was roused to making a "Counter Appeal," under the signature of "A Protestant Dissenter." To have published it as the work of a catholic, would have been to consign it to oblivion; to such an extent were catholic publications then proscribed by protestant bigotry. But the tract, as emanating from a protestant, was read with avidity; and proved of considerable service in the vindication of the catholic body from the historical aspersions of their enemies. Mr. O'Connor continued, at various intervals, to address the public on the same question,—often with surpassing effect.

MR. WYSE was the third co-operator in the work of national regeneration. He was the descendant of an English or Norman family, which had accompanied Earl Strongbow to Ireland, and afterwards settled in that country. The estates of his family had also been frittered away by successive confiscations; yet he brought to the catholic cause a mind ardent, fearless, and indomitable. "His habits," says his descendant, the Right Hon. Thomas Wyse, M. P., "were not literary but active; little content with obliterating Protestant prejudice, he thought a more important task remained behind—the compressing into shape and system the scattered energies of his Catholic countrymen.—To that purpose, with the firmness of a will not easily to be swayed from its object, he bent the energies of a bold and earnest conscience. To him and to Dr. Curry, the Catholic body owe the seeds of that great confederacy which, in aftertimes was destined, through the labours

\* Mr. O'Connor used to relate, that his father, after the Revolution, was obliged to plough his own fields, and that he would often say to his sons—"Boys, you must not be insolent to the poor. I am the son of a gentleman, but ye are the children of a ploughman."

of mightier men, to embrace the entire island. But his fate was not so tranquil as that of either of his companions. He had rendered himself a far more conspicuous mark to the hostility of the persecutor: his days were embittered and endangered by every ingenious application of the penal code which his enemies could devise; and after successively proving in his own person the inflictions of the gavel act, and of the disarming act, the ingenious malignancy of the discoverer, the secret conspiracy of the Protestant minister, the treacherous calumny of the informer, he sunk broken-hearted into the grave, leaving it as an injunction in his last will to his children, "that they should, with all convenient speed, sell the remainder of their hereditary property, (a portion of which had already been disposed of for that purpose), and seek out some other country, where they might worship God like other men, in peace, and should not be persecuted for manfully observing in the open day the religion of their hearts, and the dictates of an honest conscience."\*

At the period when these distinguished men commenced their labours, the prospect of improvement seemed black enough. The great mass of the catholics were almost unconscious of their own degradation. The loss of rights and of property had made them indifferent, spiritless, and quiescent under their wrongs. The sacred spark of patriotism became extinct; they were content, barely to *exist*, to *vegetate*—the patient victims of their country's wrongs, and the insensible spectators of its ruin. The clergy and the aristocracy also, were quite indisposed to take any part in the efforts attempted to be made for the relief of the catholic population. Long habits of submission to oppression had debased the minds of the upper classes, into a tame acquiescence with the stern dictates of English supremacy. Perhaps they feared, and with reason, that the very clanking of their chains might rouse their keeper from his slumber, only to rivet them the more securely.

Though the parliament had long sunk into a mere instrument for recording the anti-Irish acts of the English government, it is remarkable that it was the first to give the presage of hope to the Irish people. A few words will be sufficient to explain the state of parliament at this period: The House of Commons was a mere mockery of representation. The great bulk of the people, both catholic and protestant, were completely divested of political power: they had no franchise. The power to send members to parliament rested in the Irish corporations, which were sinks of vice and corruption. They were regular articles of sale; every one having its price. Each had its PROTESTANT patron, whose nominees they returned to parliament, receiving in return, places in the customs and excise, and very often hard cash. The proprietors of the boroughs formed a body called *undertakers*, who entered

\* HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, p. 44-5.

into a bargain with the English government to carry all its measures, in return for places and pensions, and lucrative jobs ; all of which was matter of public notoriety and scandal. The seats in parliament were held *for life*, except at the demise of the crown, or when the king was pleased to order a dissolution. The main objects of the Undertakers were,—to oppose the independence of the crown, and to keep down the liberties of the people. Hence most of the struggles so called, of the “ patriots ” with the government, were based on a determination to maintain their own system of corruption intact ; not unfrequently they were the mere effervescence of disappointment and revenge, which was too often mistaken for a struggle in the cause of freedom and parliamentary privilege. Of such a character was the contest that took place in 1753, between primate Stone and lord Shannon, about a redundancy in the Irish treasury. Though it did not originate in any principle of liberty, it nevertheless had an important effect on the public mind, habituating it to discussion and reviving the idea of country.

A discussion and division took place in the Irish parliament four years after, (1746) of still greater moment to the Irish catholics. The earl of Limerick had adopted lord Chesterfield’s idea of keeping down the catholic religion, by expelling the bishops, limiting the number of priests, and subjugating them to the control of the protestant landed gentry ; and with the view he brought a Bill into the House of Lords for registering the priests, pursuant to an act of the 2nd of queen Anne, with additional clauses, which struck at the very root of the catholic religion.\* The introduction of this bill caused a general consternation throughout Ireland ; but strange to say, the bill met with a determined opposition from the more liberal portion of the protestant members of the house, who seemed to feel, that however long the old means of persecution might remain, the time was unpropitious for the invention of new instruments for the same purpose. Even the bench of bishops, strongly resisted the projected bill : the primate opposed it, on the third reading, in an eloquent speech : three archbishops and nine bishops voted against the measure, and it was rejected by a majority of two ! †

\* The Bill introduced by Lord Limerick, enacted “ that one priest should be registered for each parish, that the nomination of his successor should be vested in the grand jury with a VETO in the privy council and lord lieutenant ; that the registered priests should be bound to inform against all secular and regular priests residing in their parishes, under pain of transportation and felony of death in case of return ; and should be prohibited from making proselytes or officiating beyond the boundaries of their parishes under similar penalties ; that none but secular priests should be allowed the benefit of registry, and that all bishops, dignitaries and friars that should be found in the kingdom after the 1st of January, 1757, should be liable to the penalties of the several statutes of William and Anne against popish priests : lastly that £100 reward should be given for the detection and conviction of every popish bishop and regular after that period, to be levied off the goods and lands of the papists.”

† Lord Limerick (afterwards Earl Clanbrassill) did not, however, abandon the measure. In October, 1757, he re-introduced the Registry Bill, with only some trifling variation in its severities. The bishops again strenuously opposed it, but the Earl succeeded in forcing it through the House of Lords. The Crown, however, interfered, and the Bill was rejected by the Privy Council in January, 1758. It would appear, that the same Earl Clanbrassill entertained an idea

The catholics were overjoyed by the rejection of the obnoxious bill: it seemed to be the harbinger of religious toleration and civil liberty. Mr. O'Connor and Dr. Curry, soon afterwards joined by Mr. Wyse, seized the opportunity of rousing their prostrate countrymen from their apathy, exhorting them to address the throne and plead their loyalty in mitigation of their oppressions and sufferings. They first sought the cooperation of the catholic aristocracy, but could gain no assistance from them: they were by this time completely detached from the mass of their fellow-countrymen and lived and moved in an atmosphere of their own. They next turned to the clergy of the people, but were here again doomed to disappointment: the catholic priesthood had long been secluded from public life, they were inured to suffering, and scarcely dared to dream of a change in their condition for the better: they preferred remaining passive, to incurring the risks of further pains and mortifications. To appeal to the people, in the depressed and utterly hopeless state in which they were, the regenerators felt would be equally vain: ignorant of their rights, they had no desire to possess them; and the means of awakening them to the exercise of their moral strength were not then known.

In this dilemma, Dr. Curry and Mr. O'Connor, undaunted by failure, applied to the mercantile body for aid; and the appeal was at once responded to. They were urged to address the government for a redress of their grievances. The Roman catholic gentry and clergy most strenuously resisted this measure, and the body became split up into the two parties, long afterwards known as the *addressors* and *anti-addressors*,—which may remind our readers of the *remonstrants* and *anti-remonstrants* of former times. At length, the two zealous colabourers resolved on the formation of AN ASSOCIATION for the management of catholic concerns, which should be free from the trammels of aristocratic or clerical influence. An Association was accordingly formed, the first which had existed since the Revolution. It is true, its organization was exceedingly imperfect; but it was a first step; and it is often the first step in a movement which determines its ultimate success. The young Association was frowned upon by the aristocracy and clergy, who “not only” says Mr. Wyse, “kept themselves cautiously and reprehensibly aloof, and scorned all connection with its members, but laughed contemptuously at its labours, and interposed every obstacle to prevent, to discourage, to neutralize its success!” Nevertheless, the mercantile body, headed by Dr. Curry and Mr. O'Connor, persevered; and, in the year 1759, on the occasion of the menaced French invasion, they resolved to express their loyalty in an address, fearful lest their silence should be construed into a sympa-

at that time, which has again come into favour among a certain party in our own day. We refer to the pensioning of the Catholic priesthood by the government; for what purpose Lord Clancibussill patronized it, may be inferred from the spirit of his infamous Registry Bill, which would have done more than any other measure, to extinguish the Catholic religion in Ireland.



thy with rebellion. As the catholic gentry refused all concurrence in the measure, it was styled the address of the Roman catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of Dublin. Upwards of four hundred respectable names were affixed to this petition, and it was presented to the lord-lieutenant through Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker of the House of Commons. "So degraded," observes Mr. O'Connor, "were the catholics at the time, that they did not even venture to present it to the viceroy through members of their own body."

The address was couched in an exceedingly humble and submissive tone ; for the catholic could as yet with difficulty lift up his head after his long period of subjection. He still crouched beneath the load of humiliation which centuries of injustice had laid upon all his tribe. No wonder that he was timid, when he had summoned up the spirit to open his mouth and tell his grievances. He was also afraid lest the tone of his address should be misconstrued by his enemies ; and he trembled lest it might be made the pretence for further persecution. Several days passed by in mysterious silence, after the presentation of the address ; and an awful suspense hung over the expectations of the catholics. At length, however, on the 10th of December, an answer was returned, from the lord-lieutenant through the speaker, to Mr. Mc Dermott, (one of the gentlemen who had presented the address), conveying to the catholics assurances "that the zeal and attachment which they professed could never be more seasonably manifested than in the present conjuncture, and that so long as they conducted themselves with duty and affection, they could not fail to receive his Majesty's protection."

The favourable reception of their address, and the encouraging answer given to it, diffused universal joy among the catholic body. They began to feel that they were a recognized party in the state, and their exultation on the occasion could scarcely be kept within bounds. 'Loyal and dutiful addresses, poured from all sides, too often tinged by slavish adulation of the ruling powers. There was also a vituperation of the French, which was exceedingly ungrateful, considering the load of obligations under which the Irish catholics lay, to the French nation and government.

The leaders of the catholics seized the opportunity of turning the movement to some useful purpose before they could relapse into their former inactivity. They felt that nothing could be done without an efficient machinery : and in order to obtain this, they matured a plan, by which delegates from all parts of the country, representative of the population of their respective localities, should meet as an Association, to manage the concerns of the catholics of Ireland. The plan originated with Mr. Wyse,\* with whom Dr.

\* The original plan, in Mr. Wyse's handwriting, is in the Stowe Library. The plan proposed the establishment of a perpetual committee of representatives, one for each parish in the City of Dublin to be chosen by ballot, at a meeting of the principal inhabitants, and a certain number for each county or diocese, as well as for the principal towns ; each nomination and appointment of a representative to be signed, not only by the clergy, but also by the principal inhabitants, and these several elections to be made with as much secrecy as possible. That any gentleman though not of the committee, should have access to its meetings, and a right to deliver his opinions, but not to have a vote in any debate or resolution.

Curry cordially coincided. This scheme was carried into almost immediate effect in the metropolis. Dr. Curry was elected a member for one of the parishes, and other respectable gentlemen were returned for the rest. At last they met together in committee, and took upon themselves the management of catholic affairs,—the germ of a mighty representative body, which was yet destined to overshadow the entire land and to embrace millions of its people.

The death of George II., and the accession of George III., opened up new prospects of relief to the catholics. On his opening speech to his parliament, this monarch declared himself to be the "friend of religious toleration, and the guardian of the civil and religious liberties of his subjects." The catholics were encouraged to hope that the severity of the penal code would now be relaxed in their favour, and an "Address to the King" was drawn up and transmitted to all parts of Ireland for signature. Six hundred names were affixed to it, which was thought to be an extraordinary number, considering the degraded and impoverished state of the country. Such was the exultation of the addressers that they styled it the Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. But the lords and clergy throughout the country generally, refused their concurrence with it, and those of Meath and Kildare, the old aristocratic counties of Ireland, met at Trim and adopted a separate Address. Both were 'graciously received' and published in the Gazette.

The catholics, emboldened by success, proceeded a step farther. They remodelled a detailed statement of their grievances, which had been prepared towards the close of the former reign, but was withheld in consequence of the supposed *boldness* of its tone, and the fear lest the enemies of the catholics might turn it against them. It was now, however, in the fullness of their hope, again brought forth, and prepared for being forwarded to his Majesty.\* But, at this stage, the aristocratic feeling unfortunately interposed, and the popular cause was checked in mid career, by the dissensions of its leaders.

\* As this address contains a graphic account of the sufferings which the penal laws inflicted on the Catholics, and the mode of their operation, we subjoin it at length. It is quite painful, at this time of day, to read such a document, and to observe the subdued and supplicatory tone in which the Irish catholics of the last century, representing so vast a mass of human beings, came forward to implore their oppressors for the amelioration of their wrongs and the mitigation of their tortures :—

" TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

*" The humble Address and Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.*

" MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN, —We your majesty's most dutiful subjects, the Roman catholics of Ireland, with hearts full of loyalty, but overwhelmed with affliction, and depressed by our calamitous and ruined circumstances, beg leave to lay at your majesty's feet some small part of those numerous and insupportable grievances under which we have long groaned, not only without any act of disobedience, but *even without murmur or complaint*; in hopes that our inviolable submission, and unaltered patience under those severe pressures, would fully confute the accusation of seditious principles, with which we have been unfortunately and unjustly charged.

" We are deeply sensible of your majesty's clemency, in moderating the rigorous execution of some of the laws against us: but we humbly beg leave to represent, that several, and those the most severe and distressing of these laws, execute themselves with the most fatal certainty,

Lord TRIMLESTON had at this time been promoted to the leadership of the catholic body,—more because of his extensive possessions and his aristocratic birth, than because of his superior qualities either of head or heart. He was haughty, aristocratic, and *impracticable*. He recognized no right in the people to manage their own concerns: deeming it to be the exclusive right of the

and that your majesty's clemency cannot, in the smallest degree interpose for their mitigation, otherwise your Roman catholic subjects would most cheerfully acquiesce in that resource, and rest with an absolute and unbounded assurance, on your majesty's princely generosity, and your pious regard to the rights of private conscience.

"We are, may it please your majesty, a numerous and very industrious part of your majesty's subjects, and yet by no industry, by no honest endeavours on our part, is it in our power to acquire or to hold, almost any secure or permanent property whatsoever; we are not only disqualified to purchase, but are disabled from occupying any land even in farms, except on a tenure extremely scanty both in profit and in time; and if we should venture to expend anything on the melioration of land thus held, by building, by inclosure, by draining, or by any other species of improvement, so very necessary in this country; so far would our services be from bettering our fortunes, that these are precisely the very circumstances, which, as the law now stands, must necessarily disqualify us from continuing those farms for any time in our possession.

"Whilst the endeavours of our industry are thus discouraged, (no less, we humbly apprehend, to the detriment of the national prosperity and the diminution of your majesty's revenue, than to our particular ruin) there are a set of men, who, instead of exercising any honest occupation in the commonwealth, make it their employment to pry into our miserable property, to drag us into the courts, and to compel us to confess on our oaths, and under the penalties of perjury, whether we have, in any instance, acquired a property in the smallest degree exceeding what the rigor of the law has admitted; and in such case the informers, without any other merit than that of their discovery, are invested (to the daily ruin of several innocent, industrious families) not only with the surplus in which the law is exceeded, but in the whole body of the estate, and interest so discovered, and it is our grief that this evil is likely to continue and increase, as informers have, in this country, almost worn off the infamy, which in all ages, and in all other countries, have attended their character, and have grown into some repute by the frequency and success of their practices.

"And this, most gracious sovereign, *though extremely gracious*, is far from being the only or most oppressive particular, in which our distress is connected with the breach of the rules of honor and morality. By the laws now in force in this kingdom, a son, however undutiful or profligate, shall, merely by the merit of conforming to the established religion, deprive the Roman catholic father of that free and full possession of his estate, that power to mortgage or otherwise dispose of it, as the exigencies of his affairs may require; but shall himself have full liberty immediately to mortgage or otherwise alienate the reversion of that estate, from his family for ever; a regulation by which a father, contrary to the order of nature, is put under the power of his son, and through which, an early dissoluteness is not only suffered, but encouraged, by giving a pernicious privilege, the frequent use of which has broken the hearts of many deserving parents, and entailed poverty and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent families in this kingdom.

"Even when the parent has the good fortune to escape this calamity in his life-time, yet he has at his death, the melancholy and almost certain prospect of leaving neither peace nor fortune to his children; for by that law, which bestows the whole fortune on the first conformist, or, on non-conformity, disperses it among the children; incurable jealousies and animosities have arisen; a total extinction of principle and of natural benevolence has ensued; whilst we are obliged to consider our own offspring and the brothers of our own blood, as our own most dangerous enemies: the blessing of providence on our families, in a numerous issue, is converted into the most certain means of their ruin and depravation: we are, most gracious sovereign, neither permitted to enjoy the few broken remains of our patrimonial inheritance, nor by our industry to acquire any secure establishment to our families.

"In this deplorable situation, let it not be considered, we earnestly beseech your majesty, as an instance of presumption or discontent, that we thus adventure to lay open to your majesty's mercy, a very small part of our uncommon sufferings; what we have concealed under a respectful silence, would form a far longer, and full as melancholy a recital; *we speak with reluctance, though we feel with anguish; we respect from the bottom of our hearts that legislation under which we suffer*; but we humbly conceive it is impossible to procure redress without complaint, or to make a complaint, that by some construction may not appear to convey blame; and *nothing, we assure your Majesty, should have started from us even their complaints, but the strong necessity we find ourselves under of employing every lawful, humble endeavour*, lest the whole purposes of our lives and labours should prove only the means of confirming to ourselves, and entailing on our posterity, inevitable beggary, and the

aristocracy to direct public affairs. He would not listen to suggestions. His own absolute will was his law; and this he urged with a haughty superciliousness, which soon alienated from him the attachment and support of the catholic democracy, and gradually of the catholic aristocracy itself. This noble lord strenuously opposed the projected Remonstrance; and his doing so was the immediate signal for divisions and dissensions in the Association.

Lord TAAFE, on the other hand, strenuously supported the

most abject servitude; a servitude the most intolerable, as it is suffered amidst that liberty, that peace, and that security, which, under your majesty's benign influence, is spread all around us, and which we alone, of all your majesty's subjects, are rendered incapable of partaking.

"In all humility we implore, that our principles may not be estimated by the inflamed charge of controversial writers, nor our practices measured by the events of those troubled periods, when parties have run high (though they have been often misrepresented, and always cruelly exaggerated to our prejudice); but that we may be judged by our own actions, and in our own times; and we humbly offer it to your most equitable and princely consideration, that we do not rest the proof of our sincerity on words, but on things; on our dutiful, peaceable, submissive behaviour for more than four score years: and though it will be considered as too severe to form any opinion of great bodies, by the practice of individuals, yet if in all that time, amongst all our people, in the daily increase of severe laws against us, one treasonable insurrection, or one treasonable conspiracy can be proved; if amongst our clergy, one seditious sermon can be shewn to have been preached, we will readily admit that there is good reason for continuing the present laws in all their force against us; but if, on the contrary, (we speak in full confidence) it can be shewn, that our clergy have ever exerted their utmost endeavours to enforce submission to your majesty's government, and obedience to your laws; if it can be shewn that these endeavours have always been most strenuous in times of public danger, or when any accident tended to create a ferment amongst the people; if our laity have frequently offered (what we are always ready to fulfil) to hazard their lives and fortunes for your majesty's service; if we have willingly bound up the fruits of our discouraged industry with the fortune of your majesty's government in the public loans; then *we humbly hope, we may be admitted to a small portion of mercy*, and that that behaviour, which your majesty's benignity and condescension will esteem a merit in our circumstances, may entitle us not to reward, but to such toleration as may enable us to become useful citizens to our country, and subjects as profitable, as we are loyal to your majesty.

"Permit us, most gracious sovereign, on this occasion, to reiterate the assurances of our unshaken loyalty, which all our sufferings have not been able to abate; of our sincere zeal for your majesty's service, of our attachment to the constitution of our country, and of our warmest gratitude for your Majesty's continual indulgence, and for the late instance of favour we have experienced from parliament, in enabling us, consistent with our religious tenets, to give a legal proof of our sentiments upon these points. And we humbly hope, that the alacrity and eagerness with which we have seized this first, though long wished opportunity of testifying, in the most solemn and public manner, our inviolable fidelity to your majesty, our real principles, and our good-will and affection towards our fellow-subjects; will extinguish all jealousies, and remove those imputations, which alone have hitherto held us forth in the light of enemies to your majesty, and to the state. And if any thing farther can be suggested or devised, whereby we can by our actions more fully evince our sincerity, we shall consider such an opportunity of demonstrating our real loyalty, as an high favour, and shall be deficient in no act whatever, which does not amount to a renunciation of that religious profession which we value more than our lives, and which it cannot be suspected we hold from obstinacy or a contempt of the laws, since it has not been taken up by ourselves, but has from time immemorial, been handed down to us from our ancestors.

"We derive no small consolation most gracious sovereign, from considering, that the most severe and rigorous of the laws against us had been enacted before the accession of your majesty's illustrious house to the throne of these kingdoms: we therefore indulge the most sanguine hopes, that the mitigation of them, and the establishment of peace, industry, and universal happiness, amongst all your loyal subjects, may be one of the blessings of your majesty's reign. And though we might plead in favour of such relaxation, the express words of a solemn treaty, entered into with us, by your majesty's royal predecessor, king William, (which has been forfeited by no disobedience on our part) yet, we neither wish, nor desire, to receive anything, but as a mere act of your majesty's clemency, and of the indulgence and equity of your parliament.

"That this act of truly loyal beneficence and justice, may be added to the other instances of your majesty's august virtues, and that the deliverance of a faithful and distressed people, may be one of those distinguished acts of your reign, which shall transmit its memory to the love, gratitude and veneration of our latest posterity, is the humble prayer of, &c. &c."

**Remonstrance.** This nobleman was of Irish birth, but like many of his countrymen, he had been forced into exile in infancy by the operation of the penal laws, and had gained all his honours and fortune in the service of the German empire. Still, he forgot not his bleeding country, to which he continued through life to retain an enthusiastic attachment. Even in his old age, he was in the habit of paying annual visits, often in the depth of winter, to London and Dublin, from his residence in Silesia in Prussia; his sole object being the amelioration of the sufferings, and the elevation of the social condition, of his unfortunate Irish catholic fellow-countrymen. "His rank at the Imperial Court," says the able historian of the Irish catholics, "gave him access to the first circles in Great Britain, and he availed himself of it, to contrast the impolicy of the British Government in persecuting the Irish catholics, with the wisdom of his imperial mistress, in tolerating all religious sects in her extensive dominions. Bred in camps, and educated in Germany, he impressed on senators and courtiers the impolicy and injustice of the penal code, with the bluntness of a soldier, and the honesty of a German. His efforts had no small weight in softening the rigour of persecution. His unassuming manners, his elevated rank, his great age, and venerable appearance, but above all, his ardent zeal in the cause of his oppressed countrymen, procured him a preponderating influence in the councils of the catholics; that influence was exerted in promoting union, extinguishing dissension, and rousing to exertion. His ardour led him to hope for an immediate relaxation, and the remonstrance met with his warmest support. He strained every nerve to procure the concurrence of the nobility and gentry, but met with insuperable obstacles, in the pride of an aristocracy of slaves, and in the malignity of party spirit, which shed its venom on the purest motives, and disseminated the basest falsehoods."\*

Out of this difference between the leaders, originally caused by the arrogance of Lord Trimleston, sprang dissensions, recrimination, hostility, and strife, among the great body of the catholics. Lord Taaffe made every effort to effect a reconciliation, but completely failed. Lord Trimleston having been entrusted with the public money which had been collected in aid of the catholic movement, the committee now applied for it; but "the Dictator" would suffer no encroachment on his authority: he refused even to acknowledge communications on the subject, treating the venerable Lord Taaffe himself with supercilious contempt. Thus divided among themselves, the strength of the catholics was broken; and the breach continuing to widen, the most adverse effects were produced on the progress of the Association.

The administration of Lord Halifax commenced with a mild and encouraging speech from the throne, in which the loyal and

\* O'Conor's *History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 272-3.

peaceful demeanour of the catholics was acknowledged, and toleration was recommended so far as was consistent with the security of the establishment in church and state. The speech, however, proved a false omen; for the utmost rancour was displayed, during the whole of the session, against the unfortunate catholics. They were yet fated to endure numerous disappointments before they found themselves in the path which conducted towards freedom. The catholic body also continued at war among themselves; consequently the influence of the association fell off, and its numbers gradually declined; until at length it fell to pieces, after several ineffectual struggles, in the year 1763. Still the association had been productive of good: it had given a stimulus to public opinion, and roused up the catholics to ponder over their wrongs, and to meditate upon the means of righting them.

Attempts were made, about this time, to introduce and carry a bill through parliament to enable the catholics to lend money to protestants on mortgages. Prodigality had ruined many of the protestant gentry, and it was considered by many of them a great hardship that they were precluded by law from borrowing money from the catholic merchants,—at least to be deprived of the power of granting the slightest real security to the latter. Owing to the necessities of the majority of the house, the heads of a bill were carried, in spite of opposition, and transmitted to England for ratification. But Lord Hardwicke suppressed the measure, on the ground that the protestant interest would be endangered by the admission of papists to even a temporary possession of any part of the soil. A bill was, however, passed in favour of “convert papists,” enabling them to secure the fruits of their apostacy with greater ease and certainty. At the close of the session, Lord Halifax took the opportunity of reproaching the aristocracy for their cruelty towards the people, and shortly afterwards he left Ireland, followed by the good opinions of almost all classes of the population.

The Duke of Northumberland succeeded Lord Halifax in the government of Ireland. Another attempt was made in the first session under his administration, to enable the catholics to lend their money on landed securities. Mr. Monck Mason, on introducing the bill, stated that “his object was to prevent the papists sending their money out of the kingdom. He stated the circulating medium at between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. Half that sum was the property of the papists, and if sent out of the country, would be attended with ruin. A fall of lands, and a total stagnation of trade, would be the inevitable consequences.” The Attorney-General Tisdall, in supporting the measure, “denied that any great national interests had flowed from the penal code; and, as to the conversions of papists, it had been miserably inoperative: *forty in each year, on an average, was the utmost number that had come over to the established religion.*”

The bill was, however, opposed with great vehemence by the protestant oligarchy, and was ultimately rejected by a large majority.

The administration of Lord Townshend forms an epoch in the history of Ireland. It was distinguished by the first infinitesimal measure of parliamentary reform which its legislature had known for nearly a hundred years. The Irish parliament, as we have already shown, was the mere mockery of a representation; being only a jobbing aristocracy, banded into different parties, with scarcely any distinction of principle,—the English government using their patronage only for the purpose of purchasing a majority. The mouths of one party were no sooner stopped by pensions and places, than another rose to exclaim against the profusion of the expenditure; which only led to further purchases, and further complaints at the burthens of which their own corruption had been the principal cause. This state of things had gradually settled into the promotion of two or three great families of the Irish aristocracy, as undertakers for the parliamentary management of the affairs of the crown,—who, in return for their servile submission to the British supremacy, shared among them all the government offices, emoluments, pensions, and patronage.\* In course of time, however, this union between the Irish aristocracy and the English supremacy became destroyed; and the government resolved to rid themselves of the controul of the oligarchy at any rate. Frequent collisions had taken place between the “undertakers” and the English governors,—the former not unfrequently proving the victors. At last the “patriots” took up the question; for they had now been crushed by the oppressions of the oligarchy, to an equality of poverty with the catholics themselves.

The first measure of reform which they insisted on was a limitation of the duration of parliaments to seven years, instead of the seats being held for life, as was then the case. Their representatives were instructed to support the measure, and a bill for the limitation of parliaments was introduced in 1761: it was allowed to pass the commons (being a “protestant” bill), but was defeated in its progress to England, through underhand machinations,—the

\* Such a system of government had no parallel in the history of the world. Under a limited monarchy and the forms of a free constitution, two or three great families usurped the executive and legislative authorities, left but the shadow of power to the crown, retained the mass of the population, the catholics, in the most cruel bondage, and allowed the protestants little more than the shadow of liberty. The only political right left the latter, was that of electing about seventy representatives to the commons; that right they had not exercised more than twice in half a century, and they were every day sinking under the pressure of taxes without manufactures or commerce to keep them afloat. Had the oligarchy shared with them the fruits of their usurpation, had they maintained a connexion of mutual interest and support, by giving them freehold tenures, and removing their elective votes in return; had they subjected themselves to an equal share of the public taxes, and cultivated their favour by kind offices, and condescending attentions, they would have rendered their domination perpetual, and extinguished every spark of liberty in the breasts of the colonists. But they engrossed to themselves and their immediate retainers the whole plunder of the country. The unfrequency of elections and monopoly of power rendered them independent, indifferent, and haughty. They ruled the laws, and paid no proportion of the taxes. They treated those under them as inferior beings, born to be slaves, and not entitled to the most trifling privilege of freemen. In such a system, the very soul of tyranny resided; it realised that most intolerable of all governments, which Montesquieu describes. The catholics trembled under the lash of Draconian laws, and the protestants groined under the yoke of an oppressive and insolent oligarchy, that legislated without representing, and governed without regard to, or interest in, the public service.—O'Connor's *History*, p. 322.3.

members of the house refusing even to present the bill to the Lord Lieutenant. Parliament was immediately denounced by the protestant "patriots" out of doors, as a sink of corruption. The merchants and traders of Dublin met, and gave vent to their indignation in a series of strong resolutions. It was, however, soon obvious enough that the object of the protestants was neither zeal for the purity of parliaments, nor the liberties of the people: it was neither more nor less than the dispossession of the catholic tenantry from the land, in order to make room for protestant freeholders, who would then force them (on the shortening of parliaments) to make a more equitable distribution of the public spoil. One of the resolutions of the Dublin protestant merchants sufficiently proved this: it called upon the protestants of Ireland to exert themselves in support of the measure, as it would "render the generality of landlords *assiduous in procuring protestant tenants*, and by *such visible advantages to protestants*, induce catholics to conform."

The Irish parliament ingeniously endeavoured to preserve their popularity, and avert the threatened measure. They supported it in public, and assiduously counteracted it in private. In three successive parliaments they passed bills for septennial parliaments, taking care to suppress them in the council, and throwing all the odium of their failure on the English government. At the same time, parliament endeavoured to curry favour with the protestant party, by resisting a militia bill proposed by the government,—imputing to the crown the design of establishing a military despotism. Thus thwarted in their measures, and at the same time blamed for resistance to the wishes of the people, the English cabinet determined to circumvent the Irish oligarchy, and to re-establish the authority of the crown in the government of Ireland.

The person to whom they entrusted this arduous task was George Viscount Townshend, a nobleman who possessed a large share of those qualities which enabled him to acquire popularity among the protestant aristocracy:—that is to say, he was fond of wine, women, and debauchery of all sorts,—a *bon vivant*,—a wit and humourist, without any regard to decency—a hearty sportsman—and withal an ardent lover of intrigue. Yet was not this noble lord without some of those higher qualities which fitted him for the eminent office he held. He was familiar, affable, kind, and generous,—and under the disguise of a volatile disposition, concealed great vigour of mind, and considerable talents for statesmanship. But it was the former qualities which attracted the admiration of the Irish aristocracy; and he soon became popular among them.

Part of the scheme of the English cabinet was that the Lord Lieutenant should reside in Dublin, and himself direct the disposal of places, pensions, and preferments, instead of visiting it, as before, once in two years, leaving its government, in the meanwhile, to lords-justices, chosen from the parliamentary "undertakers." The



influence of these undertakers was to be otherwise undermined : their inferior dependents were to be corrupted, and the transfer of their allegiance from their former masters to the government, was to be purchased by the united influence of cash and claret. The leaders of the undertakers at length perceived the designs of the lord lieutenant showing themselves through all his revelries and debaucheries ; and the man whom they had just been lauding to the skies, they now overwhelmed with their execrations. They combined their forces, and defeated all his measures, denouncing his administration as imbecile, profligate, and infamous in the extreme.

Lord Townshend, however, persevered. Whether out of opposition to the protestant oligarchy, or acting under orders from the English government, is not ascertained ; but he now devoted himself to protect the catholics against the tyranny of the dominant party. One of the chief practical evils now endured by the catholics throughout Ireland, was the iniquitous exaction called *quartermage*, or *intrusion*, levied by the municipal corporations, (which were exclusively protestant) upon all catholic traders and shopkeepers, and which was applied to providing "regalia, ensigns, and colours, for the different fraternities, to supporting reduced freemen, to burying the dead, to waiting on the mayor on days of solemnity, and providing anniversary entertainments." This badge of servitude, which had been imposed as a right of conquest after the Revolution, was enforced by seizure of goods, imprisonment, assaults, and various other devices of the tormentor. At last, on the accession of George III., the catholics in various towns summoned up courage to resist the impost, which they did before the local tribunals,\* and, strange to say, in several instances were successful. Petitions immediately poured in from all the protestant corporations in the kingdom, complaining of the insolence of the papists, and of their collecting money to resist these long-established and legal imposts. The petitions were, of course, believed by the bigoted body to whom they were addressed ; and a bill was prepared and brought in which promised to "revive the drooping and sinking spirits of the protestants," by "confirming the rights of quartermage," and thus "strengthening the protestant interest"! The catholics employed skilful lawyers to argue the case before the privy council ; and Lord Townshend, greatly to the mortification of the protestant oligarchy, caused the bill at once to be quashed.

\* For this purpose small sums of money were collected among the catholics, in order to defray necessary expenses. The same contribution was made at various future periods, when the interests of the catholics were to be defended against the government oppressions. A "levy" of a small sum was made upon each citizen--one halfpenny or one penny, as the occasion might require. These small sums were collected into a general fund by a catholic committee, and with this sum they instituted suits, employed lawyers, defended actions, argued bills before parliament, in the privy council, &c. These contributions were the origin of the famous CATHOLIC RENT, which, under the persevering labours of Mr. O'Connell, became one of the main sources of catholic power and orange hostility. "The levy," says Mr. Wyse, "was extended to France, to America, to Italy, &c., without a parliament to demand it, an army to exact it, a tax-gatherer to receive it, until it finally attained the object for which it was designed, and 'unconstitutional' though it was, at last ended by opening the closed gates of the constitution."

But the dissensions and discussions consequent on the introduction and passing of the Octennial bill now began to absorb the attention of the legislature, and gave the catholics some respite on the subject of Quarterage. Early in the session of 1768, the Irish parliament, as usual, passed a bill for the limitation of parliament to seven years, and presented it to the Privy Council, confident that they would never give it their sanction. But the English government was now thoroughly enraged at the fierce opposition of the Irish oligarchy to their measure, and resolved to confound them by granting their measure, even at the risk of the final preponderance of the popular interest in the constitution. The bill was accordingly returned, with the single alteration of substituting eight for seven years: the protestants were thus caught in their own toils, and to their utter vexation and discomfiture,\* had no other alternative but to pass their own bill into a law! The populace, catholic as well as protestant, were delighted. The former still loved their country, though it had been so cruel to them; and they hailed the dawn of its liberties, though protestants only were to reap the benefits, with an enthusiasm and magnanimity peculiarly their own. Lord Townshend became at once the most popular man in Ireland. On the day when the royal assent was to be given

\* The following comic scene from *Hardy's Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*—a book which contains much of the anecdotal history of the times, will give the reader some idea of the real estimate in which the "patriots" held the Septennial bill which they had now so often passed:—"Lord Charlemont happened at this time, to dine with one of the great parliamentary leaders. A large company, and, as Bubb Dodington says of some of his dinners with the Pelhams, much drink, and much good humour. In the midst of this festivity, the papers and letters of the last English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room, and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. "What's the matter?—nothing we hope has happened that!"—"Happened! (exclaimed their kind host, and swearing most piteously,) happened! *The Septennial Bill is returned.*" A burst of joy from Lord Charlemont and the very few friends of the bill who happened to be present! The majority of the company, confused, and indeed, almost astounded began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had, session after session, openly voted for this bill, with many an internal curse, Heaven knows! But still they had uniformly been its loudest advocates; and that therefore, it would be somewhat decorous, not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumphs. In consequence of those politic reflections they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the awkwardness of assumed felicity. "The bill is not only returned," continued their chieftain, "but—*the parliament is dissolved!*" "Dissolved! Dissolved! Why dissolved?" "My good friends, I can't tell you why, or wherefore; but dissolved it is, or will be directly."

"Hypocrisy, far more disciplined than their's, could lend its aid no farther. If the first intelligence which they heard was tolerably doleful, this was their complete discomfiture. They sunk into taciturnity, and the leaders began to look in fact, what they had been so often politically called, a company of *Undertakers*. They had assisted at the parliamentary funeral of some opponents (Jones Neville, for instance;)" and now, like Charles the Fifth, though without his satiety of worldly vanities, they were to assist at their own. In the return of this fatal bill was their political existence completely injured. Lord Charlemont took advantage of their silent mood, and quietly withdrew from this group of statesmen, than whom a more ridiculous, rueful set of personages in his life he said, he never beheld. The city, in consequence of the intelligence of the evening, was in a tumult of gratitude and applause; illuminations were every where diffused, and our unintentional victorious senators were obliged, on their return home, to stop at the end of almost every street, and huzza, very dismally, with a very merry, very patriotic, and very drunken populace."

\* *Mrs. Arthur Jones Neville*, whose expulsion from the House of Commons, for supposed delinquency as surveyor general of public works, was a mere trial of strength between Boyle and Stone, in which the former was unsuccessful. The parliamentary wits of that day, in the House of Commons, said, on his expulsion, that he was not *Isigo Jones*, but *Ostigo Jones*.

to the bill, his horses were unharnessed, and his carriage was drawn, by applauding thousands, from the Castle gate to the House of Lords. This was an *animalized* method of rejoicing, which, though suited to times when the object of government was to reduce the population to the condition of beasts of burden, would be anything but creditable to a populace in a period of general liberty and civilization.

The first effects of the passing of the Octennial Bill were calamitous to the catholics. A dissolution of Parliament immediately took place, and numberless catholic families were turned adrift from their farms, to make room for protestant freeholders. The roads and highways were crowded by these victims to protestant electioneering ambition. The general election which ensued, made Ireland a scene of riot and debauchery, of drunkenness, venality, bribery, and corruption of the very worst kinds. Yet these contested elections, infamous though they were, as regarded the means employed at them to seduce and corrupt the electors, contained the seed of the regeneration of Ireland. The monopoly of the oligarchy was now virtually broken up. The public mind was roused to habits of discussion. A *really* liberal party soon sprang up among the protestants, to which belonged some of the brightest names that have ever been emblazoned on the scroll of history. Thus, though the catholics at first suffered, they ultimately gained ; Liberty at length shone in upon them, and wakened them up to exertions in her behalf ; and though often checked and retarded by the dominant oligarchy, still their cause henceforward continued to make steady progress.

The new parliament had scarcely met, ere it became involved in a dispute with the lord-lieutenant on a point of constitutional privilege. The government had originated a Privy Council Money bill, and thus taken from the House of Commons the right to dispose of the public money. Though the utmost pains had been taken by the government to purchase a majority in the House, still the government were in a minority in the House of Commons. The Irish aristocracy, now that they were in the ranks of the opposition, proved far too strong for the government. Headed by Lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood, and backed by the great mass of the protestants throughout the country, they were soon enabled to set the government at defiance. No sooner was the government Money bill presented, than, without ceremony, they rejected it, on the ground that it did not take its rise in their house. Lord Townshend, in a rage, protested against the proceedings ; but the Commons refused to enter his protest on their journals. After suffering several other defeats, the Viceroy angrily dismissed both houses till the March following.

The interval was assiduously employed by the government in attempts to seduce and corrupt the members of the house. The most corrupt means were unblushingly put in requisition for this

purpose. New pensions, new places, new boards, were created,—and *upwards of half a million sterling* was expended in the purchase of parliamentary supporters.\* These measures did not fail in their effects. At the meeting of parliament in March (1771), it was found that the government had secured an overwhelming majority. An address was carried by their supporters in the Commons, thanking his majesty for continuing Lord Townshend in the government. The servile address was carried by 182 to 107. But the Speaker of the House, Mr. John Ponsonby, a man of great influence and of highly respected character, refused to be the instrument of conveying such an address, and at once resigned the Speakership. He was succeeded by Mr. Edmund Pery, the originator, afterwards, of measures of the greatest public benefit to Ireland.

At the end of five years Lord Townshend was re-called, and was succeeded in the Viceroyship by Earl Harcourt, under whom the system of corruption and extravagance almost reached its height. He sought, like all the other English governors of the time, to govern Ireland by corruption. His supporters were the servile, the venal, the mercenary, and the prostituted. Futile attempts were made, during this administration, to relieve the catholics : bills were introduced by Mr. Monck Mason and Mr. Langrishe, to enable them to lend money to protestants on mortgages of lands, and to permit them to take leases of lands. The former measure was carried by a majority of 33 to 29. In the course of the debate, it was stated that all who had conformed to the protestant religion from the year 1702 to the year 1773, amounted to only 4,055,—so resolute were the people not to be converted by means of the penal laws. The second bill, introduced by Mr. Langrishe, was entitled, “A bill for the better encouragement of persons professing the Popish religion to become protestants, and for the further improvement of the kingdom.” By this bill, “Papists” might take leases of land for any term of years, in any city or other market town, *not exceeding fifty square perches*, and in any other part *not exceeding fifty plantation acres* ; *no papist to have more than one lot*—on taking his lease to take the oath of allegiance—and at his death the lease to *gavel* (or divide) among his successors ; and if the widow or children should conform within twelve months, the *conformist was to have the largest share*. Such was one of the first measures of “relief” to the catholics, which was then regarded as an act of great liberality, but which would now be looked upon with amazement and indignation. But the time had not yet arrived for the emancipation of the catholics.

Mr. Flood about this time proposed a tax to be laid upon all absentees, of two shillings in the pound rental. The measure was resisted on the ground that it would lead to the imposition of a

\* HARDY'S *Memoirs of Lord Charlemont* ; GRATTAN'S *Life*, by his Son, &c., &c.

land-tax. Shortly afterwards, in 1775, to his discredit, Flood accepted office as vice-treasurer, at a salary of £3,500 per annum, after opposing the government in every stage, attacking all their jobs, and exposing all their malpractices. His ardent and sanguine mind had become sickened with disappointment. All his motions were defeated, and he complained that his own party had betrayed him. He now imagined that the only way in which anything could be accomplished for the country, was by going with the government, and making their measures diverge towards public utility. He saw that the people were so weak, so apathetic, and knew so little of their strength, that they could not be roused to exertion in their own behalf; and that government was so powerful that they could not be opposed with any chance of success. The ministry got to know the mind and temper of Flood, and, eager to ruin him, they set their gilded bait: Sir John Blacquire, the secretary, an artful and cunning man, courted his society, flattered his talents, and finally induced him to take office under government. But Flood never seemed at home in his new office: he sat on the upper benches of the house, and rarely spoke; when he did speak, it was generally to find fault with the government. Flood, however, afterwards nobly redeemed himself, and shone forth as perhaps the greatest among that splendid galaxy of genius and talent now immortalized in the page of Ireland's history.

The state of public affairs was now melancholy in the extreme. The government extravagance and prodigality had extended beyond all precedent. New pensions had been granted under this administration to the amount of £25,000 per annum; and meanwhile the public treasury was bankrupt. Pauperism and mendicancy abounded throughout the kingdom; the provision trade was crushed by an embargo; and commerce was everywhere prostrate. The nation was overshadowed by despondency, gloom, and despair.

One of the last acts of Parliament under the Earl of Harcourt's administration was, to vote 4,000 soldiers out of the kingdom, to go and fight against America, then in arms for liberty. The number of men that had been stipulated for the defence of Ireland was originally 12,000 men. The stipulation was now, by this vote directly infringed, and Ireland was left exposed, in a period of great danger, to the attacks of foreign enemies. This very measure, though in its immediate effects calculated to uphold the fabric of English despotism in America, we shall soon see proved most fortunate for the rising liberties of Ireland.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

The American Revolution—its causes—Sympathy of Ireland with America—Debate in the Irish House of Commons—The Irish people interested in the struggle—The Irish Government persists in its extravagance—An embargo laid on the trade in provisions—The Irish colonists in America—Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1778—The Government reduced to bankruptcy, and becomes entirely suspended—England refuses relief—Critical state of Britain—Ireland threatened with invasion—Its defenceless state—The PEOPLE arm themselves—The VOLUNTEERS—Military enthusiasm of the country—The Government paralysed—The Volunteer organization—The Government supplies them with arms—Their military discipline—Their democratic constitution—Their patriotic designs—State of the country—Improvement of manners, &c.

FROM the year 1775 may be dated the commencement of a new era in the history of the world. The grand step was then taken, which led to the assertion and future establishment of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,—which enabled the Irish people to establish for a time the independence of Ireland,—which hurried on the events of the French Revolution and the late great European war,—and which will yet, we believe, issue in the final emancipation of all Peoples.

The oppressive treatment of the high-spirited American colonists by the British government, had at last driven them into rebellion. Urged by an insane monarch, no less than by an insanely loyal people, a war was begun with the colonists to enforce upon them taxation without representation. England went to war in order to enforce on them an unconstitutional principle,—to attack and put down constitutional liberty. The Americans refused to be taxed without their own consent; they took up arms, and insignificant though they were as a colony, they set the mother-country at defiance. The issue of that struggle is well known: England lost in it two armies; one hundred and thirty millions sterling; and an empire in America.

Though the Irish parliament had, by its vote, sent 4000 ‘armed negotiators,’ as Mr. Flood termed them, to put down the liberties of America, Ireland had a deep interest in the success of the colonists in their struggle. There were great hopes for Ireland, if America succeeded in throwing off the English yoke; while, if America were put down, then certainly Ireland would have but little prospect of relief. Lord Chatham’s clear mind at once saw the closeness of interest between the two countries: “Ireland,” said he, in one of his vivid speeches, “*Ireland is American!*” There were those also in the Irish parliament who did not fail to perceive the same relationship. In the debate on the address to the lord-lieutenant, on the opening of parliament in October, 1775, Mr. Hussey Burgh moved an amendment, on the report being brought up, expressive of their concern at the disturbances in America, and

condemning the causes that led to them: he declared that if America were brought on her knees, Ireland too would be enslaved. On the motion afterwards brought forward, that 4000 of the Irish army be spared for service abroad, Mr. Burgh also made an eloquent speech. "I will not vote a single man," said he "without an accompanying address, recommending conciliatory measures. I foresee the consequences of this war. If ministers are victorious, it will only be establishing a right to the harvest after they have burned the grain—it will be establishing a right to the stream after they have cut off the fountain." Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Daly, and Mr. Conolly, took the same view of the question; but the opposition was ineffectual, and the men were sent.

Though the partial opposition to the war with America thus early showed itself in the Irish House of Commons, it was not until an advanced stage of the contest that the attention of the Irish people was attracted to the nature of the principles involved in the struggle, and that they began to reflect on their own deprivations. The apathy produced by habitual depression prevented the great body of the Catholic population from feeling at first sympathy with the American patriots. But there were many who did not fail to perceive the great principles at issue in the war, and into whose minds the sacred spark of liberty had already fallen and kindled into a flame. There is something electric in the word "Liberty." It acts like the sound of a trumpet in rousing up a sleeping army. The heart of society is stirred by it simultaneously, and from centuries of dumb repose they start up to freedom. The passion of the nation is kindled, and it goes onward with a sweep of power, of which, before, it would have been deemed entirely incapable.

Ireland had now, for eighty years, been tranquil and submissive under her oppressions. The seeds of liberty had, nevertheless, been extensively sown in the minds of the people. Molyneux, Swift, and Lucas, had, at former periods, indoctrinated the Irish mind with the principles of national independence; and the arbitrary proceedings of the British government did much to extend their growth and influence. The example of America now came to fan their patriotism into a flame. As the war proceeded, and the success of the colonists became apparent, Irish enthusiasm was kindled in their behalf. It was a noble and spirit-stirring spectacle—that of a colony, insignificant in point of numbers, unprovided and unprepared, throwing off the oppressive yoke of the mother-country. The Irish felt that the lesson existed for them—that they too were a sorely oppressed people, and far stronger in point of numbers, than the victorious colonists of the States. Were not they too taxed without their consent,—and if the Americans vindicated their right to self-government, why should not they too?

At the time when these stirring thoughts were agitating the national mind, the government persisted in its wonted policy of extravagance and oppression. In the month of February, 1776, government laid an embargo, by proclamation, on the export of provisions from Ireland, under the pretence of preventing supplies to the revolted colonies, but, in reality, to enable certain powerful contractors to fulfil their engagements with ease and profit. At the same time the American war closed the trade in Irish linens with the colonies, which afforded the principal markets to the Irish manufactures. In consequence of these circumstances, the distresses of the country greatly increased; her scanty commerce and manufactures were suspended; her provision trade annihilated; thousands of artizans in Dublin were thrown out of employment, and paraded the streets in large bodies, displaying a black flag as a token of their distress and despair; and distress was greatly increased in all parts of the kingdom. Various attempts were made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Grattan and others, to get rid of the embargo, but altogether without effect.

The American Congress publicly declared their independence on the fourth of July, 1776; and scarcely had the intelligence reached the English government, than they began to think of relieving the Roman catholics of Ireland. The heads of a bill were brought into parliament for this purpose, but met with great opposition. It was deferred until the following session, when the Earl of Buckinghamshire was sent over as lord lieutenant in place of Earl Harcourt. The government was stimulated to exertion in the amelioration of the penal code, by the intelligence which arrived from across the Atlantic towards the close of the year. General Burgoyne had surrendered to the American "rebels" at Saratoga, and the entire British army had been led into captivity! Of the Irish colonists in America, a large proportion everywhere stood foremost on the side of the patriots. It seemed as if Providence had mysteriously used the victims of Britain's cruelty to Ireland,—the men whom her persecutions had banished from the bosom of their own land—as the means of her final punishment and humiliation on a foreign soil. As the Irish brigade struck down the British power at Landen and Fontenoy, so did the refugee Irish in the ranks of the American patriot army, contribute to pluck from the haughty brow of Britain the palm of empire.

At length the British government resolved on doing the Irish catholics a tardy and unsatisfactory measure of justice. After considerable opposition, the "Popish Relief Bill" finally passed on the fourth of November, 1778. It enabled Roman catholics who took the oath of allegiance, to acquire by statute an interest in the soil,—to take leases of lands for lives or years concurrent, to the extent of 999 years,—and also to purchase lands under certain restrictions. Stimulated by the moral influence of the American revolution, the catholics had by this time again joined themselves



into an association, under the leadership of Lord Kenmare, to make renewed efforts for their complete emancipation. But their exertions were feeble compared with the demands upon their zeal and activity. The leader they had chosen was a weak, intriguing man, of small arts and paltry views, quite unsuited to take the lead in a great emancipatory movement. Besides, all the efforts of the catholics were now thrown completely into the shade by another gigantic association which soon after sprung up among the liberal protestants of the north of Ireland, who, sinking their minor differences in the general oppression of their country, in a short space of time showed a spirit and a power which made the government tremble, and succeeded in extorting from them the most extraordinary concessions.

In the year 1778, the Irish government was reduced to a most lamentable state. It was literally bankrupt, and the lord-lieutenant was even reduced to the humiliating necessity of borrowing £20,000 from a private banking house, that of Latouche and Company ! By such means was the credit of the government temporarily sustained, and the dissolution of the state prevented ! To such a desperate shift were the profligate spendthrifts of Ireland at last reduced ! In about a month after, the lord-lieutenant was obliged to *stop payment*, and all pensions, government salaries, parliamentary grants, barrack and ordnance payments, were at once suspended ! The lord-lieutenant's excuse was, that he was compelled to resort to these extraordinary measures in order to be enabled to encamp the army. Mr. Clements, who was at the head of the treasury, had been sent express to London to procure assistance from the government, now under the management of Lord North : but he returned empty-handed. The English government could not spare one farthing ; it had already incurred an enormous debt, and was expending upwards of twenty millions annually in armaments and armed men to defend herself from the attacks of her enemies. The lord-lieutenant again sent to the Messrs. Latouche, to borrow another £20,000. The bankers refused,—returning for answer that “*it was not in their power, though very much in their inclination.*”

The government was now placed in an unprecedented dilemma ; its wheels were stopt. The march of troops was suspended ; and the encampment did not take place. It looked on in passive submission, and allowed the people to take their own course unhindered. Discontent, the universal attendant of distress, prevailed all over the country ; the government were reduced to a state of complete imbecility,—with neither arms, money, nor people at its command. Yet there was none of that “social chaos” nor “dreadful convulsion,” by many supposed to be the inevitable consequence of a cessation of the powers of government. On the other hand, it was only now that Ireland began to date the beginning of her improvement and prosperity. Government had reduced the great mass of the people to beggary, want, and utter destitution. But now that

government had virtually ceased, the people began to "help themselves," and "heaven helped them," ere long, to a share of its choicest blessings.

The people, however, first applied to the English government for aid,—the government that had undertaken to guide and to govern them, and assumed the power to bind them by its laws. They first asked for a removal of the restrictions on the trade and industry of Ireland. Their petitions, as of old, were unheeded; several noble lords took up the case of Ireland, and urged it upon the attention of the ministry in the house of peers, but nothing whatever was done for its relief. Though in 1778, Earl Nugent's motion was carried in the Commons, declaring the expediency of removing many of the restrictions which had been imposed on Irish commerce,—no relaxation of the said restrictions took place. For English commercial jealousy was immediately roused, and petitions poured in from the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and the north, deprecating all relaxation of the restrictions upon Irish trade, as ruinous to the commerce and manufactures of England. The government, which was disposed to pay more attention to the petition of an English village than to the complaints of the entire people of Ireland, sternly resisted all measures of inquiry and redress. On Lord Newhaven's motion to enquire into the importation of sugar into Ireland from the West Indies, Lord North, the prime minister, came down to the house expressly on purpose to defeat the measure, which was thrown out by a majority of four. Let us not forget to notice, however, that a bill *was* passed in connection with the manufactures of Ireland at this period: we allude to the Export Bill, which allowed Ireland to export to the plantations all her manufactures, except woollens and cottons,—that is to say, Ireland was to be permitted to export every thing except her principal produce—namely, woollens! The British merchants were enraged even at the concession, and threatened rebellion in no obscure terms, if ministers persisted in granting measures of this description to Ireland. Mr. Burke was afterwards abused at the Bristol election, for having been a party to this wondrous *concession*,—which, in fact, was no concession at all, but an insult.

The Irish people felt it to be so, and ceased to indulge in any further hopes of justice from England. They were now thrown upon their own resources, fully persuaded that they could only attain their rights by their own exertions. And the crisis of affairs was now rapidly approaching. Britain was at this time the sport of her enemies: she was bearded on all sides. The enemy's privateers swept the narrow seas, and captured our vessels in sight of our own coasts. Our armies had been repeatedly beaten by the half-drilled colonists of America; our navies had been repulsed by France, and the far-famed superiority of Britain had now become a decided inferiority. The high and palmy days of the British fleet were gone, and a hostile squadron rode unopposed in the

Channel. Spain and Holland had joined France in declaring war against us ; and Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, formed an armed neutrality, indirectly hostile to our cause. Added to this, the British Treasury was exhausted, the British Ministry was impotent, and the British army was alike inadequate for the preservation of the colonies and the defence of the mother country.

At this juncture an invasion was threatened from France. Ireland being the point manifestly the most vulnerable, was the point upon which the invasion was almost exclusively expected. Ireland, however, was entirely defenceless. The government was paralysed, and had no means of meeting the difficulty. At a time when 20,000 soldiers were demanded as necessary, they could not muster more than 5,000, and these were inefficient men. The government, in fact, virtually abdicated, and abandoned Ireland to its fate ; and the country might have been lost, but that the people in different parts of the country immediately stood up and prepared for their own defence.

It was the protestants chiefly, who now prepared to defend Ireland. The catholics could scarcely yet be expected to bestir themselves heartily in defence of the possessions of their conquerors. Probably the mass of them looked upon the meditated invasion with feelings of hope rather than alarm. The protestants, however, had not such grievances as they to complain of ; and they accordingly prepared themselves with spirit, to defend Ireland against the foreign enemy. The government had no alternative but to submit ; and they suffered the people to take their own course. Not that they were insensible to the danger of allowing the Irish people to take up arms in the public defence. The oppressor generally stands in dread of the objects of his oppression ; and the British government felt no small degree of alarm, from the beginning, lest the people of Ireland should use the arms they had taken up, for other purposes than the defence of the country from foreign invasion. However, they had no alternative, if they would preserve Ireland as a part of the British dominions ; accordingly they submitted to the necessity with as good grace as they could.

The popular movement commenced at Belfast, the protestant city of the north. Eighteen years before, it had been menaced by a French invasion, and was so a second time ; accordingly, the citizens now applied to the government for the means of defence. The answer of Sir Richard Heron, the secretary, was plain and candid. The government could afford them next to no help at all ; only sixty troopers could be spared for the defence of the entire North ! But Heron took the opportunity of applauding the spirit of the inhabitants of Belfast, who had by this time formed themselves into armed companies for the defence of the town. Such was the commencement of the famous Irish Volunteers, and such was the indirect approbation given to them by the Irish government.

The example of Belfast soon spread. Public meetings were

held throughout the counties and baronies of the North, and resolutions immediately entered into, to form Volunteer Associations. Antrim raised a body of men, at the head of whom Lord Charlemont was placed. A strong corps was raised in Dublin, and the command given to the Duke of Leinster—Ireland's only Duke. The county Mayo raised a body of men, which was headed by Lord Altamont. In short, Ireland was stirred by a universal military enthusiasm. The sound of arms and the beating of drums was heard in every part of the land. Every city, town, and county, poured forth its armed citizens for the public defence, until the whole surface of the island was covered with a self-raised host of patriot soldiers. Even the catholics, in the midst of the enthusiasm, forgot the protestant enmity of centuries. Though prohibited themselves by statute from bearing arms in Ireland, they nevertheless aided, by their money and exhortations, in the formation of Volunteer corps. The catholics of Limerick subscribed £800 to raise men for the national defence,—even though they themselves could not be admitted to their ranks; and those of Drogheda, Dingle, and other places, made a joyful tender of their property and services in aid of the Volunteer corps formed in their several neighbourhoods.

The government looked on in astonishment and alarm at this extraordinary movement; and secretly did everything that they could to restrain and discourage the formation of Volunteer Associations. Every hour their numbers swelled, and their aspect grew more formidable; until the doubt began to exist whether they were not a more dangerous enemy to contend against than the French whom they had risen to resist. But the government was impotent, and could do nothing. Lord Weymouth's advice to the lord-lieutenant was, "to discourage them (the Volunteers) by all proper and gentle means." Among other methods of restraining and dividing the force, was that of connecting it with the government by granting temporary or local commissions to the officers,—who were not to take rank in the army unless in time of active service, the commissions only being issued when an invasion really took place. Royal commissions were accordingly issued; but the men refused to enrol themselves under them: they would not volunteer into their corps. They would only serve under the officers in whom they had confidence and whom they themselves had chosen. Men flocked to the standard of the elected officers, while those of the officers appointed by the government remained deserted. The result was, shame and weakness on the part of the authorities, and exultation and increase of strength on the part of the people.

Meanwhile, the armed Association, rapidly gained in strength and numbers. The people flocked round the standards raised in every quarter. They assumed various uniforms,—but green, white, scarlet, and blue, were the prevailing colours. At length they began to acquire the appendages and establishments of a regular army,

and consolidated themselves into regiments and brigades. Some procured cannon and field equipages, and formed companies of artillery. No sooner was one corps finished, than another was commenced, until almost every independent protestant in Ireland was enrolled as a patriot soldier; and the whole body of the catholics declared themselves the decided auxiliaries of their armed countrymen.\* In little more than a year, the numbers of the Volunteers amounted to forty-two thousand men; and enrolled amongst them were some of the leading persons of rank and influence in the country,—the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Clanricarde, Lord Charlemont, and many more noblemen and gentlemen of great wealth and property.

The Volunteers at first provided their own clothing, arms, and accoutrements. A general stock purse was established, to which all voluntarily contributed their share, in proportion to their several abilities. All served voluntarily without pay, the wealthier soldier cheerfully sharing his funds with his poorer comrade. There was no government bribe to allure them to take up arms, and maintain them in their attitude of defence. All was free, generous, incorruptible patriotism,—originating in a pure spirit of honour, and an ardent love of country.

In course of time, however, as the numbers of the volunteers swelled, and as the dangers of the anticipated invasion increased, it was found impossible to procure a sufficient supply of arms by purchase, they had only one course left—namely, to ask them from government. They did so, and the government did not think it safe to refuse the demand. The privy council met, and an order was issued to give out arms to the people through the governors of the several counties. Twenty thousand stand of arms were accordingly handed out from the castle of Dublin—the government trembling at the probable consequences of the act. But the enemy were almost on the shores of Ireland, and they had no time to hesitate.

The equipment of this extraordinary national force was now complete; and they forthwith applied themselves to the acquirement of a knowledge of military tactics. Though military organization, as it is usually known, was, in the case of the Volunteers, entirely inverted—the privates choosing the officers, and all serving voluntarily and without pay,—yet the subordination and obedience of the men to their superiors were as complete as if they had been under the strictest military law. The rules of discipline were implicitly adopted by general consent; and that passive obedience which, in regular armies, is enforced by punishment, among the patriot Volunteers of Ireland, was effected by the sense of duty and honour.

\* SIR JONAH BARRINGTON'S *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, new ed., p. 78.

The return of many veteran soldiers to Ireland, about this time, from the American war,—in which they had suffered from wounds and disease,—was hailed by the Volunteers with delight. Their aid was courted, and their instructions eagerly sought after, by the country bodies; and, ere long, under their experience, discipline advanced with rapid strides. Their example, in conversation and manner, became speedily infused into the minds of their pupils; and the military zeal soon embraced all classes of the population.

The essentially Democratic constitution of the Volunteer bodies, is worthy of especial notice. The officers of the several corps all owed their rank to the free suffrages of the men, who cashiered them, when occasion required, for misconduct or incapacity. The privates elected their own officers, even the very highest. The selections of officers made by the body embraced the highest and most distinguished characters in the kingdom; who were generally selected for their popularity and independence in their respective districts.

At first the several corps were totally distinct, and unconnected with each other. But by degrees they became consolidated into one body, when they immediately acquired the irresistible impulse of a co-operating power. They then brought their immense weight to bear on the public questions of the day, and this they did mainly by means of their national Convention, or assembly, held in Dublin. In the constitution of this powerful body, the democratic principle was throughout strictly preserved. The Delegates of which it was composed were elected by universal, or manhood suffrage. Every soldier had a vote, and the highest officers in the service had no more. At the same time, each of the four provinces of Ireland had its provincial assembly, composed of delegates from all the towns or places in which associate bodies were formed. Such was the constitution of the Irish Armed Volunteers—one of the most purely democratic bodies which the world has ever witnessed.\*

JEREMY BENTHAM, in his tract "*Radicalism not Dangerous*," instances the constitution of the Irish Volunteers as purely democratic throughout, and he adduces their conduct as a striking instance of the *safety* and the *advantages* of granting the people Universal Suffrage. After detailing the constitution of the body, he observes:—"Such being for five years together the effect of the volunteer system—of the will of the people manifesting itself on the principle of universal suffrage—in a word, of democratic ascendancy substituted to a mixture of monarchical and aristocratical ascendancy under a foreign monarch, and calling itself Protestant Ascendancy because it was by protestant hands that the tyranny was exercised—such being the nature of the powerful influence exercised by the body of the people on the conduct of the government—what were the results?"

Subversion of the rights of property? No such thing. Subversion of the constitution? No such thing. In the constitution of the kingdom of Ireland, a change was indeed effected. But even on the occasion on which it was effected, numerous as were the authorities without the concurrence of which the change neither was nor could have been effected, ample in every case was the applause bestowed upon it. Scarcely in any one was an objection made to it—nor has so much as the shadow of an objection been raised against it since. The only flagrantly bad point removed, all the other points, good and bad together, continued as before.

Such being the institution—democratic ascendancy—behold its fruits: tranquillity, harmony, morality, felicity, unexampled. Such as they were—behold another miracle—by the evidence of all parties in one voice, their existence was acknowledged. People's men triumphed in their golden age, and recorded it. Aristocratic Whigs, even after they had succeeded in destroying it—in substituting to it the iron age—trumpeted it, calling it their own work. So conspicuous was it—so incontestable, that not even could the most zealous monarchists and Tories forbear confessing its existence.—New edition of BENTHAM'S WORKS, Part X., p. 615.

The associations had scarcely been formed throughout the country, ere they began to turn their attention to the subject of national improvement and regeneration. The long-continued distress of the people stimulated them to the discussion of political questions, and especially to inquiries into the sources of their grievances. At every public meeting these topics were fearlessly discussed; for there was no strong government now to overawe the timid or strike down the honest and out-spoken. The principles of liberty, and the rights of citizens, soon became familiar topics among all ranks. The press fanned the kindling flame, and an enthusiasm in favour of liberty at length animated the entire nation. From speaking of their grievances, the Volunteers next proceeded to take the necessary steps towards redressing them.

Among the most obvious causes of the distress of Ireland and the non-employment of her people, were the odious restrictions which the English government had from time to time laid upon Irish manufactures. Against them Swift had levelled the shafts of his satire, recommending the Irish to patronize their own manufactures, and refuse to use goods imported from England. In this he had failed, because there was no organised people to act upon his recommendation. The English manufacturers accordingly continued to inundate the Irish market with their goods, bearing down all competition on the part of the native manufacturers, who had to struggle under all manner of restrictions. But no sooner had the Volunteers become organised, and the patriotic spirit been effectually roused, than the recommendation of Dean Swift was again revived, and the associations determined to adopt a non-importation and non-consumption agreement throughout the whole kingdom.

No sooner was this measure proposed, than it was at once adopted, and being sanctioned by the leading men of the country, it made great and rapid progress. The grand juries of Cavan, Carlow, Kilkenny, and many other counties, passed strong resolutions in its favour. Many of the country gentry also met publicly and signed declarations, that in consequence of the distress of the nation, the unjust exclusion of Ireland from trade, and the injurious and restrictive commercial regulations, they would not use imported goods, but consume their domestic manufactures, and that this declaration should be considered in force so long as the country remained excluded from participation in commerce. To these declarations many of the leading nobility in Ireland at once affixed their names, and they were subsequently adopted by numerous public meetings. The manufacturing and commercial bodies, the wholesale and retail traders, the merchants and shopkeepers of all kinds throughout the kingdom, also hastened to adopt the same vigorous resolutions, and the people signified their assent to them by universal acclamations.

The City of Dublin confirmed the determination of the country. A public meeting was convened by the High Sheriffs, and resolu-

tions were proposed and entered into by the whole metropolis, consummating the measures already adopted by the provinces. The following resolution, among others, was unanimously agreed to :—  
“ That we will not, from the date hereof, until *the grievances of this country shall be removed*, directly or indirectly import or CONSUME ANY of the manufactures of *Great Britain* ; nor will we deal with any merchant, or shopkeeper, who shall *import* such manufactures ; and that we recommend an adoption of a similar agreement to *all* our countrymen who regard the commerce and constitution of this country.” These resolutions were rigorously enforced, and the consumption of Irish manufactures accordingly steadily increased, while those imported from Britain proportionally fell off.

It remains for us, before concluding this chapter, to notice the important moral influence of this patriotic movement, on the Irish people. The most extraordinary change took place in their character. They became almost of a sudden, thoughtful, sober, respectful, and peaceable. Decorum in manners kept pace with the best charities of life ; crime was discountenanced though there was no police, and law was revered though there was no government. Agrarian outrage completely ceased. The poor oppressed catholic now dreamt of deliverance, and was satisfied ; the famished beggar looked up from his crust moistened with tears, and hoped ! The long-looked for relief was about to come at last,—and all waited on joyfully and peacefully. Never did Ireland know such tranquillity and content.

A visible improvement was also soon observable in the external appearance of the people. The slovenly air and squalid gait of the Irish farmer gave place to neatness and cleanliness of dress, the result of military example and discipline. The wide distinction between ranks being in a great measure removed, the Volunteer private sitting down with the Volunteer general at the same board—the tone of manners and conversation became elevated, the minds of all acquired both strength and polish by exercise, and the improvement soon extended itself throughout all classes and conditions of the people. The public morals improved ; the public knowledge extended ; and the public virtue never shone so brilliant and untarnished, as during the existence of the Volunteer Army, raised and maintained for the defence and regeneration of Ireland.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Irish Parliament of 1779-80—Favourable to popular rights—Causes of the change—Henry Grattan—Henry Flood—Grattan and Flood compared—Walter Hussey Burgh—Barry Yelverton—Mr. Pery—Mr. Fitzgibbon, &c.—Meeting of Parliament—Mr. Grattan's amendment to the Address—Mr. Burgh's amendment in favour of "Free Trade" adopted and carried—Enthusiasm of the House—Rejoicings of the Volunteers—The Commons refuse new taxes, and long supplies—Mr. Burgh's brilliant speech—Demonstration of the Volunteers—Lord North's concessions—The Irish people press for ulterior measures—A free Parliament demanded—Public meetings held throughout Ireland—Startling resolutions—Mr. Grattan moves for a Declaration of Rights—Is defeated—Mutiny Bill—Progress of the Volunteers—Earl of Charlemont chosen Commander-in-Chief—His Character.

THE Session of the Irish Parliament which commenced on the 12th of October, 1779, was probably the most memorable in the history of Ireland. It formed the commencement of that short bright period of national glory, during which the right of Ireland to a legislative independence of the English Parliament, was successfully asserted, and Ireland for a time recovered a place among civilized nations.

Circumstances had long been preparing the way for the great movement which was now stirring among the Irish people, and had at length penetrated into the Irish legislature itself. The early labours of Molyneux, Swift, and Lucas; the struggles between the English ascendancy and the Irish "patriots," during which the people had been familiarized with discussion, and enlightened on many topics of public interest; the passing of the Octennial bill, which emancipated the House of Commons from the controul of the "undertakers," and introduced an entirely new class of men into the legislature; the rapid progress of domestic civilization; the stirring agitation of first principles then going forward over the continent of Europe; and finally, the rousing events connected with the progress of the American revolution;—all tended to stir up the Irish people to the assertion of their independence at this important juncture.

The Irish parliament also, for the first time since Ireland had been brought under English rule, began to sympathize with the nation, to imbibe its patriotism, and to lead it onward in its struggles for liberty. The moment was one of general awakening; even the "undertakers" of the old parliament now became patriots, and some of the most strenuous assertors of the rights of the people were found among their ranks. What was still more remarkable—the patriotic movement of this period originated exclusively among the Protestant party—a party that for two hundred years had been the invariable persecutors of the Irish nation!

The time was also prolific in great men,—possessed of eminent capacities and noble aspirations,—who at once sprang into the front

of the popular movement, and gave the tone to public opinion. Probably there never was a period when such a constellation of brilliant talent, genius, and patriotism burst forth, as during the memorable session of 1779, of the Irish Parliament. The names of Grattan, Flood, Burgh, Yelverton, Bushe, Pery, Daly, Forbes, and their compatriots, present a galaxy of illustrious ability, such as, perhaps, scarcely any other country besides Ireland can boast. The only corresponding period in the history of England, is that of the Commonwealth,—when Pym, Vane, Hampden, Hollis, Cromwell, and the rest, stood forward and put themselves at the head of the English nation in their struggles against despotic power. Nature would thus seem to produce her great men at given periods, with an extraordinary prodigality, as if for the specific purpose of carrying on the great work of national emancipation.

HENRY GRATTAN entered parliament in December, 1775, as representative of the borough of Charlemont; and soon distinguished himself by his devotion to the cause of Ireland. It would not be easy to point out a statesman of any age or country, whose reputation stands on a broader and firmer basis, than that of the illustrious Grattan. His patriotism was purity itself, from the moment that he entered public life until he quitted it for ever. Placed by the gratitude of his country in a position of independence, he continued through life, to devote his noble talents to its service, through good and through evil report—amid the praises of the good and the denunciations of the unprincipled and the factious. To speak of Mr. Grattan's intellectual powers, would be a work of supererogation. They were of the very highest order—varied, acute, brilliant, and profound. His eloquence was splendid, exhibiting a solid strength of reasoning, a brilliancy of illustration, a keenness of invective, and a felicity in epigram and point, which placed him in the very foremost rank of orators. Lord Brougham has said\* that Dante himself never conjured up a striking, a pathetic, and an appropriate image in fewer words than Mr. Grattan employed to describe his relation towards Irish Independence, when alluding to its rise in 1782, and its fall twenty years later, he said, "*I sat by its cradle—I followed its hearse.*"

HENRY FLOOD—on many occasions the rival of Mr. Grattan—was perhaps the greatest of all the distinguished men of his time. He was decidedly the greatest as a statesman and a senator. Far-seeing and sagacious, he was at the same time resolute and uncompromising in the assertion of principles. To a profound knowledge of human nature, he joined extensive information, and great solidity of judgment. He was an indefatigable member of parliament—active, ardent, industrious, and persevering. Though defeated, he returned to the attack again and again,—never allowing himself to be cast down by overwhelming majorities against him. In powers

\* Lord BROUGHAM'S Speeches.

of retort, of insinuation, and of invective, he was never excelled. When excited by opposition, his spirit rose in proportion, and he bore down all before him—speaking in reply, always with masterly ability. He was invariably ready and prepared, and was never found off his guard. In logic he was unrivalled. His literary taste was also highly cultivated, and his mind amply stored with knowledge and information on all subjects.

Mr. Flood entered parliament during the administration of the Earl of Halifax, and immediately took the side of the popular party. The first occasion on which he spoke was in 1768, on the motion of Dr. Lucas, when he introduced the bill for shortening the duration of parliaments. Mr. Flood gave the measure throughout, his most animated and eloquent support, and its final success was greatly owing to his exertions. He also exposed the abuses of Lord Townshend's administration with great vehemence, both in Parliament and the press. At length, however, he became dissatisfied; his sanguine mind longed for some substantial improvement for his country; and, believing that nothing could be done for Ireland but through the government, in an unlucky hour he took office as Vice-Treasurer. Flood, however, found himself completely out of his element: and he again joined the opposition so soon as he saw the prospects opening up, of emancipation for Ireland. Subsequently to this period, the name of Henry Flood is associated with the brightest periods of Irish history.

Sir Jonah Barrington, who was intimately acquainted with both Flood and Grattan, and had opportunities of watching them during nearly the whole of their career, has drawn the following striking comparison of the two leaders:—"Mr. Flood had become most prominent amongst the Irish patriots. He was a man of profound abilities, high manners, and great experience in the affairs of Ireland. He had deep information, an extensive capacity, and a solid judgment. His experience made him sceptical—Mr. Grattan's honesty made him credulous. Mr. Grattan was a great patriot—Mr. Flood was a great statesman. The first was qualified to achieve the liberties of a country—the latter to disentangle a complicated constitution. Grattan was the more brilliant man—Flood the abler senator. Flood was the wiser politician—Grattan was the purer. The one used more logic—the other made more proselytes. Unrivalled, save by each other, they were equal in their fortitude; but Grattan was the more impetuous. Flood had qualities for a great prince—Grattan for a virtuous one; and a combination of both would have made a glorious monarch. They were great enough to be in contest; but they were not great enough to be in harmony; both were too proud; but neither had sufficient magnanimity to merge his jealousies in the cause of his country."\*

\* SIR JONAH BARRINGTON'S *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*. New ed. p. 325.

WALTER HUSSEY BURGH was another of the distinguished and eloquent men of this period. He entered parliament under the auspices of the Duke of Leinster, and immediately joined the opposition against the administration of Lord Townshend. He accepted the office of Prime Serjeant under the administration of Lord Buckinghamshire; but, like most of the other great men of the time, he abandoned office when he found that his doing so would promote the liberties of his country. The manner in which he threw himself into the popular ranks will be hereafter noticed. On that occasion it was beautifully remarked by Mr. Grattan, that "the gates of promotion were shut, as those of glory opened." Mr. Burgh was one of the most brilliant and effective speakers in the house. He was highly polished in his manner, and rather showy. Admirable in reply, skilful in fence, and highly graceful in style, his admirers styled him "the Cicero of the senate." He was a man of incorruptible principles, and an ardent lover of his country. Mr. Flood, on the occasion of his death, described him thus:—"A man dead to everything but his own honour and the grateful memory of his country—a man over whose life or grave envy never hovered—a man ardently wishing to serve his country himself, but not wishing to monopolize the public service—wishing to partake and communicate glory,—my noble friend—I beg pardon: he did *not* live to be ennobled by patent; he was ennobled by nature."

BARRY YELVERTON, afterwards Lord Avonmore, was one of the most powerful speakers of his day;—not so profound and logical as Flood, nor so brilliant and antithetical as Grattan, nor so rhetorical as Burgh,—but combining much of the powers of all three, and as effective a debater as any of them. He had a quick apprehension, a nice tact, and withal a vigorous understanding, which served him ably in argument. Mr. Grattan compared his speeches to the Atlantic wave, three thousand miles in depth. In the early period of his career, he stood boldly forward on the side of the people,—delivering a bold and eloquent speech against sending out troops from Ireland to America, and another in support of the Catholic Bill, in which he vehemently denounced the penal laws. He afterwards, however, abandoned the popular cause, and was one of the sellers of Ireland at the Union.

EDMUND SEXTON PERY, Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Lord Pery, entered parliament in 1751, and was engaged in most of the subsequent contests between the government and the "patriot" party. In the celebrated contest of 1753, he acted with the government, then led by Primate Stone. Mr. Pery, however, shortly afterwards entered the opposition, and became the leader of what was called "the Flying Squadron," which sometimes joined the court, and sometimes the opposition, according to circumstances. As the prospects of Ireland opened up, Pery threw himself heartily into the cause of the people; and

was instrumental in bringing forward and carrying many practical measures of improvement of great value. He laid the foundation of Ireland's Freedom of Trade, and on the questions of Corn Laws, the Tenantry Bill, the Tithe Bill, and the Independence of the Irish Parliament, he was always on the side of Ireland. It was he who advised the government to give out arms to the Volunteers, and the government, highly respecting his advice, did so. All parties had confidence in the thorough honesty of Pery: his character was *transparent*: there was not a particle of deceit in his whole constitution. As a speaker, he was of great excellence. Composed, grave, sincere, and dignified, he never failed to command the attention of his auditors. His conduct as Speaker of the House of Commons was considered to be a model, by the celebrated Charles James Fox. He treated all with equal respect, encouragement, and attention.

JOHN FITZGIBBON, afterwards Earl of Clare, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, was a very different character from any of the men above noticed. Like them, it is true, he took the side of the Irish nation at the period of its resuscitation; but he basely deserted it in the hour of its trial, and contributed to bring it to an untimely grave. He was a man of brilliant talents, but they were given to him as a curse, for he employed them for the humiliation and ultimate enslavement of his country. Yet was he first known to Ireland, as one of its foremost patriots—bold, zealous, and uncompromising. It was the same Fitzgibbon who, in 1782, proclaimed in his place in the House of Commons, the legislative independence of Ireland, that in a few years after trampled on her liberties, and traitorously sold her constitution. He reared his fortunes on the disasters of his country, and his career was only consummated when he saw her ruin to be complete. Never was a more withering sarcasm pronounced, nor one more strikingly true to its point, than that of Mr. Yelverton, who, on one occasion, in defending his absent friend, Mr. Grattan, from the attacks of Fitzgibbon, by stating what the former *was not*, strikingly described what the latter *was*. "The learned gentleman," said Mr. Yelverton, "has stated what Mr. Grattan is: I will state what he is not. He is not *fixed in his prejudices*; he does not *trample on the resuscitation of his country, or live like a caterpillar on the decline of her prosperity*; he does not *stickle for the letter of the constitution with the affectation of a prude, and abandon its principles with the effrontery of a prostitute!*"

Among the other men who distinguished themselves in the parliament of 1779, DENNIS DALY is worthy of particular notice. He was an effective speaker—a strenuous advocate of free trade—an ardent friend of the catholics. Protection of the weak and the oppressed seemed to form part of his nature. But he was rather too much of an aristocrat, and afraid of extending power to the people.

When he accepted office he ceased to speak in the House of Commons.\* —GERVASE PARKER BUSHE was another of the superior men of his day. He early distinguished himself by his opposition to the American war; and afterwards greatly aided the patriots, though he had joined the court party, and held office under the government.—JOHN FORBES was a singularly bold, undaunted, and high-principled member of parliament. On more than one occasion he stood between the government and the people, when the newly-found rights of the latter were threatened. He supported all questions regarding Irish freedom with consummate ability.—JOHN HELY HUTCHISON was another courageous and high-minded advocate of public liberty, though he held office as Prime Sergeant under Lord Townshend's administration. When the popular cause rose, he strenuously supported all the great measures of the day. He was, however, much less popular than his compatriots, because of his hankering attachment to office, which he held under various administrations.

These are only a few of the great men of this era. There were also many other distinguished names—such as Brownlow, Connolly, Ponsonby, Cavendish, the Earl of Charlemont, the Duke of Leinster, the Bishop of Derry, Doctor Duigenan, Curran, &c.—which will more properly fall to be noticed in the subsequent parts of this history.

The time for the opening of the Irish Parliament at length arrived—the twelfth day of October, 1779. All parties looked forward to its meeting with anxiety—the country with hope, the government with apprehension. The general adoption of resolutions for the exclusive use of Irish manufacture throughout the country, as well as the unprecedentedly bold tone assumed by some members during the last session, had created considerable apprehension in the mind of the British minister, as to the result of the approaching session; and the lord-lieutenant was ordered to open Parliament with a conciliatory speech, alluding to his Majesty's liberal views and sentiments, but specifying no particular measure of improvement. To this the assent of some of the members of the opposition had been obtained, and they had promised—Mr. Yelverton and his friends among the rest—that they would not oppose the government in the reply to the address.

\* Daly is said to have had a remarkable knowledge of men, which enabled him almost to exercise a kind of prophecy. Mr. Grattan, jun., M.P., in the *Memoirs* of his father, mentions the following instance:—There was a dinner at Mr. Hobart's in 1785, in the Duke of Rutland's time, where Mr. Daly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and others met. The opposition had gained a great point at that time; the propositions had been ceded; England had yielded fairly and justly; and the party were in high spirits, very joyous, and greatly elated with their victory. Some of the company alluded to a union, and Fitzgibbon exclaimed, in an exulting tone, "Who will dare to talk of a Union now? If such a thing was proposed to me, I would fling my office in the man's face." The company were very gay, and when Fitzgibbon retired Daly said, "That is the man who would support it—that little man who has talked so big, would vote for a union—aye, to-morrow."

But Mr. Grattan and his friends were resolved to insist upon some definite measures of improvement for the country. The days of concealment of opinion, merely out of regard to the repose of Ministers had passed away ; and the time had now arrived for pressing sound principles and practice upon the notice of the government. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Daly resolved to take the first opportunity of carrying out this honest policy ; and, with the view of preparing an address, and agreeing about the tactics to be pursued on the occasion of proposing it, they appointed a meeting at Bray, a small town on the sea coast, about ten miles from Dublin. The plan was resolved upon as they sat by the sea shore—the means which were to emancipate Ireland from an ignominious bondage, were appropriately enough devised and matured in full view of the great highway of liberty to all nations !

Mr. Grattan and Mr. Daly had each drawn up an address. Mr. Daly's had been submitted to the scrutiny of Mr. Pery, the speaker, who had made some alterations in his own handwriting. Mr. Grattan, when he detected this, at once adopted it in preference to his own. At the same time, communications had taken place between Mr. Hussey Burgh and Mr. Henry Flood, which gave rise to the amendment afterwards proposed by Mr. Burgh.

At length parliament assembled, and the ominous moment approached that was to decide the fate of the Irish parliament, and to a great extent that of the Irish people. The house was crowded with listeners, and the excited looks, the anxious whisperings, and eager communications, which passed from side to side of the house, showed that some movement of an extraordinary kind was on foot. The lord-lieutenant's speech contained the usual number of formal, ambiguous phrases ; to which the address, proposed in the Commons by Sir Robert Deane, was the usual echo. A long pause succeeded, and then there was observed an unusual communication between the ministerial and the opposition side of the house. At length Mr. Grattan rose, and in an eloquent speech proposed the following amendment :—"That we beseech your Majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion ; but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade, have caused such calamity, that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying for want ; famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness ; and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your Majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birthright."

The amendment was seconded by Lord Westport.

The ministerial party were confounded : they had no means of defence,—yet they endeavoured to get rid of the difficulty, by offering to introduce into the address some general expression as to the trade of Ireland, Sir Henry Cavendish suggesting that they might

propose "something more orderly in the house and more gracious to the sovereign." But the opposition was not to be so deceived. They had resolved on the full assertion of their rights, and the die was now cast. Mr. Flood, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Forbes, and others followed in support of Mr. Grattan's amendment; and, what was the most extraordinary, Mr. Hussey Burgh, the prime serjeant, rose and spoke strongly in favour of the principle, declaring that if the preamble was somewhat altered he would *vote for it*. He acknowledged that he held office under the crown, but he refused to be a party to concealing from the king the rights of his people, and he would rather at once relinquish his gown than make compromise of his principles. Mr. Burgh suggested that a strong statement should be made, in one short and simple proposition,—such as "that nothing but a free import and export trade could save the nation from impending ruin." Mr. Flood said to him, across the table, "state a *Free Trade* merely." Mr. Burgh instantly adopted the words, and proposed the amendment, "that nothing but a Free Trade could save the country from ruin."

Mr. Conolly, the leader of the country gentlemen in the house, brother to the lord-lieutenant, and a man of great property and influence, supported Mr. Burgh's amendment; Mr. Conyngham, an influential ministerialist, also acquiesced; the house was taken by surprise; the government party was scattered; and Mr. Grattan having withdrawn his amendment in favour of Mr. Burgh's simple proposition, it passed unanimously, amidst a tumult of joy and exultation.

The excitement, out of doors, was immense. All classes of the people were thoroughly roused from their apathy. The catholics rejoiced in common with the protestants, and began to feel that they had yet a country to struggle for. The Volunteers attributed this first victory of the patriot party to their own spirited resolutions and exertions on behalf of Ireland, and they hailed the measure with enthusiasm, and determined to protect it as their own child. Scarcely had the news of the passing of Mr. Burgh's amendment to the Address got abroad, than the drums throughout the metropolis beat to arms, and the Volunteers assembled, under the command of the Duke of Leinster, and lined the streets through which the Speaker and the members of the legislature were to pass, on their way to present their solemn warning into the hands of the Viceroy. The Address was brought up to the Castle by the entire house; the Volunteers presenting arms as the solemn procession passed through their ranks, and the populace cheering them on with enthusiastic acclamations.

The Government were alarmed at this proceeding, and complained of the Duke of Leinster's conduct; but being impotent, they could take no means of resisting the movement. The House of Commons, on the day following, voted its unanimous thanks to the Volunteers, for their spirited and *necessary exertions* for the defence



of the country. Even the House of Lords adopted a resolution of the same kind, though not without the opposition of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Annaly.

The Commons gathered courage as they proceeded: they felt emboldened by the support of the national army, to make exertions to attain the independence of Ireland. The question of England's power to bind Ireland by her laws, was boldly discussed, on the occasion of an act being passed by the English legislature, imposing a duty of 4d. a pound on all teas imported into Ireland,—on which occasion Mr. Daly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Bushe, and others, declared their determination to resist all measures that had even the appearance of co-operating in such an arrangement. At length the Attorney-General gave up the point, declaring that he was not the champion of English acts of parliament, and disclaiming their legislative authority over Ireland. This was deemed to be an immense concession.

The king's answer to the address on free trade was now anxiously looked for, and at last arrived. It was a formal message, meaning anything or nothing, just as circumstances might require. It stated his majesty's "sincere concern for the distress of Ireland," and his "readiness to concur in such measures as shall, upon mature consideration, appear most conducive to the welfare of all his subjects." The Volunteers determined that the country should no longer be duped by the no-meaning promises of the king and his ministers. This determination was given bold utterance to in the House of Commons by Mr. Chapman, a gentleman of large property and extensive influence, who, in moving an inquiry into the state of the revenue of the kingdom, observed, that *the country was now in arms*, and that if the house did not right them, *they would right themselves*. There was no mistaking language so decided and outspoken as this.

The country nobly supported the efforts of the patriots in the Commons. The freeholders of the counties, and most of the armed associations throughout the kingdom, assembled and passed resolutions, urging their representatives not to abate in their efforts for Free Trade, as it was the only means of rescuing the country from ruin. They also instructed them not to grant supplies for longer than six months.

The period soon arrived that was to test the sincerity of the house. On the 24th of November, Mr. Grattan proposed the pithy and decisive resolution: "That at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes;" and this was carried by the large majority of 170 to 47. The patriots followed up their victory on the following day, when the house resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, and the motion was made that the appropriated duties should be granted for six months only. This also was carried by a large majority—the government being again abandoned by its principal supporters.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Hussey Burgh delivered his famous speech, which produced such an electric effect, the house rising in a mass, and cheering him repeatedly as he concluded—"Talk not to me (said he) of peace! Ireland is not in a state of peace: *it is smothered war. England has sown her laws like dragon's teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men.*" A burst of enthusiasm from the house and the galleries followed. The courtiers were terrified, and strove to appease the clamour. Sir Henry Cavendish demanded that the galleries should be cleared; and called upon the government to uphold the dignity of the house. But the words had been spoken, and the electric effects were soon felt through all Ireland. Mr. Burgh lost his office of Prime Sergeant; but he gained one of the highest niches of honour in his country's history.

We return for a moment to the Volunteers, whose numbers and power the late proceedings in Parliament had greatly increased: they were now a virtually constitutional body, sanctioned by the legislature of their country. The people continued to flock around their standards, and, in all quarters, they exerted their influence to promote the public peace, prosperity, and welfare.

A singular scene was to be observed on the anniversary of King William's birthday, the 4th of November. The Volunteers of Dublin and the surrounding districts assembled round the statue in College Green, under the orders of the Duke of Leinster. The pillars of the statue were ornamented with devices speaking a strange and unusually bold language,—such as "*The Volunteers of Ireland—fifty thousand ready to die for their country*"—"Free Trade or else —"; and two field pieces in front had attached to their grim sulphureous mouths—"A Free Trade or THIS"! Eloquent and convincing language, as the issue proved!

These ominous and alarming appearances caused considerable anxiety in England. The ministry feared lest matters had been carried too far, and they began to think of relaxing the restrictions upon Irish trade. Probably the click of 50,000 Irish muskets hastened not a little the conclusions to which they now arrived. After some preliminary debating, Lord North introduced, on the 18th of December, three propositions in favour of Ireland,—namely for the export of glass, the export of woollen goods, and for a Free Trade with the British colonies, subject to such restrictions and duties as the Parliament in Ireland should impose. Resolutions to the same effect were passed in the Irish Commons, and incorporated in the British act which passed in the February of the ensuing year.

These concessions, however, came too late to be of much service. The country had already been exhausted and impoverished to such an extent that they could take but little advantage of the liberty to trade which was conferred upon them. Then, they had been procured with so much difficulty, and they had been granted with such insulting declarations by the British minister—such as, that

the opening of the Irish trade was a boon from the English parliament, resumable at pleasure—that the measures proved quite unsatisfactory to the Irish people, and determined them to press for ulterior measures and to secure their freedom by establishing the independence of their own legislature.

Meetings were now held throughout the country, by grand juries, county meetings, and Volunteer Associations, at which resolutions were adopted, asserting the whole right of legislation for Ireland to rest in her own parliament; and they called for a modification of Poyning's law, and a repeal of the 6th George I.—the act which declared the dependency of Ireland. The Irish patriots were not slow to perceive that so long as the English aristocracy assumed the right to legislate for Ireland, her "Free Trade" was an empty sound. They might pass a beneficial act under the influence of the pressure from without, one day, but they could unmake it the next, as it suited their pleasure or convenience. The Irish people therefore demanded a Free Parliament as well as a Free Trade. A bitter and painful experience had taught them that without the former, the latter could never be preserved. Ireland must ever be at the mercy of England, so long as her parliament was shackled and bound by English laws. Hence the Union that now arose among all parties in favour of legislative independence.

The Volunteers, from the first, gave the tone to opinion on this important subject. The spirit of their proceedings may be gathered from the following resolution, passed by the Dublin corps, presided over by the Duke of Leinster, and which was afterwards adopted by the greater number of the Independent Companies in Ireland. It declared "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, were competent to make laws, binding the subjects of this realm; and that they *would not obey, nor give operation to, any laws, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland*, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, they were determined to support with their lives and liberties." This resolution amounted to neither more nor less than an open declaration of war against the English government!

Fortified by these expressions of public opinion, Mr. Grattan resolved to move for a Declaration of Irish Rights. But here he found most of his former supporters opposed to him. The government had been trying the pliancy of many, and the majority was now reduced to a minority. The time of trial came, and many of the fairweather, timid friends of public liberty, were now found on the side of the enemy. Some there were, however,—Mr. Flood, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Burgh, and others—who nobly and manfully stood by him on this occasion. Mr. Grattan made a splendid speech,—the best, he himself thought—that he ever delivered. He moved three resolutions, the first of which contains the marrow of the whole—"That his most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power

competent to enact laws to bind Ireland." The resolutions were seconded by Mr. Robert Stewart,\* and, after a long debate, defeated by a majority of 186 to 97. The question was now, however, fairly launched before the country, and was taken up by the people with renewed spirit and determination.

The government was now placed in a new and unforeseen dilemma by the conduct of the Irish nation, in refusing to obey British-made laws. There being no Mutiny Bill to govern the army in Ireland, and the validity of the British law being denied, the disbandment of the entire military force in Ireland might have been the consequence. Indeed, the magistrates, in some parts of the country, proceeded to liberate from prison the soldiers who had been apprehended for desertion; and the authorities of some towns refused to grant billets for the quartering of the soldiers, alleging that there was no law in existence to compel them. An account of this alarming state of affairs was duly forwarded to England; but the instructions of his Majesty through his ministers, were, to resist all encroachments of the kind, and to stifle in the Privy Council ("*obstare in limine*") any Irish Bill which might be forwarded from the Commons for the regulation of the army. The patriotic party in Parliament endeavoured to pass a measure to punish mutiny and desertion, and thus to regulate the Irish army according to constitutional forms; and with this view Mr. Bushe introduced a motion for the first reading of a mutiny Bill, which was carried by a large majority. But the English ministry completely disregarded the decision of the Irish Parliament; for when they returned the Bill, it was not only altered in many respects, but a clause was introduced rendering it *perpetual*—a measure which, according to Mr. Fox, was so utterly at variance with every principle of a free state, that "whoever advised such a bill was guilty of high treason." Nevertheless, the bill passed the Irish Parliament by the immense exertions of the Government; and the perpetual Mutiny Bill became the law of the land.

This violent and arbitrary policy on the part of the British minister, was a severe and unexpected blow to the popular party. Mr. Burgh declared that "Ireland was *borne down by England*," and that "it was not possible for her to resist *the tyranny of Great Britain*." Well might the venerable patriot Lord Camden remark to Lord Claremont, when comparing the situation of Ireland to that of America, that America had been lost by bad governors, and the fate of Ireland might be similar." And unquestionably this would have been the case, had it been the fortune of the Irish people to possess leaders of the proper calibre, when the great crisis of their country's fate arrived.

The enactment of this tyrannical measure, following, as it did, upon the defeat on the Declaration of Right, and the Sugar Bill,

\* Father of the late Lord Castlereagh.

dismayed the leaders, but only served still further to rouse the spirit of the people. Meetings were held, and resolutions passed, in direct hostility to the government. At one of those held in Dublin, the High Sheriff in the chair, it was resolved, "that any person who shall bebase enough to comply with the mandates of the administration, in supporting these alarming measures, will justly forfeit all title to the future confidence of the people." The government held a Council at the Castle, to consider the propriety of prosecuting the authors and publishers of these resolutions, for sedition: but the Viceroy refrained, wisely reflecting that prosecution would only serve to aggravate and not allay. This leniency of the lord-lieutenant (Buckingham), did not, however, please the British ministry, who soon afterwards ordered his recall from the government of Ireland.

The people now saw that they had to depend entirely on their own exertions, for the means of relief; and they proceeded to extend and improve their armed organization. Their numbers were still on the increase, and their discipline was rapidly improving. The reviews of these bodies were now sources of great attraction to all classes of the population; accounts of them filled the newspapers of the day. Old and young,—women, clergy, tradesmen, and peasants,—catholics and protestants,—all vied with each other in demonstrations in favour of their armed National Guard. Public bodies made presents of pieces of ordnance to the various battalions: the church raised contributions for them; the ladies wove and embroidered colours, which were presented to them amid great pomp and circumstance; and soon the armed associations were almost the only objects which attracted public attention. Meanwhile, the most perfect order and peace prevailed throughout the country; crime became rare, and the laws were better obeyed than they had ever been before. Patriotic resolutions were also passed from time to time, proclaiming the leading object of the Volunteers to be, to vindicate the rights of their country and protect the constitutional liberties of the people.

The Volunteer Associations, powerful though their influence was throughout the country, soon became conscious that without some grand uniting link, some consolidating authority whereby they might be set in motion and their united efforts brought to bear upon a given point, they would never be able to accomplish the great objects which they contemplated. In their present state, they were only so many detached associations, acknowledging no authority superior to their several commanding officers. They perceived that it was necessary they should place themselves under the general command of some one distinguished individual, who *should* have the power to direct their efforts and regulate and controul all their movements. The Dublin companies had already chosen the Duke of Leinster as their General; and the high rank, the liberality of opinion, and the honesty of character, which distinguished that

nobleman, also pointed him out to the other Associations of Leinster as their General-in-Chief. He was accordingly immediately invested with all the honours of so high a situation : his election was publicly celebrated with great solemnity ; a body guard was appointed to attend him ; sentinels were placed at his gates, and on his box when he attended the theatre. He was received and recognised as the Commander of the Leinster Volunteers by the public authorities ; and even the regular soldiery paid him the same honours as their own officers.

The other provinces of Ireland followed the example of Leinster. They organized themselves into armies, each under the command of a General-in-Chief, who had his Staff of Officers, as in the regular army. These provincial armies held reviews in their respective districts at stated periods, which were generally seasons of great joy and enthusiasm.

There was still, however, wanting a link to bind the whole into one Grand Army. In short, a Commander-in-Chief was wanted ; and this defect was soon after supplied in the person of the Earl of Charlemont, who was appointed to that high office amid the general acclamation of the Volunteers throughout Ireland.

The character of Lord Charlemont has been greatly over estimated,—not as a private, but as a public man. He was all that his friends say of him, so far as his social and domestic virtues were concerned—hospitable, polite, generous, humane, and patriotic. His public virtue was unquestionable ; his purity of motive beyond the shadow of suspicion. His talents also were considerable, and his spirit on some occasions was highly praiseworthy. But he was defective in the greater requisites which fit a man to be a leader of the people in their efforts at independence. His mind was wavering, unsteady, and inconstant. He was defective in courage—the courage of decision in times of trial and difficulty. He was a safe enough pilot in smooth water ; but when the tempest threatened, he was appalled by the danger, and abandoned his vessel.

Lord Charlemont was a man of *half* principles, in the assertion of which he was cautious even to timidity. Small things, in his eyes assumed a largeness and importance, which prevented him from seeing the far greater objects which lay beyond. Moderation, discretion, caution, honesty—all these qualities Lord Charlemont unquestionably possessed ; but he wanted decision, action, courage, and largeness of intellect, without which no man is fitted to lead in times of trouble and difficulty.

The strenuous and uncompromising resistance which Lord Charlemont offered, so long as he had the power, to the emancipation of the catholics, showed that he had no adequate comprehension of the work he had to do. Though professing himself in favour of “ a full and adequate representation of the people in parliament,” he set out by entirely cutting off the catholics, who constituted the great body of the people, from all share in the elective franchise !

Surely, this was not the man to lead the Irish nation onwards in their struggle for self-emancipation. The event proved that he was not; but as yet all failure and disaster lay hid in the dark womb of futurity.

The appointment of the Earl of Charlemont to the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteers, was followed by grand reviews, especially in the North. That held at Belfast was on a splendid scale, and got up at a great expense. The regiments appeared in the field fully accoutred with knapsacks, tents, and camp equipage. The review lasted for three successive days, and it was computed that upwards of 60,000 spectators were assembled on the occasion.

Lord Camden was present at the review of the Northern Army at Belfast; and after extolling its discipline and appearance, he turned round to one of its leaders and said—"Keep it up; keep it up; for depend upon it *England will never forgive you.*" The melancholy issue proved the truth of the venerable nobleman's prophecy.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Opening of Parliament in October 1791.—The Earl of Carlisle appointed Viceroy—Flood joins the Opposition—Defeat of the Opposition at all points—Renewed exertions of the Volunteers—Delegate Meeting held—The Convention of Dungannon—Imposing sight of their meeting—Their bold Resolutions—They are adopted throughout Ireland—Proposed means of resistance—Strength of the Volunteers—Bold policy of the Bishop of Derry (Earl of Bristol)—A cautious policy preferred by Lord Charlemont—An independent spirit again appears in Parliament—Change of Ministry in England—The Duke of Portland sent over as Lord Lieutenant—Meeting of Parliament—Great excitement throughout Dublin—The Government proposes to yield—The Royal Message—Mr. Hutchinson—Mr. Pensonby's Amendment—Mr. Grattan's splendid oration—His Amendment adopted by acclamation—Insincerity of the Government—Flood's scepticism as to their good intentions—Enthusiasm of the Irish Nation.—Deep Policy of the Government—The Duke of Portland's Letter to Mr. Fox—Renewed efforts of the Volunteers—They prepare for action—Summary of demands of the Irish Parliament—The British Ministry consent to yield—Meeting of the Irish Legislature—Conciliatory Policy of the Lord Lieutenant—His Speech on opening Parliament—Enthusiastic Gratitude of the Members—Mr. Grattan's Speech on moving the Address—Objections of Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Walsh—Overruled by the House, and the Address is carried by acclamation—Grant of £50,000 to Mr. Grattan—Mr. Bagenal's Speech—Gratitude of the Irish Nation—Bills to Repeal the Act 6 George I., &c., carried—The Incompleteness of the Revolution—Position of the Catholics—The Nature and Extent of the Political Changes of 1782.

PARLIAMENT again opened on the 9th of October, 1791, with a new Viceroy and a new Secretary,—the Earl of Carlisle and Mr. Eden. As Lord Buckingham had been recalled for his lenity to

The Irish patriots, a more vigorous resistance was of course to be expected from the minister appointed in his stead. Accordingly, the session commenced with the most vigorous resistance to all popular measures. The ministerial majority negatived every resolution for a declaration of rights, and every motion for giving Ireland the full benefit of the British Constitution. The violence and corruption of the government again bore down all opposition; the press was bribed to write against the public liberties; and parliament was bought, coerced, and intimidated into the support of the government measures.

Mr. Flood had by this time abandoned the government, and resigned his situation as Vice-Treasurer. He was now on the side of the patriots, fighting up the great popular questions of the day, with very small minorities. So soon as Flood left the ministry, they dismissed him from his seat at the council board, at which he was justly indignant,—declaring in parliament, that “he was dismissed from his office for his parliamentary conduct,—not by his sovereign, but by men who had disgraced his councils.”

All the measures proposed by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, during this session, were defeated. Their resolutions in reference to the Mutiny Bill, to Poyning’s law, and the dependence of Ireland on the English parliament, to the trade of Ireland with Portugal, (where the linen manufactures of Irish merchants had been seized, it was supposed by the connivance of the English government),—their resolutions on these subjects were all rejected. The only measures of public benefit, which were allowed to pass the house during the session, were the Habeas Corpus Bill, and the Roman Catholic Bill introduced by Mr. Gardiner, for restoring to the Catholics the enjoyment of property, the free exercise of their religion, education, marriage, and self-defence. The latter bill, however, did not pass into a law until after the dissolution of the Carlisle ministry, and the recovery of the independence of the Irish constitution.

Meanwhile, the Volunteers were not idle out of doors. They held meetings, discussed their grievances, and resolved, having the power in their hands, to redress them. Parliament had refused to grant a Declaration of Rights; the Volunteers were determined to supply the defect. They perceived that so long as Ireland lay at the mercy of the English government,—so long as the judges were dependant on the crown, the army in Ireland independent of the Irish Parliament, and the Irish Parliament irresponsible to the mass of the people,—there was no security whatever for their rights and privileges.

For the purpose of collecting the opinions of the armed Volunteers on the subject of a Declaration of Rights for Ireland, delegates from all the corps were elected, and met, embodying their views in resolutions, which were afterwards published. These delegate meetings, first confined to districts, next extended them-



selves to counties, thence to provinces, until at length they embraced the entire nation.

The celebrated Convention held at Dungannon in the beginning of the year 1782, exercised a great influence upon the affairs of Ireland, and gave the tone to public opinion for some time to come. It was originated by the first Ulster regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont: the officers and delegates had met and passed resolutions declaring that they beheld with the utmost concern the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of Ireland, by the majority of those whose duty it was to establish and preserve them, and inviting every Volunteer Association in Ulster to send delegates to a central body to deliberate on the alarming state of public affairs. Dungannon was fixed as the place of meeting, which was held on the 15th of February, 1782.

The meeting of the Delegates was an imposing sight. Two hundred and forty-two men, many of whom were as remarkable for their splendid talents as for their ardent attachment to the liberties of Ireland, met on that day in the Church of Dungannon, the representatives of twenty-five thousand of their armed fellow-countrymen. They marched to the solemn place of meeting, two and two, clothed in the uniform and armed with the arms of their respective regiments. The momentous interests about which they had met, the consequences involved in the steps which they were taking, and the measures they were about to originate, invested the meeting with a character of unwonted awe and solemnity. The utmost stillness for a time pervaded the meeting, and it is said that "many of those men who were ready in a moment to shed the last drop of their blood in the cause of their country, as soldiers, were softened into tears, while contemplatingly they surveyed that assembly, in which they were about to pledge themselves to measures irrevocably committing Ireland with her sister nation,—the result of which must determine the future fate of themselves, their children, and their country."\*

The meeting deliberated from twelve o'clock till eight in the evening; and the tenor of their deliberations will be best understood from the following series of resolutions which were unanimously passed: they had been previously prepared by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Flood, and Lord Charlemont:—

"Whereas it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or give their opinion on political subjects, or the conduct of parliaments or public men;—

"Resolved unanimously,—That a citizen by learning the use of arms, does not abandon *any* of his civil rights.

"That a claim of *any* body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is *unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.*

"That the power exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under pretence of the law of Poyning, is *unconstitutional, and a grievance*.

"That the ports of this country are by *right* open to *all* foreign countries not at war with the king, and that any burthens thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are *unconstitutional, illegal, and grievances*.

"That a military bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is *unconstitutional, and a grievance*.

"That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself *unconstitutional, and a grievance*.

"That it is our *decided* and *unalterable* determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election support those only who have supported us therein, and that we will use every constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

"That as men and Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences, to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

"That four members from each county of the province of Ulster (eleven to be a quorum) be, and hereby are appointed a committee till next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province. That the said committee do appoint nine of their number to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer Associations, in the other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect."

Having passed these bold resolutions, and transacted other business connected with their meeting, the Delegates separated, leaving the country to pronounce judgment on their decisions. And the public approbation, expressed in the most emphatic manner, soon followed. The resolutions were everywhere read with avidity, and the spirit in which they were couched spread like wildfire over all Ireland. They were adopted by meetings of Volunteers, by meetings of freeholders, and by grand juries of counties. They were also adopted by delegate meetings of the Volunteers of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. At these meetings, the usurped supremacy of the English crown over

Ireland was boldly canvassed. "Poyning's Law," the parent of all Irish legislative grievances,—and the statute of George I., declaratory of the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament over Ireland,—were unanimously denounced everywhere; and resolutions were passed by the Volunteers, explicitly declaring "that no earthly authority, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had power to make laws for their country—and that they would resist, with their lives and fortunes, the execution of all British statutes, affecting to bind the independent Kingdom of Ireland."

The entire kingdom was now unanimous in the assertion of its independence; and the only question was, as to the manner of resisting the judicial and legislative authority of England. The Volunteers were not slow to perceive that the time was auspicious; for Great Britain was now in a state of unprecedented embarrassment; her army, under Cornwallis, had been made prisoners by the Americans; the enemy's fleets hovered around the British shores, and armed convoys were now deemed necessary for vessels trading between England and Ireland. There was no force in the latter country to resist the will of the Volunteers; who now comprehended the entire physical strength of Ireland.\* Even the English fleets and armies were crowded with Irishmen, who, in a period of great national fervour, could scarcely be expected to act against their own countrymen. At such a time, even bayonets are governed by principles; and physical force succumbs to the moral will and intelligence of a people.

The Volunteers were also urged to promptitude by the consideration that if advantage were not now taken of the embarrassed condition of England, they might lose all the ground they had already gained, so soon as she recovered her power and deemed herself strong enough to re-assert her dominion over Ireland. Thus stimulated, a large portion of the Volunteers prepared for at once throwing off the authority of England, and resisting it by arms if sought to be further enforced upon them. At the head of this party was the Bishop of Derry, one of the most zealous and determined champions of Irish independence. Strange to say, this champion was an Englishman, and an English Peer, of large property and fortune. He sat in the House of Lords under the title of Earl of Bristol. He was bold, enterprising, and probably ambitious; and his spirit had been fired by the ardent patriotism which everywhere existed around him. He was opposed to all temporising measures, and urged that the Volunteers should strike while the iron was hot. There was no power to resist them; and

\* The number of enrolled and armed Volunteers at the time was not less than **ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND**. They had, in addition, 200 pieces of cannon, which were served by an effective and disciplined corps. Had there been arms in the country for all who were anxious to bear them, above 400,000 effective men would have come forward. To oppose the Volunteers (in event of a collision) the government had only 6,000 regular troops. The armed physical force of Ireland may therefore with perfect truth be said to have been on the side of the popular party.

the English government would be obliged to yield to all their just demands. On the other hand, he alleged that delay would only serve to prostrate them completely at the feet of the British minister.

Timidity, caution, and policy, here stepped in to counteract the designs of the daring prelate. Lord Charlemont, the Duke of Leinster, and the other Whig leaders, were alarmed at the boldness of his views, and sought by every means to counteract them. The commanding position of these noblemen enabled them to direct the movement to suit their own views. The policy of the Bishop of Derry was by them decidedly discountenanced; and the temporising, cautious policy continued to be persevered in.

Parliament now met, and, fortified by the bold proceedings of the Volunteers, the independent members prepared to recommence their efforts with increased vigour. A more independent spirit now began to appear among even the supporters of the ministry, many of whom seemed only solicitous how they could diminish their obedience without sacrificing their connexion. Many of the country gentlemen also, roused from their apathy by the proceedings out of doors, again went over to the side of the opposition. The course of events showed that some great revolution in policy was not far off.

A change in the British ministry afforded the opportunity for pressing the affairs of Ireland on the notice of the English government. Lord North, whose policy had ended in a succession of disasters almost unparalleled in English history, was now compelled to retire from office in disgrace; in consequence of which the Marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Fox were entrusted with the formation of a ministry. The critical situation of Ireland was fully known to the new cabinet, and they were aware that the utmost promptitude was required in order to preserve that country from the throes of a revolution, which most probably would end in its entire severance from the crown of England. But, only the usual Whig policy was employed to quiet the Irish people,—namely, that hollow and profitless kind of conciliation, by which the public mind is put off with a semblance of liberty, while the real matter of grievance remains the same as before.

The first step taken was to recall the Earl of Carlisle, and appoint in his place the Duke of Portland, a discreet, moderate, and very plausible Whig nobleman. On his arrival in Ireland, he endeavoured, by interviews with the leading men among the popular party, to gain time for deliberation; but the spirit of the nation was up, and delay was pronounced impossible. As it was known that Mr. Grattan had to move a general Declaration of Rights immediately on the opening of the House of Commons, the Duke of Portland conceived his policy to be to prevent that measure, announcing it to be the intention of the British government to accede to the demands of the Irish people.

The day fixed for the opening of Parliament was the 16th of April; and public expectation was raised to the very highest pitch. The metropolis was thronged with armed Volunteers, who had arrived to attend the meeting of the province of Leinster, which was to be held on the following day. They drew up in imposing array in different parts of the city,—cavalry, infantry, and artillery were posted along the quays, on the bridges, and at all the approaches to the House of Commons. From an early hour in the morning, the streets in the neighbourhood had been filled by a promiscuous multitude of people of every class, eager for the result of the deliberation which was expected to determine the question of Irish national independence. The utmost order was, however, preserved throughout; and all, even the least intelligent of that immense crowd, seemed overwhelmed by the thought that within a few brief hours the liberties of a nation were to be decided.

The house was quite crowded by the hour of meeting, which was four o'clock. The galleries of the spacious building were filled with peers and gentlemen of influence, together with several hundreds of ladies of distinction, who deeply shared in the patriotic fervour of the time. Mr. Grattan entered the house, in company with Brownlow, Burgh, Daly, and other members, and all eyes were immediately fixed on him; for it was on his shoulders that the great burden of this national movement for freedom was now cast. A few moments of profound silence followed, which was broken by Mr. Hely Hutchinson, the Secretary of State, who rose, and in the name of the Lord Lieutenant, delivered the following important message from the King:—

“His Majesty, being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies were prevailing amongst his loyal subjects of Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, *recommended to the House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to effect such a FINAL adjustment as might give satisfaction to both kingdoms.*”\*

Mr. Hutchinson, who delivered this message, at the same time stated his determination, as a private member, to support a declaration of Irish rights and constitutional independence. He

\* This message, in which the King and Parliament of England are understood to express a desire for a FINAL adjustment of the differences between the two countries, was afterwards relied upon in the Irish Parliament, as decisive against the agitation of the question of a Union. The adjustment which took place shortly subsequent to this declaration, was understood, at least by the Irish Parliament, to be FINAL; and the measure of a Union, when afterwards proposed and carried by the corruption and power of the government, was held to be a direct infringement of that “final adjustment,” and a disgraceful breach of national faith. It is not a little singular that the same words “final adjustment” were used by the Irish Minister when the Union was proposed, in 1800, to the Irish Parliament. The settlement as to the legislative independence of Ireland, in 1782, was certainly to be considered in the light of a final adjustment, quite as much as the English Magna Charta, or the settlement at the Revolution of 1688. But a skilful and unscrupulous Minister will never be at a loss for arguments to crush liberty, when he knows that he has a preponderance of the armed physical force of the country on his side. And this was the case of the English government at the period of the Union.

observed, however, that he was not officially authorised to do more than deliver the message: accordingly, he was silent as to all details, pledging the government to none, but leaving parliament to act on the message as might seem the most advisable. Mr. George Ponsonby, after a short pause, then rose, and after indulging in a strain of eulogy towards the king, the British minister, and the Irish government, proposed a humble address, "thanking the king for his goodness and condescension, and assuring his majesty that his faithful commons would immediately proceed upon the great objects he had recommended to their consideration."

After another solemn pause, Mr. Grattan rose. The unexpected ministerial declaration had completely changed the relative position of parties. Instead of a violent opposition, there were now congratulations, and expressions of gratitude, and perfect unanimity. Still, the opportunity was a most fitting one for the bold avowal of the people's rights; and Mr. Grattan now stood before the house to plead the cause of his multitudinous clients,—the Irish nation. The speech which he delivered on the occasion was one of the most splendid ever delivered in the Irish, or any other parliament. He commenced in a strain of triumph—pronouncing Ireland now to be a free people:—

"I am now to address a free people!—Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded, until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance. I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. *Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed!* Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*"

After a full detail of Irish rights and grievances, Mr. Grattan concluded his eloquent oration, by moving, as an amendment to Mr. Ponsonby's motion—

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message to this House, delivered by his grace the Lord Lieutenant.

"To assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland.

"That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies;—to assure his Majesty

that his subjects of Ireland are a *free people*;—that the crown of Ireland is an *imperial crown*, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but, that the kingdom of Ireland is a *distinct* kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the *sole* legislature thereof;—that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the *King, Lords, and Commons* of Ireland, nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure his Majesty, that we humbly conceive, that in this *right* the very essence of our liberties exists,—a right which we, on the part of the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and WHICH WE CANNOT YIELD BUT WITH OUR LIVES.”

The burst of enthusiasm which followed the delivery of the speech and the movement of the amendment, was tremendous. The House was completely carried away by the conciliatory message of the government, and the eloquent response of Grattan. The amendment was at once seconded by Mr. Brownlow, a county member of great property and influence. Mr. George Ponsonby again rose, and, on the part of the Lord Lieutenant stated, that his Lordship “wished to do every thing in his power for the satisfaction of the nation, and he knew that the noble Duke would not lose one moment in forwarding this remonstrance of Parliament to the Throne, and he would use his utmost influence in obtaining the *rights* of Ireland, an object on which he had *fixed his heart*.” Another loud burst of cheering followed this announcement.

Even Mr. John Fitzgibbon, who, as Earl of Clare, afterwards proved himself the inveterate enemy of Irish liberty,—even he was now carried away by the stream of patriotism, and declared himself the warmest advocate of the rights of his country. “As I was cautious in committing,” said he, “so am I now firm in asserting the rights of my country. My declaration, therefore, is, that as the nation has determined to obtain the restoration of her liberties, it behoves every man in Ireland to **STAND FIRM!**”

Alas! the lapse of time proved that there was no sincerity in all these fine professions of the officials of government; and that they were merely employed to deceive and dupe the zealous and honest-minded patriots of Ireland. The duke of Portland's regard for the rights of Ireland, on which he had “set his heart,” induced the very same noble lord afterwards to aid in selling them! His declaration and promise of “a *final* adjustment” of the affairs of Ireland was seventeen years after denied by the same duke of Portland, when he asserted that “he *never* considered the independence of the Irish Parliament a final adjustment!” And as for the fiery patriot, Fitzgibbon, he was one of the first to trample on

the Irish constitution when he had the power, and to barter it for place, and title, and pension !

There was at least one man in that assembly who remained sceptical as to the reality of the intentions of the British government towards Ireland. Flood knew well the hollowness of sudden conversions ; and he feared that England was yielding rather to her embarrassments and fears than to her sense of justice and honour. Throughout this enthusiastic debate, the doubting Flood remained observant and silent. Subsequent events fully proved that Flood was right in his scepticism, and that the most ardent of the patriots were wrong in their credulity.

The Nation followed in the wake of the Parliament. In an incredibly short space of time, the intelligence of the popular triumph in the House spread over the entire city, and soon throughout the whole land. The exultation was universal. The nation pledged itself in public meetings everywhere held, to stand by the rights of Ireland as embodied in the address, with "their lives and fortunes." Addresses of support poured into the House of Commons from all quarters ; the volunteers declaring their determination to uphold them in all their demands. In the meantime, in order to give the British ministry time to decide upon the exact measures to be proposed, the House adjourned from the 4th to the 27th of May. A general suspension of public business took place in the interval, and both Parliament and People anxiously waited for the issue.

The British ministry, favourable though they seemed to be to Irish liberty, were alarmed at the bold attitude assumed by the Irish legislature. They found it necessary, however, to submit with the best possible grace, to their declaration of independence ; but they secretly resolved to do everything in their power to thwart and counteract it. From henceforward, their object was to divide the popular party and play off their leaders against each other—to sow dissensions, to create jealousies, to awaken suspicion, to destroy confidence in public men, and to weary and sicken the people in their efforts for the emancipation of their country. In fact, the declaration of independence by the Irish Parliament was the proximate cause of the Union ; for, the British government from this moment, never relaxed in its exertions to blast and destroy the liberties of the Irish nation as distinct from those of England, until, at length, through chicanery, corruption, coercion, and fraud, the Union was finally completed.

The deep and cunning policy which the duke of Portland pursued on this occasion, may be gathered from the private and confidential note which he sent to Mr. Fox at the conclusion of the debate in the Irish Parliament ; in which he explained the necessity of acceding for a time, to the demands which they made. At the same time, he intimated "that so strong a difference of opinion appeared to exist between some gentlemen of weight, that *arrangements more*



*favourable to England might possibly be effected through their* CONTROVERSIES, although he could not venture to propose such, were they "perfectly unanimous." He stated, in conclusion, that he would omit no opportunity of *cultivating* his connection with the Earl of Charlemont, who appeared *entirely disposed to place confidence in his administration*, and to give a *proper tone* to the armed bodies over which he had the most considerable influence.\* The toils were thus already set, which were afterwards to ensnare some of the noblest spirits of Ireland, and enable the English Cabinet to recommence and carry on their operations against the liberties of the Irish people.

The hope of redress of grievances which the Irish nation now entertained, did not induce the volunteers to relax in their warlike preparations. They prepared themselves for service as diligently as if an enemy had been upon their coasts. Military reviews were almost of daily occurrence. The artillery were regularly exercised in the Phoenix Park; and marchings and counter-marchings were practised constantly, in order to inure the troops to the toils of actual service. There is not the slightest doubt that the volunteers were ready at a moment's warning, to resist the ascendancy of England by force of arms. Mr. Grattan, in a letter to Mr. Day, dated May 11th, 1782, hurriedly writes:—"I have only time to say that *if nothing is concluded before our meeting*, the 26th, we MUST PROCEED AS IF REFUSED: *protraction is inadmissible*. Mention this, as it is of the last consequence." Mr. Day, afterwards referring to the alarming position of affairs, says—"Mr. Grattan was resolved to assist *even by arms, if driven to it*, the liberties of Ireland." The people were all fully prepared, and only waited the signal of their leaders to sever at once the legislative connection between England and Ireland.

In order to set the point in dispute clearly before the mind of the reader, and in the fewest words possible, we may here state the specific demands of Ireland upon the English government at the present time. In the words of Grattan in a letter to Fox, they were—"A withdrawal of the claim of supremacy, legislation, and jurisdiction, by England; an act to comprise titles, held under British decrees or judgment, and to secure an exclusive jurisdiction†

\* "If you can bring your minds," says Lord Portland, in another private letter to Mr. Fox, "to concede largely and handsomely, I am persuaded that *you may make any use of this people, and of every thing that they are worth*, that you can wish; and, in such a moment, it will be happy for them, that the Government of England shall be in hands that will not take undue advantage of their intoxication."

† This was an afterthought of Mr. Grattan's. He introduced it in the House of Commons in a conversation; he was supported by Mr. Fitzgibbon and others; the volunteers responded to Mr. Grattan's proposal in their Address; and Mr. Grattan then, on the 16th of April submitted to the House whether it would be necessary to resolve that "that man was an enemy to his country, who would appeal to England by a writ of error." Mr. Scott, the Irish Attorney-General, admitted the principal, and made an eloquent speech in its support; and, in the most unqualified manner, declared his opinion, that Great Britain had no right whatever to bind Ireland by any law. "If," said he, "the tenure of my office is to be the supporting opinions and doctrines injurious to the undoubted rights of Ireland, I hold it to be an *infamous tenure*,"

to this realm, by Ireland; a modification of Poyning's law, and a new MUTINY BILL." The refusal of these measures would have precipitated Ireland and England into a civil war, in which the connection of the two countries would most probably have been completely rent asunder. The Machiavellian advice of Lord Portland was, however, adopted, and another policy immediately pursued.

The British Parliament, at length fully persuaded that "something must be done to tranquillize Ireland," consented to the passing of a measure, introduced by Mr. Fox, for the repeal of the Act of 6th George I. The measure received the royal assent on the 21st of June.

We revert to the proceedings of the Irish Parliament. The house again met on the 27th of May,—a day pregnant with important consequences to the people of Ireland. The Volunteers again turned out and lined the streets; the artillery, under the orders of Colonel Napper Tandy, being stationed on the quays, and commanding all the approaches to the House of Parliament.

The Duke of Portland had made good use of his time during the short recess: he had paid court to the Earl of Charlemont and the other leaders of the popular party, and completely inveigled them into his trammels. By his conduct on the preceding occasion, he had also excited a grateful confidence, which prepared the House to welcome with credulous admiration, the concessions which he had now to make on the part of the English government. In his speech from the throne he informed the House that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the cause of the discontents and jealousies, and were united in a desire to gratify every desire contained in the address; and that his Majesty had commanded him to assure them of his disposition to assent to the Acts to prevent the suppression of bills in the Privy Council of Ireland, or the alteration of them anywhere, and to limit the duration of the Mutiny Bill.

The Lord Lieutenant's speech was received with repeated cheers, and the members vied with each other in their expressions of thanks for this happy termination of a struggle for the independence of their country. Mr. Grattan, in the fulness of his heart, expressed his confidence and gratitude in the most unbounded terms. All his suspicions were laid to rest by the apparent liberality of the Minister of the Crown. His great intellect sank under the load of ministerial obligation; and, to use his own words on a future occasion, he "gave back in sheepish gratitude the whole advantage." In moving the address in reply to the speech, Mr. Grattan said—"I should desert every principle upon which I moved the former address, did I not bear testimony to the

and if the Parliament of Great Britain is determined to be the Lords of Ireland, I AM DETERMINED NOT TO BE THEIR VILLAIN IN CONTRIBUTING TO IT." This very remarkable speech of the Attorney-General finally decided the point.

candid and unqualified manner in which the address has been answered by the Lord Lieutenant's speech of this day. I understand that *Great Britain gives up, in toto, every claim to authority over Ireland.* I have not the least idea in repealing the Sixth of George the First, that Great Britain should be bound to make any declaration that she had formerly usurped a power. No—*this would be a foolish caution*,—a dishonourable condition: the nation that insists on the humiliation of another, is a foolish nation. Another fact of great magnanimity is, that everything is given up unconditionally: this must for ever remove suspicion." Mr. Grattan then suggested that £100,000 should be voted, and 20,000 men, for the support of the British navy; and he concluded by moving an address, stating that the unqualified repeal of the Act 6th George I. would furnish a perpetual pledge of mutual amity between the nations; that, gratified in this and other particulars, "no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist to disturb their tranquillity"; and that, as Great Britain had approved of their firmness, so she might rely on their affection. The motion was received with rapturous applause, and the House seemed almost unanimous in its favour.

There were, however, a few individuals of greater caution and foresight, whose judgments were not so completely led captive by the generosity of the British Minister. They perceived that Ireland had as yet no guarantee for the establishment of her liberties; and that they were sending up their song of triumph before they had taken the slightest means to secure their victory. Sir Samuel Bradstreet, the Recorder of Dublin, was the first to express his dissent from the unguarded terms of the address, and forcibly pointed out the absurdity of that portion of it which stated that "no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist to disturb their tranquillity." He showed that even though the act in question was repealed, the question as to the legislative independence of Ireland was not by any means settled. Great Britain had not renounced the right to bind Ireland by her acts; and might be prepared to re-assert her power at the earliest opportunity. Instead of all constitutional grounds of dispute being settled, none were yet settled. He referred to the recent embargo on Irish produce, and the probability of another. He stated the fact that even the oaths taken that day by the Irish Secretary were under an English law. "Were not these matters," he asked, "for constitutional enquiry, and could any man say that the consideration of them might not interrupt the harmony between the two kingdoms?"

Mr. Flood also ably pointed out the insufficiency of the repeal of the Act of George I. "Notwithstanding," he observed, "the laudable acquiescence which appeared in the renunciation of English claims, who would engage that the present administration might not at some future time change its mind? The English

House of Commons asserted a right to external legislation, and he who seconded the motion on the Irish question, did not give up that right, but as a matter of convenience and compact."

But by far the ablest exposure of the illusory character of the independence of the Irish Parliament, was made by Mr. Walsh, a courageous and clear-headed barrister :

"With regard," said he, "to the repeal of the 6th George the First, I rely on it as a lawyer, that it is inadequate to the emancipation of Ireland. This act is merely a declaratory law, it declares that England has a power to make laws to bind Ireland. What then does the repeal of this law do with respect to Ireland?—simply this, and not a jot more :—it expunges the declaration of the power from the English statute book, but it does not deny the power to make laws hereafter to bind Ireland, whenever England shall think herself in sufficient force for the purpose. I call upon the King's new Attorney-General, to rise in his place and declare whether the assumed and usurped power of England to bind Ireland, will not remain untouched and unrelinquished, though the 6th of George the First should be repealed."

"With respect to the fine-spun distinction of the English Minister, Mr. Fox, between external and internal legislation, it seems to me the most absurd position that could possibly be laid down, when applied to an independent people. See how pregnant this doctrine of Mr. Fox is with every mischief, nay with absolute destruction to this country ; the Parliament of Ireland can make laws for their internal regulation, that is, he gives us leave to tax ourselves, he permits us to take the money out of our purses for the convenience of England. But as to external legislation, there Great Britain presides ; in anything that relates to commerce, to the exportation of our produce, there Great Britain can make laws to bind Ireland." "Ireland," continued Mr. Walsh, "is independent, or she is not ; if she is independent, no power on earth can make laws to bind her externally, or internally, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland."—"I therefore again repeat it, that until England unequivocally declares, by an act of her own legislature, that she has no power to make laws to bind Ireland, the assumed and usurped power of English legislation over this country, is not relinquished."

These arguments, however, availed nothing. They were scarcely listened to with patience. The House was carried away by its enthusiasm. The members would not stop to hesitate or to doubt as to the "magnanimous conduct" of Great Britain towards Ireland. They were intoxicated with their success, and thought not of securing their victory. The dupes of a generous credulity, they carried the address proposed by Mr. Grattan, with only four dissentient voices. We have dwelt upon this subject at great length, as we believe the precipitancy of the House of Commons on this occasion, and the inadequacy of the measures now adopted

for the security of the liberties of Ireland, were in a great measure the cause of the Rebellion of 1798, and the subsequent abolition of the Irish legislature.

While the House was yet ringing with congratulations, Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal, member for the County of Carlow, rose and moved that One Hundred Thousand Pounds of the public money should be granted, to purchase an estate for Mr. Grattan, "their great deliverer," as a reward for his public services. "This great man," said Mr. Bagenal, "has *crowned the work for ever*; under his auspices the throne of freedom is fixed on a basis *so firm*, and which will always be so well supported by the influence the people must acquire under his system, that, with the help of God, there is no danger, even of Parliament itself *ever being able to shake it*; nor shall any Parliament be ever again profanely styled omnipotent." The proposal was embraced with enthusiasm; but at the request of Mr. Grattan's friends, the sum presented to him was limited to £50,000. The Lord Lieutenant, to take from the grant somewhat of its democratic complexion, made an offer to him and his heirs for ever, of the Vice-Regal residence in the Phoenix Park; but the offer was declined by the House, who saw in it only an artifice to humiliate the Parliament and deceive the people.

These proceedings of the House of Commons were hailed with the universal applause of the Irish nation, who were quite as credulous and easy to be deceived as their leaders. The voice of congratulation, joy, and confidence, was everywhere heard,—addresses to his Majesty poured in from the Volunteer Associations of Ireland,\* filled with gratitude, devotion, and ardent expressions of loyalty. Even the Roman Catholics addressed the Duke of Portland, humbly expressing their gratitude that they were "*allowed to have a home in their native land*, (how painfully abject the tone!) and hoping that his Grace would represent them to his Majesty "as a body of people capable of returning gratitude for benefits, and not unworthy of his royal protection and favour."

Bills were shortly after introduced into Parliament, to repeal the 6th of George I., which declared the supremacy of England, and the dependency of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain; to repeal the Perpetual Mutiny Bill; to secure the final judicature, the freedom of election, and the independence of the judges. These measures were all passed in haste, without debate, and without any qualification by the British Parliament. The legisla-

\* The Delegates from the Volunteers of the four provinces of Ireland assembled at Dublin, Lord Kingsborough in the chair, and resolved as follows:—

"Resolved unanimously,—That the address of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatsoever in the Parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider a repeal of the 6th of George I. by the British Parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a COMPLETE RENUNCIATION of all the claims contained in the statute, and, as such, we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory."

ture now rested from its labours; and the great Revolution of 1782 was pronounced complete.

It is unquestionable that the Revolution of 1782 conferred great temporary advantages upon Ireland; and that it was calculated, if rightly followed up, to form the commencement of a political reformation which would have ultimately raised Ireland to the highest place among civilized nations. But it was *only a beginning*; for it really completed nothing,—leaving Ireland as open as before to the attacks of her powerful and unprincipled rival. Ireland was still left subject to the dominion of a protestant oligarchy, who refused civil emancipation to the great mass of the people. The monopoly of legislation was merely transferred for a time from the government of England to the aristocracy of Ireland; who were always most bigotted in their refusal of relief to the catholic population.

The Whig Lord Charlemont was, throughout, the vehement opponent of the Catholic claims. Holding the most enlarged views of national improvement and reform, he and his protestant coadjutors nevertheless pertinaciously withheld from the catholics, who constituted about five-sixths of the population, all share in the rights and privileges of the constitution. The “patriots” saw not beyond themselves and their own interests. They were content still to keep the catholics a Slave Class, holding them to be unfit for the enjoyment of freedom. All attempts to extend to them the exercise of the elective franchise were treated with contumely and scorn. The “patriots” still persevered in maintaining a disgraceful penal code, which imposed civil and political disabilities on the great mass of the people.

Surely this was a most narrow-minded and one-sided patriotism! And surely the catholics were to be excused for hanging aloof from the armed associations which so steadily refused them justice, when they afterwards saw the government stretch forth its strong arm to strike them down for ever.

The patriots, if they really entertained the earnest desire to give liberty to all classes of their countrymen, allowed their best opportunity to pass by unimproved. England was now a defeated, discomfited, and feeble nation; while Ireland was strong, armed, and triumphant. England was unable to refuse, and even willing to concede; but the patriots rested satisfied with their nominal victory. They had no measure of Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation to propose. They thought they had secured the stability, independence, and irresponsibility, of their self-elected Corporation, the Irish House of Commons,—from which even the bulk of the protestants themselves were excluded—and they had no more to ask. Patriotism was duped; and the nation deluded itself into the belief that it was free.

Never was there a greater and more fatal mistake. The Volunteers afterwards awoke from their dreams, and found that

they had been contending merely for the interests of a *party*; and that the victory which they fondly imagined they had gained, was a victory as yet mainly for the advantage of the proprietors of parliamentary seats, and their immediate adherents and dependents. The principal change effected was in the *form* of administering the exclusive system; its *spirit* remaining precisely the same. The people had no more controul over the proceedings of their "representatives" now than before; the House still remained in the power of the British minister, the only difference being that it required the exercise of more lavish corruption to keep it under controul. For this purpose more money was required, in order to provide which the public taxation was greatly increased. At length, the government of England recovered from its alarm; and found the Irish patriots broken up and divided into small parties, fiercely assailing each other, while the great body of the catholic people, who had been excluded from all the benefits of the struggle, looked on with indifference. Perceiving that the opposition had no hold on the affections of the people, and that the cry of independence had not proceeded from the nation, the government straightway stepped in and resumed the reins of power, subjecting the nation to another course of corruption, cruelty, oppression, and galling degradation.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

Improvement and Prosperity among the People—The Irish Parliament relaxes in its efforts—Mr. Flood's motion—Mr. Grattan's virulent opposition—Parliament Prorogued—The Earl Temple appointed Lord Lieutenant—Renewed exertions of the Volunteers—The sole right to Legislate for Ireland again affirmed in the British Parliament—Alarm of the Volunteers—The Act of Renunciation passed—The Volunteers lose confidence in the Irish Parliament, and seek for a Reform—Meeting of Delegates at Lisburn—The Second Dungannon Convention—Temporizing conduct of Lord Charlemont—Meeting of the National Convention at Dublin—The Procession to the Rotunda—Lord Charlemont Elected President—The Earl of Bristol's Procession—Contrast between Lord Charlemont and the Earl of Bristol—Lord Charlemont Entrapped by the Government—Proceedings of the Convention—The Opposition obtain the Predominance—Mr. Flood's Plan of Reform adopted—The Earl of Bristol proposes Catholic Emancipation—Is opposed by Lord Charlemont, and Defeated—The Convention proceed to the House of Commons with their Bill of Reform—Mr. Flood introduces the measure—Awful scene of Uproar—The Debate—Mr. Flood's motion rejected—Dilemma of the Convention—Its Further Proceedings—Lord Charlemont Dupes and then Deserts the Delegates—Final Adjournment and Dissolution of the Convention—Mortification of the Volunteers—Progress of Dissensions—Feeble Attempt to re-introduce a Bill of Reform—Singular Conduct of Mr. Grattan—Disbandment of the Volunteers—Their Gradual Error—Dr. Madden's Opinion as to their Services.

THE people now obtained a breathing-time of repose from political

agitation, and began steadily to apply themselves to the pursuits of industry. The patriotic spirit, which influenced and quickened all classes of the people, stimulated them to improvement. They applied themselves to trade and commerce, which soon advanced with amazing strides: in a short time the import and export trade of Ireland was more than doubled; and a new race of merchants and traders was called into existence. Capital flowed into the country, and, united to the labour of the people, wealth multiplied apace. All the materials and elements of wealth were abundantly within reach, and they made noble use of them. Peace and order overspread the land from side to side; only the sounds of busy industry were to be heard. The rent of land rose; population increased; and agriculture greatly improved. Sectarian animosities ceased to poison the breath of society: catholic and protestant became united,—the former, for a time, forgot his chains, and the latter his ascendancy. Improvement in the arts kept pace with all: Dublin grew into one of the noblest capitals in the world—architecture magnificently attesting to the glory and new-born prosperity of Ireland.

While such was the spirit of the people, the House of Commons, which had so far guided and led them in their onward progress, began to display signs of hesitation, and indifference to the cause of public liberty. The old courtiers, who had been carried away by the general enthusiasm, again found themselves in their old places, by the side of the ministry; and even the more zealous and sincere among the patriotic party, confiding in the sincerity of the British government, and the sufficiency of the existing guarantees for the permanency of their constitution, relaxed in their exertions, and sunk into quietude and indifference. Mr. Flood was the first to express a doubt as to the inadequacy of the measures already enacted; arguing that the mere Repeal of the 6th George I. left Ireland still dependent upon England for its legislation, inasmuch as the measures passed by the Irish parliament could not become laws until confirmed by the English Cabinet. The suspicions of Mr. Flood were confirmed by Mr. Fox, who, in a speech delivered in the British parliament, stated that the repeal of the above statute “could not stand *alone*, but must be accompanied by a final adjustment, and by a solid basis of permanent connexion.”

Thus fortified in his doubts as to the sufficiency of the existing arrangements, Mr. Flood, on the 29th of July, moved for leave to bring in a bill “to affirm the sole executive right of the Irish parliament to make laws affecting that country, in all concerns *external* and *internal* whatsoever.” This motion gave rise to a most animated debate, Mr. Grattan heading the opposition to Mr. Flood, whom he opposed with great virulence. In the heat of the moment, Mr. Grattan even proposed the extravagant resolution “that any person who should propagate *in writing*, or *otherwise*, an *opinion* that any right whatsoever, whether external or internal, existed in



any other parliament, or *could* be *revived*, was inimical to both kingdoms." Mr. Flood severely exposed and denounced the despotic spirit on which the resolution was based, and exhibited it as "placing Ireland in a state of tyranny worse than Russia," "depriving any Irish subject of his natural liberty, either of speech or of writing," and which had no character to support it "but those of folly and of tyranny." Mr. Flood moved an adjournment of the House; but this motion, because it was Mr. Flood's, and for no other reason, was rejected by a large majority.

Mr. Grattan then moved, that leave was refused to bring in Mr. Flood's bill, "because the sole and exclusive right to legislate for Ireland in all cases whatsoever, internally and externally, had been asserted by the Parliament of Ireland, and had been *fully, finally, and irrevocably* acknowledged by the British Parliament." Mr. Flood ridiculed the resolution as the mere "innocent child of fiction and of fancy," and declared that he would willingly leave Mr. Grattan in the full enjoyment of this new production of his lively imagination." The motion then passed without further opposition. Parliament was prorogued by the Duke of Portland shortly after; and, on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl Temple was sent over to supersede him in the government of Ireland, with Mr. Grenville as his CHIEF SECRETARY.

Though the Irish Parliament was now lagging behind in the onward march of events, the people still remained staunch in the cause of Irish independence. The voice of the volunteers rose loud and clear at intervals, and echoed throughout the land in strains more rousing and inspiring even than before. The volunteers now saw, with Mr. Flood, that Ireland had no real security for her liberties, and that, if they did not follow up their success with promptitude, the fruits of all their precious labours might soon be wrested from their hands. They accordingly demanded a thorough PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, as the only means of establishing the legislative independence of Ireland on a firm basis. This question had now been publicly debated by the volunteers all over Ireland; increasing jealousy of England was generally expressed; and the course of events in the British Parliament tended greatly to encourage the belief as to its insincerity, and to revive the agitation in favour of an Independent and Reformed Parliament.

Sir George Young, the Irish Secretary, took the opportunity of opposing the BILLS or CONCESSION to Ireland, in his place in the British House of Commons, protesting against the power of passing such bills by the English Parliament, and declaiming against the power of the king himself to relinquish *the inherent right* of the British Legislature to legislate for Ireland. Lord Abingdon followed this example in the House of Lords, and, totally denying the authority of the king and the parliament of England to emancipate Ireland, he moved for leave to bring in a

declaratory bill to re-assert the sole right of England to legislate externally in the concerns of Ireland. About the same time, Lord Mansfield, the English Chief-Justice at Westminster, received and gave judgment on an appeal from the Irish Court of King's Bench, Dublin; observing, that "he knew of no law depriving the British Court of its vested jurisdiction."

These proceedings were exceedingly alarming to the Irish people. Confidence in the sincerity of the British government was now completely gone; discontent spread with great rapidity; and another crisis seemed near at hand. The volunteers beat to arms, and paraded about 120,000 strong. Open resistance was now proposed, and would most probably have been acted upon, had not the British government again marked its designs under an appearance of conciliation, and, without waiting for remonstrances from Ireland, passed a Bill unequivocally and explicitly renouncing all *future* right to legislate for Ireland.\* This measure was passed into a law almost without debate, and with very little observation by the public,—though it amounted to a renunciation "for ever," of the legislative power which England had exercised for centuries over the external and internal concerns of Ireland.

The truth of Mr. Flood's argument was now publicly recognised, inasmuch as it had been acted on by the British legislature itself. But the new act failed to satisfy the Irish people; for, though they had escaped the legislative dominion of England, they were still in subjection to their own corrupt Parliament, in which they had now lost all confidence. They perceived that as yet they had no real guarantee for their liberties; for, so long as Parliament itself was corrupt, and irresponsible to the Irish people themselves, they had no security against the future encroachments of despotic power. Parliament might at any time relapse into its former subserviency and degradation; and if the government chose unscrupulously to employ the means of corruption, the independence of the Irish legislature might be reduced to a mere empty sound.

These, and similar considerations, gradually led the Irish Volunteers onwards in the direction of Constitutional Reform. They were encouraged in their designs by the English Reformers of the same period, headed by the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and other distinguished men of great influence in the country, who had proposed and promulgated their plans for a more equal representation of the people in Parliament. The first decided step was taken by the Ulster Volunteers, who, on this, as on other occasions, generally took the lead. On the 1st of July, 1783, at

\* This Bill enacted "that the said rights claimed by the people of Ireland, to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that kingdom, in *all cases whatsoever*, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in His Majesty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be ESTABLISHED and ASCERTAINED FOR EVER, and shall at NO TIME HEREAFTER, BE QUESTIONED OR QUESTIONABLE."

the meeting of Volunteer Delegates, at Lisburn, an address was issued to the Ulster army, on Parliamentary Reform, signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman\* and others, calling on them to assemble in the same spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and firmness which had actuated them on the occasion of the famous Dungannon Convention in 1782, and "to deliberate on the most constitutional means of procuring a more equal representation of the people in the Parliament of Ireland."

It was at length resolved to hold a second Convention at Dungannon, similar to that of the previous year, to consider the question of Parliamentary Reform, and decide as to the means of obtaining it. Colonel Robert Stewart, (subsequently Lord Castle-reagh) occupied the chair at this important meeting, the delegates present representing not less than 18,000 armed men. The meeting passed a series of resolutions, declaring the corrupt state of the Irish House of Commons,† and the means and influences through which its members were elected. A committee of correspondence was appointed, to collect information, and to correspond with the influential men throughout the kingdom on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. It was also agreed to select five persons to represent each county in a National Convention of Delegates, to be held in Dublin on the 10th of November following. One of the first acts of the corresponding committee was, to apply to Lord Charlemont for his opinion on the subject of their deliberations. The reply of his lordship was cold, evasive, and temporizing. He gave no encouragement to the proposition for a reform of parliament, merely recommending that it should be left "to the mature deliberation of parliament to decide on its necessity." The Volunteers were greatly disappointed at this reply of their leader, and it was soon followed by disastrous results. It proved the commencement of dissension, division, and strife, which ultimately proved fatal to the cause of Irish independence.

The Tenth of November—the day appointed for the meeting of the National Convention—at last arrived. Three hundred delegates, chosen from the different Volunteer corps throughout Ireland, and representatives of at least 150,000 armed men, then met within the very precincts of the houses of parliament, which were at that time engaged in their sessional deliberations. The

\* Father to Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., the patriotic member for Rochdale.

† Corrupt though the state of the English representation was at this time, it was not for a moment to be compared to that of Ireland. Many proprietors of boroughs openly sold their patronage for money, to the highest bidder; others returned members at the nomination of the Viceroy or his secretary. Out of the three hundred members composing the House of Commons, two hundred and twenty-eight were sent by different lords and gentlemen, by whom they were bound to vote as they should dictate. The remaining seventy-two were elected by exceedingly limited constituencies, belonging to one exclusive creed, who were at all times within the reach of bribery and corruption. As an instance of the shameful nature of this monopoly, we may state that the Earl of Ely nominated *nine* members to the House of Commons, the Earl of Shannon nominated *seven*, and above twenty other members of the House of Lords nominated and elected members to the House of Commons.

Delegates were, for the most part, men of influence and property ; and many of them were members of the Legislature as well as of the Convention. They were escorted to Dublin by small detachments of Volunteers from their respective counties, and were received in the metropolis with every demonstration of respect.

The opening of the Convention was a highly imposing spectacle. The meeting took place in the Rotunda,\* a noble building, forming the termination of Sackville-street, one of the finest streets in the world. A grenadier guard of honour attended on the Convention during their sittings, and was also mounted at the house of the President. Volunteer dragoons also patrolled the city, during the sittings of the Convention.

The Delegates proceeded to the Rotunda, on the morning of the eventful day of meeting, headed by Lord Charlemont, and guarded by a strong body of horse. The firing of twenty-one guns announced the commencement of the proceedings. The members walked two and two, wearing broad green ribbons across their shoulders ; they presented a strong array of the best intellect and patriotism of Ireland. The Volunteer battalions followed, in grand military array, displaying amongst their banners the national standard of Ireland, and devices and mottoes on their flags, the import of which was not to be mistaken. The chaplains, in full canonicals, accompanied each regiment. The bands of music played the Volunteer's march. One of the brigades of artillery had labels affixed to their cannons' mouths, on which were the extraordinary words, "*Oh Lord, open thou our lips, and our mouths shall sound forth thy praise.*"

The enthusiasm which prevailed on every side, while this procession was on its way, was most extraordinary. "The line of march," says an eye-witness,† "from the Exchange to the Rotunda, was through the most spacious streets and quays of the city, open on both sides to the river, and capable of containing a vastly larger assemblage of people than any part of the metropolis of England. An immense body of spectators, crowding every window and house-top, would be but an ordinary occurrence, and might be seen and described without novelty or interest, but, on this occasion, every countenance spoke zeal, every eye expressed solicitude, and every action proclaimed triumph ; green ribands and handkerchiefs were waved from every window, by the enthusiasm of its fair occupants ; crowds seemed to move on the house-tops, ribands were flung upon the Delegates as they passed ; yet it was not a loud or boisterous, but a firm enthusiasm. It was not the effervescence of a heated crowd, it was not the fiery ebullition of a glowing people, it was not sedition, it was liberty that in-

\* It was originally fixed for the Royal Exchange, but an adjournment to the Rotunda took place, in consequence of the superior accommodation afforded by the latter building.

† SIR JONAH BARRINGTON.

spired them, the heart bounded though the tongue was motionless; those who did not see, or who do not recollect that splendid day, must have the mortification of reflecting that (under all its circumstances) no man did before, and no man ever will 'behold its like again.'

"The artillery had scarcely announced the entry of the Delegates into the Rotunda, when that silent respect which had pervaded the entire population, during the procession, yielded to more lively feelings; no longer could the people restrain their joy. At first, a low murmur seemed to proceed from different quarters, which, soon increasing in its fervour, at length burst into a universal cheer of triumph, like distant thunder, gradually rolling on, till one great and continued peal burst upon the senses; the loud and incessant cheering of the people soon reverberated from street to street, contributing the whole powers of acclamation to glorify an assembly which they vainly conceived must be omnipotent: it was an acclamation, long, sincere, and unanimous, and occasionally died away, only to be renewed with redoubled energy. The vivid interest excited by this extraordinary and affecting scene can never be conceived, save by those who were present, and participated in its feelings, nor can time or age obliterate it from the memory."

The immense crowd little thought that they were then attending the funeral obsequies of Irish liberty!

The proceedings of the Convention commenced under the presidency of Lord Charlemont. This noble lord, unfavourable though he was at heart to Parliamentary Reform, (unless of the most meagre kind,) and averse to the holding of the meeting, was induced to accept the office of President in order to check rather than to advance the proceedings of the Convention in the required direction. In addition to this, he was anxious to keep the presidency from the Earl of Bristol, (Bishop of Derry) who entertained the most bold and decided views on the subjects both of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. "I had," says Lord Charlemont,\* "upon mature consideration, determined that to render the assembly *as respectable* as possible, was the next best mode to *the entire prevention of it*; and this, not only for the sake of public tranquillity, but the measure also which it meant to forward." In adopting this policy, as will be afterwards found, Lord Charlemont was making himself the mere tool of the British government.

Lord Charlemont's rival in the Convention, was the Earl of Bristol, whose character we have already briefly sketched. His procession to the Convention, on the day of its opening, was of the most extraordinary and imposing kind. He entered Dublin in state, with several carriages in his suite; he himself sat in an open landau, drawn by six beautiful horses. He was dressed in

\* HARDY'S *Life of Lord Charlemont*, vol. ii., p. 106.

purple ; his equipage was of the most splendid kind, and the liveries of his servants quite superb. He was escorted by a troop of light cavalry, raised by his nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald : they were splendidly dressed and accoutred, and mounted on the finest chargers that could be procured. He drew up his procession at the portico of the House of Lords, which was then sitting,—when his trumpets sounded, and the clangour echoed through the long corridors of the building. The members of both houses were astonished, and many of them rushed to the doors, when the Earl saluted them with great dignity, the Volunteers presented arms, the bands played the Volunteer's march, and the cavalcade then moved on, amid the acclamations of the multitude, to the Rotunda, where the noble lord took his seat as a member of the National Convention.

No two persons could have been more unlike than the Earl of Charlemont and the Earl of Bristol. The former was cautious, timid, and courtly, afraid of trespassing on the forms and established rules of aristocratic society, deferential towards his superiors in rank and station, and easily intoxicated with their praise : he was also distinguished by his extreme religious intolerance, and the resistance which he offered on all occasions to the recognition of the Catholic claims. The Earl of Bristol, on the other hand, was bold, decided, and enthusiastic in his temperament : in manners he was earnest and rapid : his honesty, as a patriot, was unquestioned, for he had nothing to gain by success, being already rich and powerful, and of the highest rank. Possessed of the chief qualities of leadership—decision, energy, skill, and great popularity, there is little doubt, that had the Earl been entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Convention, it might have attained all its objects, and effected a complete renovation of the Irish legislature.

But the Whig adherents of Lord Charlemont exerted all their influence, and secured his election to the presidency of the Convention. The Government also, alarmed at the movement in favour of parliamentary reform, which, if achieved, would completely emancipate Ireland from their control, and besides, might prove infectious in England, used all their influence to induce Lord Charlemont to assume the presidency, and thus neutralize and destroy, by division and dissensions, the effects of the deliberations of the Convention. They flattered him by the assurance that the peace of the country was in his hands, and that they had implicit confidence in his loyalty, judgment, and enlightened patriotism. The weak lord was thus led blindfold towards the point that the British ministry wished ; he surrendered himself entirely to their plans, and finally succeeded in effecting the dissolution of that body whose confidence had raised him to so commanding a position and influence among his countrymen. The conduct of Lord Charlemont on this occasion, enabled the British government afterwards

to recapture the national independence, and to effect the destruction of the Irish legislature.

The proceedings of the convention were characterized by great order and regularity. The deliberations were, almost throughout, directed to the subject of Parliamentary Reform, on which a large number of plans were proposed. From the first, the vacillating and inconstant policy of the president and his party was apparent; but an Opposition was soon formed, at the head of which were Mr. Flood and the Earl of Bristol, which soon obtained the decisive preponderance in the deliberations of the assembly. After considerable discussion, the various plans which had been proposed were referred to a sub-committee, consisting of one delegate from each city and county, with the Right Hon. Robert Stewart (afterwards Lord Castlereagh!) as chairman. After mature deliberation Mr. Flood's plan of reform was ultimately adopted.\*

At an early stage of the proceedings, the Earl of Bristol proposed a resolution in favour of the immediate and complete emancipation of the Catholics; but this proposal was at once scouted by the assembly, and particularly by the president Lord Charlemont.

\* The Report was brought up on the 21st of November, when the Chairman read the following series of resolutions, having been agreed to by the Committee:—

"That it was the unanimous opinion of the Committee, that no non-resident elector should be permitted to vote for any representative in Parliament, unless his right of voting arose from landed property of £20 per annum.

"That no elector be deemed a resident, who had not resided for six months in the year previous to the day of issuing the writ for the election, and unless that borough, town, or city, had been his usual place of residence during the period of his registry.

"That the sheriff of each county do appoint a deputy, to take the poll in each barony on the same day.

"That all depopulated places or decayed boroughs, which had hitherto returned representatives, by an extension of the franchise to the neighbouring barony be enabled to return representatives to Parliament.

"That every borough, town, or city, which hitherto had returned representatives, be deemed decayed, which did not contain 200 electors, over and above potwallopers, according to the plan for the province of Leinster; and should cease to return representatives till the aforesaid number of electors be supplied.

"That every Protestant, possessed of a freehold, shall have a right to vote for members to serve in Parliament for such city, town, or borough.

"That any bye-law made by a corporation to contract the franchise, shall be declared illegal.

"That every Protestant possessed of a leasehold, of the yearly value of £10, in any city, town, or borough, not decayed for thirty-one years or upwards, and of which ten years are unexpired, be entitled to vote; and every Protestant in any decayed city, town, or borough, having a leasehold of £5 yearly value, for thirty-one years, ten of which are unexpired, be permitted to vote.

"That every freeholder of 40s. per annum, in any decayed city, town, or borough, be entitled to vote.

"That the duration of Parliament ought not to exceed the term of three years.

"That all suffrages be given viva voce, and not by ballot.

"That any person holding a pension, except for life, or under the term of twenty-one years be incapable of sitting in Parliament; and if for life or twenty-one years, should vacate his seat but be capable of re-election.

"That any member accepting office under the crown do vacate his seat, but be capable of re-election.

"That every member, before he took his seat, should take an oath that he has not, nor any other person for him, with his knowledge or consent, given meat, drink, money, place or employment, or any consideration, for any expenses whatsoever voters may have been at for procuring votes at his election; and do further swear, that he will not suffer any person to hold any place or pension in trust for him, while he serves in Parliament.

"And, lastly, that any person convicted of perjury by a jury, relative to the above oath, be incapable of ever sitting in Parliament."

The Convention did not perceive the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty, in a question concerning "the full and adequate representation of the people in Parliament," to overlook five-sixths of the entire population, and cut them off from the exercise of all political rights. It was indeed solemnly asserted by Mr. George Ogle, that the Catholics were already satisfied with the portion of liberty allotted to them—"that they were so grateful for the great concessions already made to them, that they could not think of asking for the elective franchise!" In vain did one of the delegates present reply, that he could not think the Roman Catholics resembled the Cappadocians, who prayed for slavery,—in vain did the Earl of Bristol submit a series of resolutions passed by the general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland,\* disclaiming the contentment ascribed to them: the Convention threw the proposal overboard, and thus at once forfeited the support and confidence of the Catholic population of Ireland.

At length, on the 29th of November, Mr. Flood proposed that the convention should go down in a body to the House of Commons and demand the introduction of a *BILL OF REFORM*, founded on the resolutions which had been agreed to by the committee. The proposition was immediately agreed to, as well as another to the effect "that the Convention should not adjourn till the fate of the motion was ascertained." A great body of the members at once proceeded to the House of Commons in their military uniform; when Mr. Flood, in a speech of great force and brilliancy, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. "I ask you," said Mr. Flood, "will you receive this bill from us as your members; neither intending by anything within doors or without, to intimidate or overawe you?—I ask, will you receive it as our bill, or will you conjure up a military phantom of interposition to affright yourselves?"

The House of Commons immediately became the scene of great commotion. "I do not use any disproportionate language," says Hardy, "when I say, that the scene was almost terrific. Several of the minority, and all the delegates, who had come from the Convention, were in uniforms, and bore the aspect of stern hostility." The government, however, was prepared; and its forces were mustered in great strength to oppose the Conventionists. Many of those who had formerly belonged to the patriotic party, now trembled for their own monopoly of legislation, and again took the side of the government. Mr. Yelverton, who had formerly been an enthusiastic Volunteer, but was now the Government Attorney—

\* The following was the document submitted to the Convention by the Earl of Bristol:—

"At a meeting of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Sir P. Bellew, Bart., in the Chair, it was unanimously resolved, that the message relating to us, delivered this morning to the National Convention, was totally unknown to and unauthorised by us.

"That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind, as, by our own act to prevent the removal of our shackles.

"That we will receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the Legislature, and are thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their efforts on our behalf."



General, opposed the motion in an eloquent and forcible speech, in which he declared that "to receive a bill which originated with *an armed body*, was inconsistent with the dignity of the House, and the freedom of debate." Mr. Fitzgibbon, whose counsel to the Volunteers on a previous occasion, had been to "*stand firm*," now loaded them with invective and malignant denunciation. He described them as "armed demagogues" ready to plunge the country into anarchy and bloodshed. Mr. Curran compared these denunciations "to the ravings of a madman and an incendiary," who wished to kindle the torch of civil war and religious intolerance for his own advantage. The debate soon degenerated into uproar, menace, and violent recrimination. Abuse succeeded to argument, and clamour to the still voice of reason. "If ever a popular assembly," says Hardy,\* "wore the appearance of a wild and tumultuous ocean, it was on this occasion; at certain, and those very short intervals, there was something like a calm, when the dignity of Parliament, the necessity of supporting the Constitution, and the danger of any military assembly, were feelingly and justly expatiated on. The sad state of the representation was, with equal truth, depicted on the other side. A denial of Volunteer interference, and the necessity of amending the representation, whether Volunteers existed or not, was, in the first instance, made with very imperfect sincerity, and in the latter, with genuine candour. To this again succeeded tumult and confusion, mingled with the mad and angry voices of many who, allied to boroughs, railed at the Volunteers, like slaves, not gentlemen, and pretended to uphold the Constitution, whilst they were, in truth, appalled at the light that now began, as their terror suggested, to pervade their ancient and ambiguous property."

At length, towards morning, the tempest subsided, and a division took place, when Mr. Flood's motion was rejected by a majority of 158 to 49; 138 of the majority being placemen, on whom the bill, if passed, would have taken effect. This decision was immediately followed up by a resolution, declaring it to be "the fixed intention of the House to maintain its privileges and just rights against all encroachments whatever; and that it was then indispensably necessary to make such a declaration." A loyal address to the king was also carried, expressive of their "perfect satisfaction" with the blessings they enjoyed under his Majesty's most auspicious government, and their present happy constitution," and declaring their determination "to support the same with their lives and fortunes." This address was carried to the Lords, and immediately agreed to.

Thus fairly committed to the struggle, there was no alternative but Reform of the House of Commons on the one hand, or the destruction of the power of the Volunteers on the other. One or

\* *Life of Lord Charlemont*, vol. II., p. 136-7.

the other must yield: the Parliament had now defied and insulted the Volunteers, calumniated their intentions, and heaped odium on their name. Either they must now boldly vindicate their authority and influence, or their moral power must depart from them for ever. Lord Charlemont, the president, did not long delay in choosing his alternative. After making the Volunteer Delegates his dupes, he ended by deserting them. When the time of action came, he was overwhelmed with apprehension, and secretly determined on the death of the Convention and the dissolution of the Volunteers.

Return we now to the proceedings of the Convention, on the evening when Flood and his brother delegates had proceeded to the House of Commons to introduce their motion. After sitting for more than two hours, and receiving no intelligence from Mr. Flood, Charlemont was seized with apprehensions as to the consequences. The Volunteers became more and more impatient; still they determined to wait on, until the proceedings of the House should be brought to a close. But Lord Charlemont employed all his address to obtain an adjournment; and, after waiting till after midnight, his lordship said he had received a note from the House of Commons, which left no hopes of a speedy decision of the question. He thus induced the Convention to agree to an adjournment to the Monday following, then to decide upon ulterior measures, should their bill be rejected. The Convention adjourned,—never to meet again.

A meeting took place at Charlemont House on Sunday, when the plan of operations for the following day was resolved upon. The noble president and his friends determined to employ cunning and trickery in order to accomplish the dissolution of the Convention. The plan they employed was as follows. Lord Charlemont and a few of his friends repaired to the Rotunda, on the Monday morning, at a much earlier hour than usual, and at once proceeded to business. The meeting was expected to be a very numerous and a very interesting one, but as yet very few members had arrived. After a minute or two of gloomy taciturnity, a member rose and began to inveigh against the conduct of the House of Commons. His lordship, fearful lest the speaker might give time for the arrival of the other delegates, at once silenced him on the silly pretence that he was out of order in referring to the debates in another House—this being the rule in the House of Commons, whose example the Convention had proposed to follow! Other speakers were silenced in the same way, and then his lordship hurried on towards the conclusion of the drama. A series of formal resolutions were passed, then a loyal address to his Majesty, after which Lord Charlemont finally adjourned the Convention, and then he and his friends hurriedly left the hall.

The Convention never met again. When the great body of the members resorted to the place of meeting at the appointed hour,

they found the doors closed, the chairman withdrawn, and learned with surprise and astonishment that the Convention was dissolved, and that their general had duped, deceived, and deserted them.

The mortification and disappointment of the more ardent and sincere among the Delegates may well be conceived. They returned to their constituents with a miserable account of their delegation, and the conduct of the president. The people were mortified at the result, and bitterly denounced their betrayers. In many districts they beat to arms, paraded, and deliberated,—but their soul had fled, their bond of union was severed for ever. Gradually they fell to pieces, their leaders withdrew, the bodies were disbanded, and the famed Volunteer Associations became reduced to a mere shadow of what they had been.

For some time the Volunteers looked for aid to the more uncompromising leaders of their party—especially to the Earl of Bristol and Mr. Flood. But the tide of Dissension, the bane of Irish liberty, had now fairly set in, and swept over the land like a deluge. After a few bold and violent addresses to the Earl of Bristol, and as bold and violent addresses in return, the movement became suspended, and the liberties of Ireland again lay at the mercy of her oppressors.

Another feeble attempt was made to introduce a Reform Bill into Parliament, but altogether without success. Mr. Flood introduced the measure; Mr. Grattan languidly supported it, and it was thrown out by a large majority. The reader may ask—what has become of Mr. Grattan during all the struggles of the Convention? He was reposing on his laurels: he held aloof from all the public proceedings of the Volunteers, believing the battle of Irish freedom to be already gained. By his great energies, he had been instrumental in achieving the legislative independence of the Parliament; and then he rested from his labour, all unconscious of the dangers of leaving the liberties of the people in the keeping of an unreformed and corrupt Parliament, under the secret influence of the British ministry. Grattan awoke from his lethargy, only to find the liberties of Ireland again under the feet of its enemies.

Unquestionably, the grand error of the Volunteers and their leaders, was, their refusal to the Catholic population of those rights for which they were themselves contending. Hence, when the last blow was struck at the existence of the force, the Catholics looked on in almost total unconcern, and saw them finally suppressed without the slightest expression of disappointment or regret. The Volunteers continued for some years longer to hold reviews for the pleasure of their generals; but they gradually dwindled into insignificance, and at last were suppressed by proclamation of the government.

Thus fell an Association by whose means Ireland was raised for a time from the depths of her social and political degradation, only to undergo fresh trials and misfortunes, and to make renewed

sacrifices of life, liberty, and property. With an immense power for good, the Volunteers accomplished comparatively little; their leaders deserting them before they had secured a single position, by means of which they could afterwards establish the liberties of their countrymen.

"The services of the Volunteers," says Dr. Madden, in his admirable history of the United Irishmen, "are, on the whole, greatly exaggerated by our historians; the great wonder is, how little substantial good to Ireland was effected by a body which was capable of effecting so much. As a military national spectacle, the exhibition was, indeed, imposing, of a noble army of united citizens roused by the menace of danger to the state, and, once mustered, standing forth in defence of the independence of their country. But it is not merely the spectacle of their array, but the admirable order, conduct, and discipline of their various corps—not for a short season of political excitement, but for a period of nearly ten years—that, even at this distance of time, are with many a subject of admiration. Their admirers certainly did not exaggerate their utility as preservers of the public peace, when they asserted, at one of the last resolutions passed at the dissolution of the Convention, that, through 'their means, the laws and police of this kingdom had been better executed and maintained, than at any former period in the memory of man.' But what use did the friends and advocates of popular rights make of this powerful association of armed citizens, which paralysed the Irish government, and brought the British ministry to a frame of mind very different to that which it hitherto exhibited towards Ireland? Why, they wielded this great weapon of a nation's collected strength to obtain an illusory independence, which never could rescue the Irish Parliament from the influence of the British minister without reform, and which left the Parliament as completely in the power of the minister, through the medium of his hirelings in that House, as it had been before that shadow of parliamentary independence had been gained: the only change was in the mode of using that influence in the Parliament; the material difference was but between an open and a secret interference in its concerns. The other adjuncts to this acquisition were, a Place Bill and a Pension Bill, which had been the stock in trade of the reforming principle of the opposition for many years. No great measure of Parliamentary Reform, or Catholic Emancipation, was seriously entertained, or wrung from a reluctant, but then feeble government. The error of the leaders was, in imagining that they could retain the confidence of the Catholics, or the co-operation of that body, which constituted the great bulk of the population, while their Convention publicly decided against their admission to the exercise of the elective franchise."\*

\* MADDEN'S *United Irishmen*, vol. i., p. 58-9.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Corruptions of the English Minister—The Duke of Rutland's Administration—Debauchery of the Court—The Duke falls a victim—William Pitt resists Parliamentary Reform—His answer to the Citizens of Belfast—The Commercial Propositions—An insidious plan to re-capture Irish Independence—Reception of Pitt's Bill in the Irish House of Commons—Mr. Grattan's speech—The Bill given up—The Regency Bill—The Regency question—The Government defeated—The Lord Lieutenant censured—His threat—The Round Robin—The Delegation proceeds to London, and offers the Regency to the Prince of Wales—The Earl of Westmoreland appointed Viceroy—Rapid progress of Corruption in Parliament—Mr. Grattan vehemently denounces it—The Place Bill passed—Its important subsequent operation—Mr. Grattan again deceived—Re-appearance of the Irish Catholics—The Catholic Committee re-organized—The Aristocratic Leaders discarded—John Keogh—The Catholics petition for Emancipation—Their appeal—Organization of the Northern Dissenters—The United Irishmen—The Catholics and Dissenters fraternize—Deep Policy of the Government—They endeavour to sow Dissensions between them—Catholic Relief Bill of 1793, an unsatisfactory measure—Acts of Coercion passed by the same Parliament—Commencement of the Reign of Terror—Hopes of the people re-awakened on the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Viceroyalty—Rejoicings among the People—His patriotic measures—Is resisted by the Beresford interest, and recalled by Pitt—Fresh exasperation of the Irish people—Lord Fitzwilliam's explanation—Arrival of Lord Camden—Public Riots in Dublin—The spirit of insurrection increases.

From the moment that the Irish Parliament, backed by the armed Volunteers, succeeded in wresting from the English government the legislative independence of Ireland, the attention of the ministry was directed to the means of re-establishing their influence and mastering the new-born liberty both of parliament and people. The English ministers were now thrown upon a most extensive and demoralizing system of corruption: money was recklessly squandered in the purchase of parliamentary support: and a variety of disgraceful expedients were openly practised to preserve the British interests paramount in the senate. By such means, the revolution of 1782 was soon rendered a practical nullity, and the supremacy of the English minister was again complete.

On the dismissal of the Coalition ministry and the accession of Mr. Pitt to office, the gay and dissipated young Duke of Rutland was sent over to Ireland to govern it, like Lord Townshend, by means of corruption and profligacy. The court became luxurious, extravagant, voluptuous, and dissipated, to an extent hitherto unprecedented. Moral purity and conjugal virtue, which have ever been the proud characteristics of the Irish nation, became grievously tainted during this period of ministerial gaiety and corruption. The beauty of the gay duchess of Rutland became the object of more

than admiration among the Irish courtiers.\* Even "patriots" knelt at her shrine, and forgot the claims of their country. The opposition was disarmed by beauty: they were enervated by luxury. Stern politicians now fluttered like gay butterflies about the purlieus of the court. Pensions† were at the same time lavished upon the toadies of the castle; and thus amid revelry, voluptuousness, and extravagance, were the toils prepared for the liberties of Ireland.

The stoutest constitution could not long survive such a continued round of dissipation as prevailed at the castle, and the gay Duke of Rutland accordingly soon fell a victim. He was succeeded by Earl Temple, then made Marquis of Buckingham, whose first act, as viceroy, was to institute a severe scrutiny into the management of the fiscal departments at the castle. The frauds which he detected were so gross, and the peculation which he discovered was so enormous, that they could only be accounted for on the supposition that former viceroys had participated in the spoils or wilfully shut their eyes to the abuses amid which they lived. The Marquis, however, soon cooled in his zeal: he found that, like his predecessors, he could only maintain his ascendancy by means of systematic corruption, and the Augean stable of the castle was accordingly left unswept.

It was fondly anticipated by Flood and others, that William Pitt, on his accession to power, would at once proceed to carry into effect the principles of parliamentary reform, which he had for many years so strenuously advocated. Those anticipations, however, were soon doomed to be disappointed. A public meeting was held in Dublin, presided over by the High Sheriff, at which a petition to the throne was adopted, praying for parliamentary reform, and that his Majesty would resist all attempts to subvert the laws for the protection of Irish commerce: to this a prayer was added, that his Majesty would immediately cause the Parliament to be dissolved. This petition was treated with marked contempt by the Lord Lieutenant: he informed the petitioners that, in transmitting it to his Majesty, he "would not fail to convey his entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both." Not only did the Lord Lieutenant thus severely reprimand the petitioners, but he commenced criminal proceedings against the

\* General Craddock, Dennis Daley, and Sir Hercules Langrishe, (the celebrated Wit of the time) stood high on the list of her votaries.

† Godfrey Greene was often a guest of the Duke of Rutland, fond of the table, of conviviality, of joking, and of telling long stories; the latter he sometimes introduced in the House of Commons; and on one occasion he complained of the size of wine bottles, and lamented that no law was passed on the subject to make *a pint bottle contain a quart.* \* \* Some of the ministry asked for an office for Greene, and on conversing with the Lord Lieutenant, said, "But what shall I tell him you are giving it to him for? Shall I tell him it is because he voted against the Declaration of Rights?"—"No" exclaimed the Duke, "no, don't say that."—"Well, shall I tell him it is because he voted against the repeal of Poyning's Law?"—"No, damn it, don't say that."—"Well, shall I tell him it is because he voted for the Embargo?" The Duke perceiving the satire, replied, "Oh, no, tell him it is because he is a damned honest fellow!"—GRATTAN'S Life, by his Son.

High Sheriff of Dublin for presiding at the meeting, and had him sentenced to fine and imprisonment for his conduct !

About the same time, the citizens of Belfast forwarded a similar petition to Mr. Pitt, for presentation to his Majesty. The answer of Mr. Pitt destroyed all hopes entertained of him on this question; for he stated that "what was proposed in the petition, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy." It was not long before Pitt completely threw off the mask, and stood before the public in his character of a persecutor of those holding and boldly avowing the principles of parliamentary reform which he had himself so strenuously advocated.

The policy which Pitt had resolved upon adopting in reference to Irish affairs, soon displayed itself. The unsettled state of the commercial relations between England and Ireland, rendered legislation necessary on the subject, and it was accordingly proposed that a commercial treaty should be contracted between the two countries, to provide against future collision, and secure to both nations the advantages of the federal compact. Commissioners were accordingly appointed in Ireland to arrange the basis of a treaty with the English Parliament, and eleven resolutions were agreed upon, which were proposed to the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Orde, the secretary of the viceroy. These resolutions were accepted and agreed upon, after considerable discussion; and on the faith that they would be acted upon, the Parliament granted to the minister additional taxation to the amount of £140,000 sterling. They were then transmitted to England; but Mr. Pitt, instead of presenting them in their original form to the English Parliament, artfully incorporated them in a bill containing twenty propositions, which struck at the very root of the independence of the Irish Parliament, rendering it merely a kind of register of English statutes relating to commerce. By one of the clauses introduced, England was entitled to appropriate the revenue of Ireland towards fitting out and manning her navy. It was evident to the House that the measure was merely a cunningly devised plan to reconquer the independence of the Irish Parliament. Mr. Sheridan said that "Ireland, newly escaped from harsh trammels and severe discipline, was treated like a high-mettled horse, hard to catch; and the Irish secretary was sent to the field to soothe and coax him, with a sieve of provender in the one hand and a bridle in the other." Mr. Fox accused Pitt of "playing a double game with England and a double game with Ireland, and sought to juggle both nations by a train of unparalleled subtlety;" he concluded by saying that "he would not barter English commerce for Irish slavery." The House of Lords at once saw through Pitt's invidious project, and treated it as a question not of commerce, but of future union. Lord Lansdowne treated the idea of a union as a thing that was impracticable. "High-minded and jealous as were the people of Ireland,

we must first learn (said he), whether they will consent to give up their distinct empire, their parliament, and all the honours which belonged to them."

The introduction of the bill by Mr. Orde, into the Irish Parliament, on the 12th of August, 1785, was the signal for one of the most stormy debates which had occurred for several years. The opposition again gathered together its strength to resist the insidious approaches of English ascendancy. The controversy was long and furious: it continued during the whole night, until nine o'clock on the following morning, when a division took place, and the government motion was carried by the very equivocal majority of nineteen.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Grattan seems to have at length awoken from his delusion as to the "final" independence of the Irish Parliament. In 1782, he declared that the conduct of Great Britain was such as "must for ever remove suspicion;" and with unsuspecting faith, he sought no sufficient guarantee, but left the independence of Ireland at the mercy of an administration which would never rest satisfied but with its total extinction. We can imagine how the noble mind of Grattan must have suffered on this occasion, when he found that notwithstanding all his struggles, the independence of the Irish Parliament was yet to be achieved. How humiliating it must have been for Grattan to have confessed, as he did in his eloquent speech:—"The Irish parliament is now called on to determine, that it is most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in these parts. This (said he) is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man; not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations. Not to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; an extensive interdict! Not only neutral countries excluded, and God's providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation! Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint. This resembles rather an act of God than an act of the legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it but its presumption. To proposals, therefore, so little warranted by the great body of the people of England, so little expected by the people of Ireland, so heedlessly suggested by the minister, and so dangerous to whatever is dear to your interest, honour, and freedom, I answer, No!—I plead past settlements, and I insist on the faith of nations. If, three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by your example, will surrender; but if you stand firm and inexorable, you make a seasonable impression on the people of England, you give a wholesome example to your children, you afford instruction to his Majesty's ministers, and make (as the old English did, in the case of their charter) the attempt on Irish liberty its confirmation and establishment. This bill goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity: *it is an union, an incipient and a*



*creeping union; a virtual union, establishing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and reposing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union, where our parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary establishment, without any proportion of parliamentary representation.* If any body of men can still think that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire—a doctrine which I abjure, as sedition against the connexion—but, if any body of men are justified in thinking *that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, perish the Empire! live the Constitution.* If I am asked how we shall use the powers of the constitution?—I say, for Ireland, with due regard to the British nation: let us be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connexion. But when the mover of this bill asks me to surrender those powers, I am astonished at him; I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade for which we strained every nerve in 1779! that free constitution for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives at the service of the empire; but our liberties! No: we received *them* from our “Father which is in Heaven,” and we will hand them down to our children. In the mean time, we will guard our free trade and free constitution as our only real resources; they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action.”\*

Such was still the abject state of the Irish Parliament,—such was the influence of the Duke of Rutland’s corruption over it,—that 127 voted with the English ministers, and 108 against them. Mr. Flood then moved for a declaration of rights, when another division took place still less favourable to ministers. Unable to depend upon the continuance of their slender support, the bill was finally given up, and Parliament was immediately prorogued. The defeat of the English minister was celebrated by a general illumination. Resolutions against the use of English manufactures were passed at several large public meetings, and Dean Swift’s advice to “burn every thing which came from England, *except coals*,” was again generally recommended. As for Pitt, he is said to have been excessively mortified at the defeat of his bill, and to have determined, as he could not rule the Irish Parliament, that he would eventually annihilate it. This determination was shortly afterwards confirmed by the conduct of the Irish Parliament on the question of the regency bill.

The insanity of George III., as reported to Parliament in December 1789, rendered it necessary that a Regent should be appointed to govern in his stead. The Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.,) stood the nearest to the throne, and it was generally expected that he would be appointed Regent. But the Prince was at this time closely allied with the Whig party, and Mr. Pitt fore-

\* Parliamentary Debates: Dublin, 1785.

seeing that his elevation to the regency would at once be fatal to his continuance in office, used all his influence to induce the Parliaments of both kingdoms to vote an address to the Queen, calling on her to administer the affairs of the nation. The Irish legislature refused to obey the mandate of the English minister and followed the example of the English Whigs under Fox and Burke. Mr. Grattan, in the Commons, moved an address to the Prince, declaring him Regent of the kingdom of Ireland, unfettered by any restrictions whatever. The House, gratified at the opportunity of showing its "independence," set the threats of the government officials at defiance, and supported the motion by a large majority. Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, was exceedingly violent on the occasion; it was said that he had been promised the seals, if he succeeded for Mr. Pitt. On this occasion he declared that "the government of Ireland, under its present constitution, could never go on, unless they followed Great Britain *implicitly* in all regulations of imperial policy;" and "he would predict that such inadvised rashness *must ultimately lead to a union with England.*"

A motion to the same effect as that carried in the Commons, also passed the Lords by a small majority, and the address was then sent to the viceroy to be transferred to his Royal Highness. The Marquis of Buckingham peremptorily refused to transmit it; on which a deputation of two Lords and four Commoners was appointed by the two Houses of Parliament, to present the address to the Prince in person. A severe resolution of censure was then moved against the Lord Lieutenant for his unconstitutional conduct; and supplies were voted for two months only.

The viceroy endeavoured to stay the progress of resistance to his authority, by the publication of a threat that every member of the legislature who had acted with the opposition, should be deprived of his office, and otherwise visited with the severe displeasure of the government. This gave rise to the famous Round Robin, which was signed by the most influential members of both Houses, in which they pledged themselves, in a circle, to resist every attempt of the government to seduce or to intimidate them. The viceroy found that he had now lost all influence in the Irish Parliament, and he shortly after retired from office.

The delegates chosen by the Parliament now proceeded to London with their address, and were most graciously received by the Prince Regent, who expressed his gratitude for the unbounded confidence tendered to him by the people of Ireland. Before, however, he could be finally invested with the Regency of Ireland, George III. recovered from his derangement, and the delegates returned with every mark of public honour and respect. But the British minister secretly determined to punish the Irish Parliament for its contumacy. Pitt felt their resistance to his authority as a personal insult; and from that time, the project of a union seems to have been ever present to his mind.

The Earl of Westmoreland was appointed to the viceroyalty in the place of the Marquis of Buckingham. Corruption again poured in upon the Irish Parliament like a flood. The most disgraceful system of bribery and prostitution was set on foot. The representative of majesty went about, like an obscene hawker, offering by stealth his shameful merchandise. Peerages became now an article of government traffic; and the money, raised by the sale of them, was expended in bribing and corrupting the members of the lower house, and in purchasing seats for the minions of the government.\* Mr. Grattan exposed this ignominious traffic in language the most glowing and eloquent. "You may cast a veil over families," said he, "but honour, that sacred gem, you have cast into the dust." Such a minister goes before the leveller, *like sin preceding the shadow of death*, shedding her poisons, and distilling her influence, preparing the nectar she touches for mortality." The ministry, when charged with these transactions, did not attempt to deny the charge. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby offered to prove the sale of peerages at the bar of the house; but no notice was taken of the offer. In concluding his speech on the subject, Mr. Grattan used the following pointed and vehement language:—"We charge them (the ministry) publicly, in the face of the country, with making corrupt agreements for the sale of peerages; for doing which, we say that they are impeachable. We charge them with corrupt agreements for the disposal of the money arising from the sale, to purchase, for the servants of the castle, seats in the assembly of the people; for doing which, we say that they are impeachable. We charge them with committing these offences, not in one, nor in two, but in many instances; for which complication of offences we say that they are impeachable—guilty of a systematic endeavour to undermine the constitution, in violation of the laws of the land. We pledge ourselves to convict them; we dare them to go into an inquiry. We do not affect to treat them as other than public malefactors; we speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humiliating defiance. We pronounce them to be public criminals. Will they dare to deny the charge? I call upon and dare the ostensible member to rise in his place, and say, on his honour, that he does not believe such corrupt agreements have taken place. I wait for a specific answer."

No answer was given. Major Hobart, the Irish Secretary, refused to give any explanation on the subject, and thus justified the scathing denunciations of the eloquent Grattan.

Several of the measures passed during the administration of Lord Westmoreland are particularly worthy of notice, as exercising a

\* The well-known threat, or lure, held out by Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, to the refractory Opposition on the question of the Regency, is worth volumes in portraying the spirit of the times: "Half a million," he said, "or more, had been expended some years before, to break an Opposition, and the same, or a greater sum might be necessary now." Such was the 'free and independent' Parliament of Ireland!

considerable influence on the future condition of Ireland. Among the most important of these was the Place Bill, which, together with the Pension Bill, and the Responsibility Bill, was proposed by Mr. Grattan, acceded to by the viceroy, and passed into law, being considered as a triumph of the opposition over the venality of the government. Mr. Grattan was again entrapped by his generous credulity; and did not perceive that in making himself instrumental in carrying a Place bill, he was putting into the hands of a corrupt minister the means of packing the Parliament, and completely destroying its independence. By rendering it imperative on members accepting office to vacate their seats,—making no distinction between real and nominal offices,—the minister was afterwards enabled almost to form the Parliament according to his pleasure.\* In fact, there can be little doubt that it was mainly through the operation of the Place Bill that the Irish Parliament was delivered into the hands of Pitt, and that he was finally enabled to carry the union.

The Catholics of Ireland again appeared on the stage of public events, during the administration of the Earl of Westmoreland. The exclusiveness and intolerance of the Protestants during the Volunteer movement, had ended in a renewal of the ancient suspicion and distrust of the dominant party. The Catholics, however, renewed their organization; they remodelled their General Committee, and consolidated its powers, adopting the healthy principle of representation. It now contained a large number of men of property, wealth, and influence, who began to assume a bolder air, to speak in a more independent tone, and to think with greater courage, as the prospect of increased liberty, and enlarged rights and privileges, gradually opened upon them, in common with their Protestant brethren. The Catholics were now in a very different position from what they were forty years before. Many of them had acquired wealth, property, and intelligence. They had been admitted to the partial enjoyment of civil liberty, and ardently longed for further concessions. Though the Catholic aristocracy still held themselves aloof, and in many cases were as conspicuous for their oppression of their miserable tenantry as the Protestant landlords,—there were not wanting men of talent, energy, and enterprise, fitted to take the lead in the struggle for further Catholic relief and even entire emancipation.

The attempt was indeed made by the hereditary conductors of

\* Though offices of real emolument could not be so frequently vacated and transferred, as to give the minister any advantage, those of nominal value might be daily given and resigned, without observation, so that, as the House was then constituted, the minister might almost form the Commons at his pleasure.

There were four nominal offices in Ireland,—the Escheatorships of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, which are obsolete: their emoluments were 30s. per annum. By means of these offices, Lord Castlereagh packed the Parliament in 1800.

The Chiltern Hundreds in England are of the same nature; but the large number of the British Commons renders anything like packing Parliament for occasional purposes, by that means, impossible. Nor durst a British minister practice that artifice, except to a very limited extent.—*SIR JONAH BARRINGTON'S RISE AND FALL.*

the Catholic cause, so late as the year 1791, to restrain the growth of popular opinions among the Catholic body. Headed by Lord Kenmare, they undertook to present an address to the Lord Lieutenant, condemnatory of the spirit and tendency of the popular associations of the day, and leaving, with implicit loyalty, the measure of justice which it might think to be their due, entirely to the discretion of the government. But there were now bold and honest men among the Catholic body, able and willing to assert their rights, who refused to join in this loathsome servility to the court: these men, the real representatives of the popular spirit, protested against the proceedings of the Catholic lords and gentry; a separation took place, and the Catholic cause was henceforward chiefly conducted by commercial men of intelligence and spirit, having a close sympathy with the people, from which they sprung, and enjoying numerous opportunities of ascertaining the popular feelings and demands.

Among the most remarkable men of this class, was JOHN KEOGH, the Dublin merchant,—a strong and rough-souled man, but admirably fitted for the emergencies of his time! In his person he represented the strong common sense, the practical wisdom, and at the same time the ardent patriotism which then distinguished that portion of the Irish Catholic population to which he belonged. He was a man of infinite tact,—the O'Connell of his day. He possessed the rare gift of shaping men's opinions of policy according to his own, which were always distinguished for judiciousness, justness, and general fitness of application. By his unfaltering firmness, his consummate address, and his admirable judgment, he gave an impulse to the Catholic cause, which continued to gather strength with time, until it reached its perfect and final consummation.

In 1791, the Catholics resolved to petition the Irish Parliament; but they could not get a member to present their petition to the House. Four millions of subjects had not one representative! The select Committee was then called together by Keogh, who urged that the Catholic body should delegate one of their number to represent their grievances to the government. No one but himself would undertake the task; and in the strength of a just cause, he went and pleaded in behalf of his fellow-subjects. The time happened to be opportune. The French Revolution was just commencing; the British government was alarmed; probably they feared lest the example of France might prove contagious at home; and accordingly they made preparations to grant a partial relief to the Catholics. In 1792, the privileges of Catholic education were made more free, the legal profession was thrown open to Catholics, and they were permitted to intermarry with Protestants. But these were paltry and insignificant concessions; which only stimulated the Catholic committee to renewed exertions and to increased demands for redress. They next issued a spirited address,

showing forth the oppressive laws under which they still groaned, and boldly demanded redress:—

“Behold us before you,” said they,—“three millions of the people of Ireland, subjects of the same King, inhabitants of the same land, bound together by the same social contract, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown and government—yet doomed to one unqualified incapacity—to a universal civil proscription. We are excluded from the state—we are excluded from the revenues—we are excluded from every distinction, every privilege, every office, every emolument, every civil trust, every corporate right. We are excluded from the navy, from the army, from the magistracy, from the professions. We are excluded from the paladium of life, liberty, and property—the juries and inquests of our country. From what are we not excluded? We are excluded from the constitution. We most humbly and earnestly supplicate and implore Parliament to call this law of universal exclusion to a severe account; and now, at last, to demand of it upon what principle it stands, of equity, of morality, of justice, or of policy. We demand the severest scrutiny into our principles, our actions, our words, and our thoughts. Where is that people, who, like us, can offer the testimony of a hundred years’ patient submission to a code of laws, of which no man living is now an advocate, without sedition, without murmur, without complaint? Our loyalty has undergone a century of severe persecution for the sake of our religion, and we have come out of the ordeal with our religion and with our loyalty. Why, then, are we still left under the ban of our country?”

These bold and strong appeals to reason and justice produced a powerful effect throughout the country, and the ministers began to be afraid. At the same time, the Protestants of the North were assuming an alarming attitude, and were now organising themselves for the purpose of carrying a measure of Parliamentary Reform. They were forming those parish, county, and provincial committees, which were afterwards converted into companies, regiments, and brigades,—constituting that mysterious and much-dreaded body, **THE UNITED IRISHMEN**. Though the object of the Catholics was confined to civil emancipation, there was every probability that, as the government persisted in denying them justice, they would fraternize and make common cause with the United Irishmen, who were seeking to effect its overthrow. Indeed, a very intimate connexion had already begun to spring up between the leading members of the Catholic Committee and the leading directors of the Union. Both were in communication with the French government; and looked in that direction for aid in time of need. The United Irishmen sought for complete Catholic Emancipation as well as the Catholics themselves. Was there not, therefore, every probability that these powerful bodies might, in course of time, fraternize for the purpose of obtaining the same common

objects! These considerations caused great alarm in the Irish government, which was still farther augmented by the sudden appearance of the Defenders—an association of the oppressed Catholic peasantry for self-assertion and self-defence,—who, though in no ways connected with the Catholic Committee, professed the same religion, and suffered under the same grievances.

Under these circumstances, the government prepared to adopt a deep and wily policy with the Catholics. They determined to draw them off from connexion with the Protestant Reformers by large concessions of relief: they resolved to bribe them into quiet by ameliorations of the penal code,—at the same time that they endeavoured to foment dissensions between them—to play them off against each other, and, if possible, to bring them into collision with each other. The means by which the English ministry set about accomplishing these objects, were exceedingly artful. The intimation was conveyed to the heads of the principal Catholic families, through the Duchess of Buckingham, herself a Catholic, that the minister was exceedingly anxious to abrogate the penal statutes, and that government would use all its influence in their favour. Thus encouraged, the Catholics prepared and forwarded a petition to Parliament for a repeal of the penal statutes. The agents of the government took the opportunity of representing this as the first step of the Catholics towards religious supremacy, as well as towards the reclamation of the confiscated estates of their ancestors. By this means the government sought to infuriate the ascendancy against the Catholic population. The petition was at once rejected by a majority of 208 to 23. Nevertheless, a Catholic Relief Bill was introduced by Mr. O'Neill and Mr. Gardner,—which was opposed by the Protestant gentry as most dangerous to the country, and was at once rejected. Pitt, however, was resolved to humiliate the Irish Parliament, and make it contemptible even to itself. The same Catholic Relief Bill was introduced the following year, 1793, by the government; and, to the surprise of all, it passed by nearly the same majority that had so contemptuously kicked it out only a few months before! Probably, however, the success of the French republican armies in the Netherlands at this time, had no small share in these concessions of 1793.\*

By the Catholic Relief Bill of 1793, the Catholics were ad-

\* It should be recollected that these concessions were made more in fear than in friendship. The revolutionary war was about to commence—the flames of republicanism had spread far and near. It was eagerly caught up amongst the Protestant and especially among the Presbyterian population of the north of Ireland. Belfast was its warmest focus; it was the deep interest of the British Government to detach the wealth and intelligence of the Catholics of Ireland from the republican party. This policy was adopted. The Catholics were conciliated. The Catholic nobility, gentry, mercantile, and other educated classes, almost to a man, separated from the republican party. That which would otherwise have been a revolution, became only an unsuccessful rebellion. The intelligent and leading Catholics were conciliated, and Ireland was once again, by the wise policy of concession and conciliation, saved to the British crown.—O'CONNELL'S MEMOIR OF IRELAND, p. 24-5.

mitted to the exercise of the elective franchise, though they were still debarred from sitting in Parliament. The Bar was opened to them, but they were still shut out from the Bench and the higher offices of state. They were allowed, however, to exercise all the subordinate civil and military offices, and places of trust and profit under the crown. Yet these concessions, great though they were as compared with the past treatment of the Catholics, did not cause unqualified gratification. The grant was felt to be "a panic-struck capitulation,—a sacrifice of ancient monopoly, given up reluctantly to the command of a superior, and in obedience to the advancing dangers of the times." It only served to disgust Catholic and Protestant alike with the venality of the Irish legislature. There was no grace in the act; it was extorted by the minister, whom the Parliament, now thoroughly enslaved, did not dare to disobey. Even while they granted the franchise to the Catholics, they contemplated turning it to their own selfish advantage. Those who had estates peopled by Catholics, saw in the measure only the extension of their power over the consciences of their tenantry. They prepared to take possession of their votes as part of their landed property. The emancipation was one of shreds and patches, and still left the Catholics branded as an inferior caste. It is not improbable, however, that more liberal concessions would have followed, had not Pitt pushed on the rebellion, and put a stop to social progress in Ireland for many years to come.

Shortly after passing the Catholic Relief Bill, the Irish Parliament passed several coercive measures at the call of the government. One of these acts was "To prevent the election or appointment of assemblies purporting to represent the people, or any description or numbers of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, &c. &c., to the King, or either House of Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in Church or State." Another act was directed against the importation of arms and military stores; and another was passed for raising a militia. At the same time, the government was supported in all its coercive measures against the people. Trials for sedition became numerous; public meetings were dispersed by force; arbitrary fines were imposed on the editors of newspapers; and the reign of terror fairly commenced. The dragon's teeth had long been sowing, and they shortly after sprung up in the shape of armed men.

The next step in the policy of exasperation was the recall of the Earl of Westmoreland, and the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam, in 1795, to the Viceroyalty of Ireland. This amiable and liberal-minded nobleman belonged to the Whig party, and was highly respected throughout the country. He had large possessions in Ireland, and was extremely popular as being a kind and indulgent landlord. His presence in Dublin was hailed with



enthusiastic delight by all classes of the people ; and it was anticipated that such a conciliatory policy would now be adopted and persevered in as would tranquillize the country, and avert the dreaded consequences of civil rebellion. It would seem, however, that this formed, in reality, no part of the intentions of the English minister ; but that, on the other hand, his object was merely to awaken hopes which should never be realized, to sting the people into premature resistance, and thus force on the political crisis which he had so long expected. At all events, such was the actual result, whatever may have been the intended one.

Lord Fitzwilliam accepted office on the sole condition that he should have the power to grant complete emancipation to the Catholics, and to carry a Reform of the Irish House of Commons. He also stipulated for the power to dismiss from office and power all such persons as had lost the confidence of the country. He had scarcely assumed the reins of government ere he proceeded to fulfil his intentions. Bills for the emancipation of the Catholics, the reform of the police establishment, and the improved representation of the people in Parliament, were introduced, with little opposition ; and several unworthy persons were dismissed from office with ample compensation. Among these was a member of the Beresford family, who now divided among them a very large share of the public emoluments of the country. They overran every department in the state, and monopolised the whole Custom-house. The public frauds of which they were proved to be guilty were enormous. In one single instance, the public were defrauded of £60,000. In one family were found united the different lucrative situations of Commissioner of the Treasury, Commissioner of Revenue, Counsel to the Commissioners, Store-keeper, and Banker. The head of this family had a son-in-law Treasurer, and a brother-in-law Chancellor ; and he aimed now at making his brother Primate. This person was dismissed by Earl Fitzwilliam, with a compensation of £8,000 per annum,—his family retaining the places and emoluments actually in their possession. Pitt expostulated with the Viceroy on the dismissal of this person ; and perhaps it afforded a favourable opportunity for his now breaking faith with Lord Fitzwilliam.

The history of this transaction, so honourable to Lord Fitzwilliam, so disgraceful to Pitt, is found detailed in the two interesting letters of that noble lord to the Earl of Carlisle. Lord Fitzwilliam there shows that it had already been determined to effect a Union—that the peace of Ireland was to be sacrificed to attain that object—and that, as Lord Fitzwilliam almost expresses it, Beresford was preferred to him in order that rebellion might be excited. “Charged,” says he, “with the government of a distracted and discontented country, am I alone to be fettered and restrained in the choice of the persons by whom I am to be assisted ?—and, rather than indulge in that single point—even considering

it in the light of indulgence—must the people of England boldly force, I had almost said, *the certainty of driving this kingdom into a rebellion, and open another breach for ruin and destruction to break in upon us!*"

"You must make your choice," said Lord Fitzwilliam to Mr. Pitt, "between Beresford and me." Pitt did make his choice,—it was corruption; and the corruption was followed by coercion; and the coercion was followed by rebellion, bloodshed, and all the horrors and calamities that await on civil strife.

The recall of Earl Fitzwilliam was the signal for renewed discord. The people were exasperated to the highest pitch; they had now been brought into the proper state to be goaded into a rebellion. The administration of Lord Camden, who succeeded Lord Fitzwilliam, was throughout a scene of open strife. "Two desperate parties," said Mr. Grattan, "were now in arms against the Constitution. On the one side there was the camp of the rebel; on the other the camp of the minister, a greater traitor than the rebel; and the treason of the minister against the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the minister."

Public riots in Dublin signalized the entrance of Lord Camden upon his viceroyalty. The public fury first fell upon the Beresfords, the supposed cause of Lord Fitzwilliam's departure. The Chancellor was assailed by the populace, in his carriage; he was pelted with stones, one of which struck him a severe blow on the forehead. His house was attacked, and he himself escaped with the greatest difficulty. The people next attacked the Custom House, where Mr. Beresford, the commissioner, resided; and several shots were fired from the windows, by which one man was killed and several were wounded. Lord Camden himself dared not appear abroad without a strong body-guard of soldiers, who were hooted and hissed by the multitude.

From this period the spirit of insurrection rapidly increased; the plans of the United Irishmen became matured; and Mr. Pitt's scheme rapidly advanced towards completion. The Irish Parliament was now prostrate at the feet of the minister; Grattan, Ponsonby, and the rest of the opposition, had withdrawn; Ireland was fast approaching a state of anarchy; and the dogs of war were preparing, in all directions, to be let loose upon the people.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN.—Their origin.—Their objects.—Republican opinions of the Northern Irish.—The first Society formed in Belfast.—Establishment of *The Northern Star*.—The Catholics invited to join the United Irishmen.—Theobald Wolfe Tone's Appeal.—Great Convention Meetings.—Alarm of Government.—They pass the Catholic Relief Bill.—Their object to disunite Catholics from the United Irishmen.—Coercive Measures of the Government.—Arrests and Trials.—Suppression of Public Meetings.—New Organization of the United Society.—A French Agent in Ireland arrested.—The attention of the Irish people directed towards France for Aid.—Lord Edward Fitzgerald joins the United Irishmen.—Sketch of his Life and Character.—Negotiations entered into with France.—Theobald Wolfe Tone appointed Agent.—Proceeds to France.—Interview with Carnot.—His extraordinary Success.—General Hoche appointed commander of an Expedition to Ireland.—Sanguinary measures of the Irish Government.—Hoche's Expedition sets sail.—Its Fate.—Alarm throughout Ireland.—The Government perseveres in its Injustice.—The Opposition withdraw from Parliament.—Military Law proclaimed.—Atrocities of the Soldiery and Yeomanry.—The Orangemen.—The People prevented from rising by their Chiefs.—More Agents dispatched to France.—The Second French Expedition assembles in the Texel.—Its Fate.—Military Force of the United Irishmen.—The Government employ Spies and Informers.—Curran's scathing Denunciations.—Reynolds, the Informer.—Arrest of Mr. O'Connor.—Appointment of a Revolutionary Staff.—Arrest of the Directors of the United Irishmen.—New Plan of Insurrection.—Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—Captain Armstrong, the Informer.—The Kingdom declared in a state of Rebellion.—Renewed Tortures of the People.—The Outbreak.

THE society of United Irishmen sprung from the ashes of the Volunteer Associations. The Volunteers had failed to accomplish the independence of Ireland; but the lessons which they had taught sank deep into the national mind, and stimulated the people to renewed exertions in the cause of Irish freedom. Though the Whig leaders had abandoned the movement when they found that they incurred the risk of a collision with the government, other leaders arose from among the people themselves, who took up the principles they had thrown aside, and endeavoured to carry them into practical realization.

Among the principles prominently advocated by the Volunteers in their palmy days, were those of Parliamentary Reform. The same principles were advocated by all the leading reformers of the day,—by William Pitt, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Charlemont, Stewart (afterwards Lord Castlereagh), Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and their contemporaries. The published sentiments of these men exercised a powerful influence upon public opinion; and infused themselves especially into the minds of the rising generation. The military demonstrations of the Volunteers also, at the same time that they awoke the young enthusiasm of Ireland, and propagated among all ranks the feelings of independence and self-reliance, closely associated the idea of political movement with

armed organization. The examples of America and France proved also infectious; both these countries had achieved their liberties with arms in their hands; and the Irish reformers, remembering the example of the Volunteers, now proposed to effect their liberation by a grand united effort of the armed physical force of the country.

It was not, however, until after the Volunteers had been disbanded, and all hope of improvement from the corrupt Irish Parliament had disappeared, and many of the avowed reformers of 1782 had become the avowed enemies of all reform, that the Irish patriots proposed to form themselves into new associations for self-assertion and redress of grievances. About the same time, the exciting events of the French Revolution were rousing all Europe from its apathy. The deep-rooted despotism of fourteen centuries was blown to the winds, and the surrounding nations looked anxiously for the issue,—the oppressed people with hope, their governors with apprehension and alarm.

It may easily be conceived with what earnest anxiety the long-suffering people of Ireland watched the progress of the French towards freedom. A sympathy with the Revolution soon became a test whereby to distinguish the true man from the false. The nation speedily became divided into the two parties of democrats and aristocrats, and a struggle between them seemed imminent in the extreme. The principles of the Revolution were embraced with great ardour, especially by the northern Irish. These were a very different population from the inhabitants of the south, and belonged to an essentially different race—being descended from the Scotch settlers in Ulster, and inheriting all that sturdy opposition to aristocratic oppression which distinguished their ancestors. By religion, education, and habit, they were inclined to republicanism. They had little regard for persons—they abjured bishops, they cared not for kings, and vehemently resisted the oppressions of their aristocracy. Though pressed down by numerous local grievances and burdens, they could not be broken into servitude, but longed eagerly for the opportunity of asserting their rights. They were chiefly Dissenters from the Established Church, and clung to the Presbyterianism of their forefathers. They constituted nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants of Ulster, and, generally speaking, formed the most industrious and active portion of its population. It was they who composed the flower of the Volunteer army, who commenced the movement in favour of Parliamentary Reform, who were the first to stand forward in support of the principles of the French Revolution, and who now set on foot the famous Society of United Irishmen.

The first Society was formed in Belfast, in October, 1791, chiefly through the instrumentality of Theobald Wolfe Tone, a poor but gifted young barrister, then in his 28th year. Tone's object in forming this new Society may be stated in his own words:

—"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government,—to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of our political evils,—and to assert the independence of my country ;—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland,—to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of *Irishmen* in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter ; these were my means." At the first meeting of the Society, the principle of equal representation for all the people of Ireland \* was made the basis of their future operations. From Belfast, Mr. Tone, in company with his friend Russell, proceeded to Dublin, with instructions to cultivate the leaders in the popular interest, and, if possible, to form a club of United Irishmen. In a few weeks a metropolitan Society was established, the Hon. Simon Butler acting as chairman, and James Napper Tandy as secretary. The Belfast declaration and resolutions were adopted ; the club rapidly increased in numbers,—the Catholics, particularly, flocked in in crowds. Tone himself, after having thus given the Society a start, soon sunk into obscurity in it, other men, better known and of greater experience, crowding into the front of the movement.

The next step in advance was, the establishment of a public organ of communication between all parties and classes of reformers. Twelve of the more enterprising and able of the members subscribed £250 each, with which a paper was started at Belfast, called the *Northern Star*, the management of which was confided to Samuel Neilson, a leading reformer of that city. The *Evening Star* was started in Dublin shortly after, and these publications soon obtained great popularity, and a rapid and extensive sale.

The more far-seeing of the leaders of the United Irishmen were not slow to perceive that unless they could induce the great body of the Catholic population to join them, the government could mock all their efforts, and set them at utter defiance. The Catholic people, it must be kept in mind, embraced the entire peasantry of three provinces of Ireland, and a large portion of the mercantile body. It was necessary, therefore, that this mass should be roused into exertion, before the proposed measures of the United Irishmen could have the slightest chance of realization.

It had long been the policy of the government to keep the Catholics and Dissenters of Ireland disunited. So far back as the time of Swift, it had been made a matter of complaint by Primate Boulter, that the agitation against Wood's half-pence had

\* The following Resolutions were passed at the first meeting :—

"1st. That the weight of English influence in the Government of this country, is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of commerce.

"2nd. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

"3rd. That no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion."

“ had a most unhappy influence on the state of the nation, by bringing on intimacies between the Papists and the Whigs, who before had no correspondence with them.” The union of the oppressed Catholics and the oppressed Protestants was foreseen to be the downfall of the oligarchical ascendancy, and accordingly the utmost pains were taken on all occasions by the government to keep them as widely apart as possible.

The Catholics were not, like the enthusiastic northerners, disposed towards republicanism and revolution. On the other hand, they were completely hostile to any such principles. The spirit of Catholicism is averse to democracy : it inclines rather towards the feudal and monarchical. Rightly governed, the Catholics of Ireland would have proved the most loyal, orderly, peaceable, and well-affectioned of all the inhabitants of the empire. The prominent characteristic of the Catholic is *faith*,—faith in spiritual as in civil superiors ; and he never becomes a rebel unless *driven* to it. The horrid scenes of the French Revolution—the flood-tide of atheism and infidelity with which it was ushered into being, also tended strongly to repel the Catholics from any connection with the men who sympathized with such proceedings.

It was only by dint of protracted denial of justice,—it was only through long-continued oppression, persecution, misery, and want—through tyranny practised upon them in every hour and in every act of their lives—that the Catholic population, heart-sore and hungry for justice and bread, at length rose up and joined the Protestants\* and republicans of the North in their organized attempt to overthrow and destroy the government. It does not appear, however, that the United Irishmen entertained the idea of establishing a republic until coercion and tyranny had driven them far beyond the designs with which they originally set out. “ For my own part,” says Tone, in his Autobiography, “ I think it right to mention that, at this time, the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of my speculations. My object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government, to which I was led by a hatred of England, so deeply rooted in my nature that it was rather an instinct than a principle.” The same “ instinct,” the result of six hundred years of slavery, misrule, and persecution, no doubt actuated the great proportion of thinking Irishmen, of all creeds, at the same period.

With the view, at the same time, of rousing the Catholics, and of exciting the sympathy of the Dissenters in their behalf, Wolfe Tone published a pamphlet in 1791, entitled “ An argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland,” in which he endeavoured to convince the Protestants and the Catholics that they had but one

\* It is worthy of remark that the leaders of the United Irishmen, with very rare exceptions, were Protestants, and not Catholics, as has been generally imagined. Tone, Emmett, Russell, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the other prominent leaders in the civil war, were all Protestants : of the twenty state prisoners confined in Fort George, only four were Catholics.

common interest, and one common enemy; that the depression and slavery of Ireland was produced and perpetuated by the divisions existing between them; and that, consequently, to assert the independence of their country, and their own individual liberties, it was necessary to forget all former feuds, to consolidate the entire strength of the whole nation, and to form for the future but one people. In this pamphlet, Mr. Tone took particular care to demonstrate to the Protestants, that the cause of the failure of all their former efforts, and more especially of the Volunteer Convention of 1783, was the unjust neglect of the claims of their Catholic brethren. This pamphlet excited great interest, and led to the cultivation of a kindlier feeling among the Protestant and Catholic leaders. It was the means of introducing Mr. Tone to John Keogh and other Catholics of influence, and afterwards procuring for him the appointment of Secretary to the General Catholic Committee, where he was of great use in promoting the union of the leaders of the two great parties of the day.

The new organization of the Catholic body was soon after effected; the Central Committee which met in March, 1792, became a purely representative body, concentrating the opinions of about three millions of men. Shortly after, a Volunteer Convention (the last), said to represent upwards of a million of people, met at Dungannon, in February, 1793, and passed resolutions in favour of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation,—appointing, at the same time, a permanent Committee. The ministry became seriously alarmed. The Catholics and Dissenters were at last unanimous; and it was feared that the result might be the emancipation of both from the trammels of oligarchy. The French Revolution was now making rapid progress, and the success of the French armies was extraordinary. Dumourier was in Brabant, and Holland lay prostrate before him. Even London, to enthusiastic imaginations, did not appear far off. The danger was imminent, and the ministry resolved to make a virtue of necessity. In April, 1783, they passed the Catholic Relief Bill \* clogged, however, with many odious restrictions. The ministry yielded to fear, not to their sense of justice. They also sought, by means of concession to the Catholics, to crush the Protestant organization of the north, which they greatly dreaded. And the Relief Bill in some measure answered the purposes of the government; for, immediately on its enactment, the Catholic body relaxed in their exertions; the principal leaders withdrew from public agitation; and, for a time the active resistance of the Catholics to the government was suspended.

Having thus detached the Catholics from the organization, the government immediately brought all its powers to bear against

\* "Whence do all this benignity flow?" said Lord Charlemont in a letter to Mr. Hardy,—"I doubt much whether Monsieur Dumourier ever heard of a Parliamentary Reform, and yet I am almost tempted to suspect him of having some share in what is now going forward."

the reformers and republicans of the north. A law was now passed to put down conventions and assemblies of representatives of the people. On pretence of some local disturbances in the north, the government augmented the standing army, raised the militia and yeomanry, and disarmed the people by act of parliament. The gentry, magistrates, and clergy of the established church—those Swiss guards of all tyrant rulers—everywhere zealously seconded the efforts of the government. A secret committee was likewise established, with the consent of the Whig as well as Tory interest, whose operations soon equalled in cruelty and bloody violence, the worst acts of the worst secret tribunals which have ever disgraced the history of any country,—the Star-chamber of England, the Inquisition of Spain, or the Committee of Public Safety of France. The courts of justice became the instruments of torture in the hands of government. Juries were packed, in order to secure convictions; the hirelings of government were placed in the office of Sheriff; state prosecutions multiplied, and iniquitous judgments were recorded; a host of hired witnesses and informers, raked from the very dregs of society, but in the pay of the Castle, were let loose upon the people, to incite them to conspiracy, and then to live upon their conviction. Soldiers were quartered upon the supposed disaffected districts, and indulged in every kind of vice and licentiousness, violating all the laws of decorum, of honour, and of civilized society. By these and similar means, the irritation of the people was soon quickened into desperation and madness.

A number of arrests were now made, of leading members of the United Irishmen; among others, of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Simon Butler, and Oliver Bond. The first was secretary to the Dublin Society, and was arrested and brought to trial, for an address issued by the Committee, in 1792, to the Volunteers of Ireland. The trial took place in January, 1794, on which occasion the impassioned and eloquent Curran delivered one of the most splendid speeches that has been delivered in any age or country. Mr. Rowan was convicted and heavily sentenced, but he afterwards escaped to France.

On the 4th of May, 1794, the place of meeting of the United Irishmen in Dublin, the Tailors' Hall in Back Lane, was, under the sanction of one of the new coercive measures, broken into by the police, the meeting was dispersed, and their papers seized and carried away. This was the last open meeting of the Society; the members, deprived of the right of meeting and discussing public affairs, naturally passed to the next step—they became secret conspirators. The Society was entirely remodelled and reorganized. An oath of secrecy and fidelity was imposed on all the members. The original objects of the Society—Parliamentary Reform, and Catholic Emancipation, became merged in aims amounting to the establishment of a republican or purely democratic government.



"The full representation of *all* the people of Ireland" \* was now the grand object of the Association.

The new organization of the Society was complete as regarded secrecy, concert, and unanimity of action among the members. The following is a short sketch of the plan :—"In order to avoid the mixture of persons unknown to each other, it was fixed that no society should consist of more than twelve persons, and those, as nearly as possible, of the same street or neighbourhood. By each of these societies of twelve, a secretary was chosen, and the secretaries of five such societies formed a Committee, called the Lower Baronial. The next step in the scale was the Upper Baronial Committee, to constitute which ten Lower Baronials sent each a member; and above this rose again the District or County Committee, composed of one member chosen from each Upper Baronial.

Having provided, by these successive layers, as it were, of delegated authority,—each exercising a superintendence over that immediately below it,—for the organization of the several counties and populous towns, they next superadded, in each of the four provinces, a Provincial Committee, composed of two or sometimes three members elected from each of the County Committees; and, lastly, came the Executive,—the apex of the system,—which consisted of five persons, chosen in such a manner from the Provincial Committees as to leave the members of the latter in entire ignorance as to the individuals selected. Over the whole body thus organized, the Executive possessed full command, and could transmit its orders with but little risk through the whole range of the Union,—one member of the Executive communicating them to one member of the Provincial Committee, and he again to the secretary of the County Committee, who, in like manner, passed them down through the secretaries of the Baronials, and these on to the secretaries of the subordinate societies.

The facility with which it was found that this plan, though designed, at first, for a purely civil organization, could be transferred, without change of its structure, to military purposes, rendered it a doubly formidable engine in the hands that now directed it. The secretary of each society of twelve was transformed easily into

\* The following are some of the general provisions of the plan :—

"That the nation, for the purposes of representation solely, should be divided into three hundred electorates, formed by a combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

"That each electorate should return one member to Parliament.

"That every male of sound mind, who has attained the age of 21, and actually dwelt or maintained a family establishment in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election (provided his residence, or maintaining a family establishment be duly registered), should be entitled to vote for the representative of the electorate.

"That the votes of all electors should be given by voice, and not by ballot.

"That no property qualification should entitle any man to be a representative.

"That the representatives should receive a reasonable stipend for their services.

"That Parliaments should be annual.

a sergeant or corporal ; the delegate of five societies to a Lower Baronial became a captain with sixty men under his command, and the delegate of ten Lower Baronials to a County or District Committee took rank as a colonel at the head of a battalion of six hundred men.”\*

It does not appear that, at this time, the idea of soliciting foreign aid had entered seriously into the minds of the leaders of the United Irishmen. A circumstance now occurred, however, which soon turned their thoughts in that direction. A French agent, the Rev. William Jackson, having arrived in Ireland to sound the dispositions of the Irish people, was arrested by the government. He was rash and foolish to such a degree, that it was suspected he was secretly the spy of the British government. He communicated with Theobald Wolfe Tone, who, when he saw the kind of man he had to deal with, refused all further communication with him. The government, who knew of his mission from the time of his arrival from France, and had a paid spy constantly in his company, —a person named Cockayne, who had betrayed Jackson and sold his information to the government,—at length arrested him, when the unhappy man put an end to his life in prison. Though Jackson’s mission thus failed in its immediate object, it succeeded in another way : it gave publicity to the object of his visit, and announced the important fact to the people of Ireland, that the French government now had its eyes bent upon them, and that they were ready, if need required, to aid them in rending asunder the chains which bound their country to the earth. From this period the United Irishmen looked to France for help in the great revolution which they proposed to themselves to accomplish.

It was about this time that the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the government of Ireland took place, which was shortly afterwards followed by his recall,—when the cup of promise and of hope was insultingly dashed from the lips of the Irish people. Lord Camden was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and, in conjunction with Lords Carhampton, Clare, and Castlereagh, commenced a system of terror, cruelty, and persecution, which ended in driving the people to madness and goading them into open insurrection. Intoxicated by their victory over the liberal viceroy, their joy knew no bounds : they were frantic with exultation, treating the people as the mere vassals and slaves of the government.

The tyranny of the executive had the effect of greatly increasing the numbers of the United Irishmen, and driving into their ranks many men of property and influence, who now despaired of obtaining reform by any of the constitutional methods. It was not until the year 1796, that the United Irishmen found enrolled among their members the names of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O’Connor, Emmett, Macneven, and others, whose characters as patriots may

† *MOORE’S Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.*

certainly challenge a comparison with the purest and noblest to be found in history. The intimate connexion of Lord Edward Fitzgerald with the events of this period, warrant our bestowing upon his life and history a rather more particular notice than usual.

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD was a scion of the ancient and noble house of Geraldine,—a family which, for several hundred years, was most intimately connected with the political history of Ireland. He was fifth son of the Duke of Leinster—Ireland's only Duke: his mother was a daughter of the celebrated Duke of Richmond, so widely known for his bold assertion of popular rights. Lord Edward was born in October, 1763. His father died at an early age, when the Duchess married a second time, and removed with her family to the south of France, where the young Fitzgerald was mainly educated. His attention was more particularly directed to military science, in which he soon became a considerable proficient. He returned to England in 1779, and shortly afterwards, he joined the Sussex militia, of which his uncle the Duke of Richmond was colonel. This proved only a first step to soldiership, for he shortly afterwards entered the 96th foot, as lieutenant, and in the autumn of 1780, he joined the regiment in Ireland. Eager to be employed in active service, he shortly after exchanged into the 19th foot, then about to embark on foreign service. In June 1781, he landed at Charlestown, South Carolina, and soon distinguished himself as an active and enterprising officer. At the battle of Entau Springs he received a severe wound in the thigh, which left him insensible on the field. In this helpless situation he was found by a poor negro, who took the wounded man upon his back and carried him off to his hut, where he tenderly nursed him, until he was able to rejoin his regiment at Charlestown. Lord Fitzgerald took the poor negro, so well known afterwards as the "faithful Tony," into his service, and he continued devotedly attached to his noble master to the end of his career. The war against America closed with the humiliating surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York Town, when Lord Edward was transferred to St. Lucia, in the West Indies, when he was placed on the Staff of General O'Hara. Shortly afterwards, he returned to Ireland, and, a dissolution of Parliament having taken place, he was brought in by his brother the Duke of Leinster for the borough of Athy. Years passed over, in comparative inaction, during which he spent his time by turns in Ireland, England, and France. As the struggle, however, between the democratic and oligarchial interests in Ireland approached, and the friends of the popular cause banded themselves together to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power, Lord Edward's interest became greatly excited in the political occurrences of the time. From the first, he boldly took the side of the Irish party,—and his name was on all occasions to be found in the very small minority which the stock of Irish patriotism in Parliament at that time supplied. In 1787, as soon as he was released from his parliamentary duties, he made

the tour of Spain and Portugal. He returned to England, and shortly afterwards, suffering from disappointed affection, he sailed for New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, where he joined his regiment (now the 54th), and remained in America until the end of 1789. Immediately on his return to England, he sought for active employment in his profession, and, as his knowledge of the state of Spain—at that time at war with England—as well as his high military qualifications, eminently fitted him for such a service, he was promised the command of the expedition then fitting out against Cadiz. It was, however, made a condition of his investiture with the command, that he was no longer to offer his opposition to ministers in the Irish Parliament. To this, however, Lord Edward would not assent; and the consequence was, that he was at once cut off from all hopes of promotion in the military service of the crown. He returned to Ireland to resume his parliamentary duties, and was again found in the small minorities, headed by Grattan, Curran, and others, who now struggled so manfully for the liberation of their country. It was about the latter end of 1792, that the stirring events of the French Revolution attracted Lord Edward to Paris, whither the lovers of freedom from all nations now resorted, to indulge in congratulations on the downfall of despotism. There he entered with enthusiasm into the rejoicings of the period. He lodged with Thomas Paine,\* the widely celebrated author of the “Rights of Man.” Lord Edward was not satisfied with merely rejoicing with those who rejoiced. In his enthusiasm, he publicly renounced his title, at the same time with Sir Robert Smith, an English gentleman; the occasion was the celebration of the victories gained by the republican armies of France over their invaders. So soon as the intelligence of this proceeding reached England, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, together with several other officers who had offended in the same manner, were at once dismissed from the army. Lord Edward, however, had taken up his position, and had now no intention of retreating from it. Having fallen in love with the daughter of the celebrated Countess de Genlis, he married her, and returned to Dublin, where he at once plunged into all the excitement of the period. He found the Parliament assembled, and had scarcely taken his seat in it, ere he showed that he had now completely committed himself to the great struggle in which his countrymen were engaged. An armed Volunteer association, connected with the United Irishmen, bearing the name of “The First National Battalion,” had issued summonses for the meeting of their corps; on which the government immediately published a proclamation, putting a stop to the design. Notwithstanding, however, this proclamation, another and older assembly of dele-

\* “I lodge with my friend Paine,—we breakfast, dine, and sup together. The more I see of his interior, the more I like and respect him. I cannot express how kind he is to me; there is a simplicity of manner, a goodness of heart, and a strength of mind in him, that I never knew a man before possess.”—*Letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald to his mother, dated “Paris, Tuesday, October 30th, 1st year of the Republic, 1792.”*

gates of the Old Volunteer corps of Dublin, resolved to meet, to celebrate the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick and the French victory in Brabant. The government resolved to confound the remaining corps of Volunteers with the United Irishmen, and, determined to suppress both, formally applied for the sanction of Parliament, in order to render the proclamation afterwards available for the suppression of all assemblages which might be objectionable to the government. Accordingly, a motion was made in the House of Commons, on the 31st of January, for an address to the Lord Lieutenant, approving of the proclamation, and pledging the House to support such further measures as might be necessary to carry it into full effect. The discussion on the subject had almost concluded, Mr. Grattan and several others of the liberal members having given their assent to the proclamation, when Lord Edward, as if unable to contain himself, started up, and with great vehemence said—"Sir, I give my most hearty disapprobation to this address, for I do think that *the Lord Lieutenant and the majority of this House are the worst enemies the King has.*" A scene of immense confusion and uproar immediately took place. Attempts were made to compel the indignant member to apologize, but in vain. The explanation which he gave only tended to make matters worse. The subject was at length allowed to drop, but Lord Edward continued his opposition to the government, often single-handed. He especially opposed the Gunpowder Bill, a measure very much resembling the Irish Arms Bill of a recent date. In his opposition to this measure he stood almost alone, condemning, with great force, the clause imposing penalties on the removal of arms from one place to another, and pronouncing the whole Bill to be, from beginning to end, a penal law. Lord Edward also strenuously resisted the Convention Bill, and other coercive acts of the session,—but in vain. The tide of corruption rolled on; and the young patriot became dismayed and sad at the prospect. Of Mr. Grattan and the leading members of the opposition, he lost all hope. "The leaders of the opposition," says he, in a letter dated January, 1794, "are all *afraid of the people*, and distrusted by them of course..... Grattan I can make nothing of. His speech last night on the address was very bad, and contained the worst doctrine ever laid down, viz., that this country is bound, right or wrong, to support England in any war she may undertake. If there is no division on the address, I shall not go to Parliament again during the session. *It is in vain to look to that quarter for any help*; and if the people don't help themselves, why they must suffer." Lord Edward spent almost the whole of the year 1794 in retirement, at Mr. Conolly's lodge, Kildare,—dividing his time between his affectionate wife, his child, and his flowers. The letters which he addressed to his mother during this period, are brimful of tenderness and love, to an almost feminine degree. It is scarcely possible to imagine, observes his excellent biographer Moore, that this could be the same

man, "who, but a year or two after, placed himself at the head of rebel myriads, negotiated on the frontiers of France for an alliance against England, and but seldom laid down his head on his pillow at night without a prospect of being summoned thence to the scaffold or the field. The government (continues Moore) that could drive such a man into resistance—and there were hundreds equal to him in goodness, if not in heroism, so driven—is convicted by this very result alone, without any further inquiry into its history."\*

It was not until the year 1796, as we have before said, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald entered the society of the United Irishmen. It was joined, about the same time, by Arthur O'Connor, Dr. M'Neven, and many other men of virtue, ability, and influence, who now saw that the only chance for the people of Ireland was, to use Lord Edward's words, to "HELP THEMSELVES." The society was now entirely reconstructed; and it became converted into a perfect military confederation. "A republican government, and separation from England," were now the fixed objects of the leaders. It was also resolved, about the beginning of 1796, to enter into an arrangement with the French government to supply them with military aid; and an Irish agent was appointed to represent Ireland at the Republican court. This representative was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the banished secretary of the Catholic committee, who again proved his extraordinary skill and abilities in the course of his famous negotiation with the French government.

The history of this negotiation and its results reads like a chapter of romance. It has been related by Tone himself in his Autobiography, some time since published by his son—certainly one of the most fascinating books we have ever read. Tone bid a hasty adieu to Ireland in June 1795, fearing lest he might be implicated in the case of Jackson, the French agent. He had scarcely landed in America, with his wife (a noble woman), and his two children,—and proceeded to settle himself and family at Princetown, New Jersey, ere letters arrived from Ireland, from his friends Keogh, Russell, and Sinms, informing him that the public mind in Ireland was advancing rapidly towards republicanism, and pressing him in the strongest manner to fulfil the promise he had made at his departure, and to force his way to the French government, in order to supplicate their assistance. Tone immediately handed the letters to his wife and desired her opinion; and the noble woman, believing the call to be that of his country, urged him immediately to set out. He did so; and reached Havre with a small sum of money in his pocket, with not a friend in France, almost ignorant of the language, and having as his only credentials two votes of thanks of the Catholic committee, and a resolution of the Belfast Volunteers, electing him an honorary member. Yet, with honesty, earnestness, and zeal in the cause of Ireland, Tone felt of good courage, and made his way direct to Paris. There, an atom in a vast city, soli-

\* Moore's *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, vol. i., p. 225.

tary in the midst of a multitude, his vast design still bore him up. After some preliminary negotiation with one Madgetts, a government official, Tone mustered sufficient daring to present himself to Carnot, the president of the Directory. The following is Tone's own account of the interview :—

"I began the discourse by saying, in horrible French, that I had been informed he spoke English. 'A little, sir, but I perceive you speak French, and if you please, we will converse in that language.' I answered still in my jargon, that if he could have the patience to endure me, I would endeavour, and only prayed him to stop me when I did not make myself understood. I then told him that I was an Irishman ; that I had been secretary and agent to the Catholics of that country, who were about 3,000,000 of people ; that I was also in perfect possession of the sentiments of the Dissenters, who were at least 900,000, and that I wished to communicate with him on the actual state of Ireland. He stopped me here to express a doubt as to the numbers being so great as I represented. I answered a calculation had been made within these few years, grounded on the number of houses, which was ascertained for purposes of revenue ; that, by that calculation, the people of Ireland amounted to 4,100,000, and it was acknowledged to be considerably under truth. He seemed a little surprised at this, and I proceeded to state, that the sentiments of all those people were unanimous in favour of France, and eager to throw off the yoke of England. He asked me then "what they wanted." I said, "An armed force in the commencement, for a *point d'appui*, until they could organize themselves, and undoubtedly a supply of arms and some money. I added that I had already delivered in a memorial on the subject to the minister of foreign relations ; and that I was preparing another, which would explain to him, in detail, all that I knew on the subject, better than I could in conversation. He then said, "We shall see those memorials." The organizer of victory proceeded to ask me, "Were there not some strong places in Ireland ?" I answered I knew of none, but some works to defend the harbour of Cork. He stopped me here, saying, "Ay Cork ! but may it be necessary to land there ?" By which I had perceived he had been *organizing* a little already in his own mind. I answered, I thought not. That if a landing in *force* were attempted, it would be better near the capital for obvious reasons ; if with a small army, it should be in the north, rather than in the south of Ireland, for reasons which he would find in my memorials. He then asked me, "Might there not be some danger or delay in a longer navigation ?" I answered, it would not make a difference of two days, which was nothing in comparison to the advantages. I then told him that I came to France by direction and concurrence of the men, who (and here I was at a loss for a French word, with which, seeing my embarrassment, he

supplied me,) *guided* the two great parties I had mentioned. This satisfied me clearly that he attended to and understood me."

Tone at length succeeded in forcing his scheme upon the attention of the French government, and an invasion of Ireland was resolved upon. It was at first proposed to send 2,000 men; but Tone ridiculed the idea, and said "they might as well send twenty." They were then persuaded to send 8,000 men with 50,000 stand of arms.\* At length General Hoche was induced to put himself at the head of the expedition, when it was resolved to send a much larger force than even Tone had demanded. Tone's finances were now reduced to a very low state, about thirteen louis d'ors; but he was opportunely relieved from his difficulties by being appointed a *chef de brigade* in the French service, with the usual rank and emoluments.

In the meantime, in consequence of Tone's forcible representations, it was intimated to the Directory of the United Irishmen,† that the French government was disposed to assist them with military aid in their efforts to throw off the English yoke and establish a Republic. The Irish executive returned for answer, that "they accepted the offer, on condition that the French would come as *allies only*, and consent to act under the direction of the new government, as Rochambeau did in America." Many of the United Irishmen were not a little jealous of foreign influence, and feared lest their country might at some future period be exchanged with England for the boundary of the Rhine, or become, instead of a province of England, a mere appanage of France. "I, for one," said Wolfe Tone, "will never be accessory to subjecting my country to the control of France, merely to get rid of that of England." The French Directory, however, agreed to the terms proposed by the Irish leaders.

While these preparations were making for invasion and insurrection, the government proceeded in its wild career of coercion. One of the most atrocious measures passed this session was the Insurrection Act, making it death for any one to take an oath of association. Another act was passed allowing the Lord Lieutenant power to proclaim counties under military law, and granting to magistrates the power to break into the houses of the suspected, and transport them on shipboard without trial. Acts of indemnity

\* Tone's scheme of operation was—to land near Belfast, and push on immediately to take possession of Fews mountains, which cover the province of Ulster, until the native forces could be raised and armed; and, if possible, a second landing was to be made in the Bay of Galway, which army should cover itself, as soon as possible, by the Shannon, breaking down most of the bridges and fortifying the remainder. Thus, half of the nation, and that the most discontented part, would almost immediately be in the possession of the invading force. Dr. M'Nevin, in his Memoir to the French Directory, recommended as the best places for debarkation, Oyster Haven in the South, and Lough Swilley in the North of Ireland.

† The Irish Directory had not yet been fairly established. The Executive Committee of Ulster managed, at this time, the affairs of the Union. According to the new organization, the colonels of each county or ten town Baronials, representing battalions of six hundred men, sent in the names of three persons to the Directory, one of whom was appointed by it adjutant-general of the county, who communicated directly with the Executive.



for magistrates guilty of illegal proceedings—giving the Lord Lieutenant power to arrest without bail—establishing the yeomanry corps, and licensing the introduction of foreign troops—these and kindred measures were now enacted in rapid succession.

These sanguinary measures only determined the United Irishmen to persevere in their illegal undertakings. In order to settle the terms of their agreement with France, they now resolved to send over a trusty deputation to negotiate a treaty. For this purpose Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor were deputed an embassy, and they accordingly set out for France about the end of May. Mr. O'Connor alone was allowed to enter the French territory, Lord Edward's marriage to a French woman supposed to be in the interest of the Bourbons, proving an objection to his crossing the frontier. Mr. O'Connor had an interview with General Hoche, and the preliminaries of the intended invasion were then arranged.

The army assembled by Hoche for the invasion of Ireland, consisted of 15,000 men, forming the *élite* of the French army. They were supported by a strong force of artillery; a large supply of cannon was also taken, together with about 50,000 stand of arms for the insurgent population. The armament in which this powerful military force embarked, consisted of 17 sail of the line, 18 frigates, and an equal number of transports, making in all 43 sail. General Hoche had pledged himself that the expedition should set out in the course of the autumn; but owing to delays of various kinds, and especially to the want of efficient seamen, it was not till the 15th of December that the armament sailed from Brest. Tone embarked on board the *Indomptable*, of 80 guns; and, when he left the coast of France, he was in high glee. But scarcely had the armament left the shore, when a fearful storm came on, which separated the fleet; and Hoche, with seven ships of the line, was driven back to port. Thirty-five sail, however, reached the Irish coast in company. Here they encountered another tremendous gale which still further reduced the fleet to sixteen sail, including nine or ten of the line, with 6,500 troops on board. They were now in Bantry Bay, and though crippled in their force, Grouchy, the second in command, urged by the solicitations of Tone, resolved to proceed with the enterprise, and to land his troops as soon as he could reach the shore. But the wind continued to blow right ahead, the gale increased to a hurricane, and at length the ships were forced to cut their cables and put out to sea. "We have now," says Tone, in his journal, dated December the 26th,—"we have now been *six days* in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effectuate a landing; we have been dispersed four times in five days; and at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which this expedition consisted, we can muster of all sizes but fourteen. There only wants our falling in with the English to complete our destruction; and to judge of the future by the

past, there seems every probability that that will not be wanting." Tone, however, was mistaken. The battered remains of the fleet reached Brest on the first of January, 1797. They left, forty-three sail: they returned, seven sail. During the entire voyage, going and coming, they did not meet with a single English ship of war. Hoche himself, after having made an equally fruitless visit to Bantry Bay, where he could not find a single sail of his scattered fleet, returned to France cast down with disappointment. Such was the result of this extraordinary expedition, which, under more favourable circumstances, there can scarcely be a doubt, would have accomplished the conquest of Ireland with the greatest ease. The coasts were unprotected, the country was utterly defenceless, and almost the entire population were eager to rise in arms against the government. But the winds and the waves ruled otherwise, and Ireland was destined still to remain a part of the British empire.

The alarm of the government, and the excited hopes and fears of the people, while the French armament hovered about the Irish coast, may easily be conceived. The moment was one of the deepest interest to all. A change of wind for an hour would have brought a hostile army upon the Irish shores; the peasantry would have rushed to join them, and the imperial government, supported only by a disaffected army, would have ceased to rule in Ireland. Never had the country experienced an hour of greater excitement. All the disposable military force of the country was marched to the South; confusion, disorder, and want of discipline, marking the advance of the army. No rising, however, as yet took place among the people; for the intelligence of an invasion came upon the great mass of them with surprise.\* But the danger passed by; the French fleet was defeated by the elements; the excitement of the people became subdued; and the government recovered from its alarm.

There was yet time for the government to secure the tranquillity of Ireland, by granting justice to the people, and thus preserving it from the horrors of civil war. And it is to the honour of the leaders of the United Irishmen, that they exerted themselves at this juncture to effect a reconciliation between the People and the State. They now held a communication with the leading members of the Opposition in Parliament, and induced Mr. Ponsonby to bring forward a modified measure of Reform.† It was supposed

\* One of the principal causes of the alleged miscarriage of the expedition, was attributed by the Directory of the United Irishmen, to the circumstance of their being left by the French government in total ignorance of the part of the coast where the descent was to be made. Arthur O'Connor states, there are only two persons now living who have a knowledge of the place where the disembarkation was originally intended to have been effected.—MADDERN'S *United Irishmen*.

† The leading features in the proposed plan of reform are contained in the following resolutions:—

"That it is indispensably necessary to a fundamental Reform of the Representation that all disabilities, on account of religion, be for ever abolished, and that Catholics shall be admitted into the legislature, and all the great offices of state, in the same extent, &c. as Protestants now are.

that, if this measure had passed, all communication between the executive of the Union and the French government would have been at an end;—in fact, a statement to this effect was made in the Memoir delivered to the Irish government by Messrs. Emmett, O'Connor, and M'Neven. All hopes of improvement in the policy of the government, were soon doomed to be disappointed. Mr. Ponsonby's bill was rejected by the House, accompanied by aggravating circumstances on the part of ministers. Grattan took that opportunity of protesting against the whole policy of the government, and of announcing the determination of himself and friends henceforward to absent themselves from Parliament:—"Having no hopes left," he said, "to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duties, we shall trouble you no more; and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons." Grattan then, followed by Curran, Ponsonby, and the small minority which yet remained in Opposition, withdrew from the House of Commons in disgust. Parliament was soon after dissolved, and Grattan declined becoming a candidate for Dublin, or any other place. "When the country is put down," said he, in his address to his constituents, "the press destroyed, and public meetings, for the purpose of exercising the right of petition are threatened or dispersed, I agree with you that a general election is no more than an opportunity to exercise, *by permission of the army*, the solitary privilege of returning a few representatives of the people to a House occupied by *the representatives of boroughs*."

The government now proceeded in its career of persecution, with more daring recklessness than ever. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, martial law was proclaimed, inquisitorial committees were established under the name of secret committees, and every other device was employed which could torture the people into outbreak and rebellion. A licentious soldiery was let loose upon the country. They dispersed in small cantonments through the most fertile and populous districts, and, under pretence of searching for the disaffected, they committed the most dreadful depredations. The people naturally fled at their approach, and their flight was at once construed into guilt: disappointed of their victims, the soldiery laid waste, with indiscriminate fury, houses, furniture, corn, cattle, and sometimes innocent and unoffending inmates perished in the flames which enveloped their property in ruin. In this work of

"That it is the indispensable right of the people of Ireland to be fully and fairly represented in Parliament.

"That, in order that the people may be fully enabled to exercise that right, the privilege of returning members for cities, boroughs, &c. in the present form, shall cease; that each county be divided into districts, consisting of 6000 houses each, each district to return two members to Parliament.

"That all persons possessing freehold property to the amount of forty pounds per annum; all possessed of leasehold interests of the value of \_\_\_\_\_; all possessed of a house of the value of \_\_\_\_\_; all who have resided for a certain number of years in any great city or town, following a trade; and all who shall be free of any city, &c., by birth, marriage, or servitude, shall vote for members of parliament.

"That seats in parliament shall endure for \_\_\_\_\_ number of years.  
[The blanks left to be filled up at the discretion of the House.]

destruction and rapine the Protestant magistracy and Protestant clergy were above all conspicuous. Often were the men clothed in the sacred mantle of religion observed the most blood-thirsty and cruel in their inflictions on the defenceless peasantry.\* In the North the atrocious instruments of these men were the Orangemen,† composed exclusively of Protestants, and entertaining the most implacable hatred towards the Catholic population. They burned their dwellings, plundered and demolished their chapels, and broke loose upon them with the fury as of demons. Thousands of the Catholic peasantry were forcibly expelled from their homes: in the year 1794, "it was generally believed (says Plowden) that 7,000 Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh, and that the ferocious banditti who had expelled them, had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by the govern-

\* I knew a reverend divine in the vicinity of the capital, who having burnt the property of a respectable farmer in his neighbourhood, and a parishioner of his own, returned back to the scene of conflagration, and with his own hand committed to the flames two sacks of corn and meal which the unhappy mother, with the assistance of her female domestics, had secreted, to feed, in the hour of calamity, her household and unprotected children; and yet the perpetrator of this disgraceful outrage was promoted to high honours and emolument in the church—a just reward for his humanity and moral virtues."—*TRISTRANG'S Narrative of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 87.

† The famous society of Orangemen originated in the *Peep-o'-Day-Boys* factions, which sprang up about the year 1784, in the county of Armagh. They were also known by the name of "*Protestant Boys*" and "*Wreckers*"; but afterwards merged into the society of "*Orangemen*." The object of the "*Peep-o'-Day Boys*" was neither more nor less than the entire expulsion, and if possible, extirpation of the Catholic population. They were so called ("*Peep of Day*" and "*Break of Day*" boys), from visiting the houses of their Catholic victims at a very early hour in the morning to search for arms, &c., when they generally took the opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on all within doors, half-murdering them, breaking the furniture, and perhaps setting fire to the house. Mr. Christie, in his examination before the Parliamentary Committee, on Orange institutions, said that in his neighbourhood, he heard sometimes of twelve or fourteen Catholic houses being wrecked in a night, and some destroyed. All this was done by the said *Peep-o'-Day Boys* for the sake of the Protestant religion—for theirs was a great religious effort to uproot Romanism—the summary notice which they posted on the doors of their Catholic victims, being that celebrated motto of Cromwell's "*To Hell or Connaught*." The Catholics, to defend themselves from the assaults of their adversaries, associated themselves together, under the title of "*Defenders*," and their organization soon spread all over the country. Their object, at first, was simply self-protection; but as their views enlarged, they became political in their objects, and afterwards generally merged into the societies of United Irishmen. The quarrels between the *Peep-o'-Day Boys* and the *Defenders* were generally conducted with the bitterest animosity, and were, not unfrequently, accompanied with much blood-shed. One of their contests, known as the *Battle of the Diamond*, is almost as famous in the North as the *Battle of the Boyne*. It happened as follows:—Several furious skirmishes having taken place in Armagh between the Catholic and Protestant parties, and several lives having been lost, it was resolved to hold a truce for a certain period. A meeting took place at a house in the village of *Diamond*, at which a Protestant gentleman on the one hand, and a Roman Catholic clergyman on the other, bound themselves for their respective parties, that peace should be strictly preserved for a period named. A party of *Defenders*, ignorant of the fact that such a treaty had been agreed upon, fired at the gentleman on his way home, and attacked his party on the following day. Thus exasperated, both parties prepared for a resort to arms: they assembled in great numbers, well-armed and provisioned, on the hills overlooking the *Diamond*—the hostile armies fronting each other. A furious battle commenced on the 21st of September, 1795; but, fortunately, before much mischief could be done—though several lives were lost, the rival bodies were separated by the arrival of the military, who lent their murderous aid to the Protestant faction in dispersing the opposite party. It was out of this affray that the Orange societies arose. The first was formed on the same day, among some of the men who had taken part in the contest. They soon extended all over the North; and as they were found to be most useful instruments by the government, they were soon joined by the magistrates and clergy, and grew up into a most formidable organization. Their ferocious cruelty increased with their strength, until they became a terror and a scourge to all ranks of the people. One of their oaths was that of extermination to all Catholics;—and this is the association that was taken under the protection of the government, and whose members were patronized and pensioned by it for their 'services'.

ment.\* As an instance of their atrocity in another part of the country, Teeling states, that in the county of Wexford alone, thirty-two Roman Catholic chapels were burnt within a period of less than two months, while the destruction of domestic property kept full pace in proportion with the sacrilegious conflagration.† The encouragement which the government gave to these atrocious proceedings, deepened the conviction in the minds of the thinking portion of the Irish people, that the state had now entirely forfeited all claim to their allegiance, and that it was no longer their duty to obey it, but on the other hand, to offer it their sternest resistance.

Goaded by their sufferings, the people would now have risen in arms, but for the extreme caution of their chiefs. The Northern Irish could with the greatest difficulty be restrained; the Ulster men amounted to about 100,000, organized and regimented, burning for action. Disaffection had now spread amongst the Irish soldiery in the garrison of Dublin; numbers of them had been shaken in their allegiance by the United Irishmen; and a numerous body of the garrison had even offered to put the disaffected in possession of the metropolis; whilst the counties of Leinster were ready to pour in reinforcements on all sides. The Leinster leaders, however, allowed the opportunity to pass—never to return. They were afraid to show themselves until the expected succour from France had arrived, and they succeeded in restraining the Ulster Irishmen by the assurances that such a force was preparing to aid them as would put success beyond a doubt. This delay proved fatal to the cause; for the unity and strength of the party was now irretrievably injured. The Northerners, disgusted with the timidity of the Leinster leaders, and wearied out by the delays of France, began to cool in their zeal, and to relax in their exertions; the military, who had been corrupted, by degrees returned to their allegiance; while, in the meantime, the government were enabled to pour fresh troops into the country, to organize the Orange yeomanry and militia, and to complete all their means of defence in case of a rising of the people.

The executive of the Union now pressed the French government to dispatch to them their promised aid. In the Spring of 1797, they dispatched Mr. Lewins to Paris, with powers to act as their accredited minister to the French Republic, and to effect, if possible, a loan of half-a-million sterling. To hasten the preparations for an invasion, Dr. M'Neven, one of the most active members of the body, was dispatched to Paris on a special mission, in the month of June. These missions met with complete success, and the French Directory displayed every wish to promote the views of the Irish Executive. A powerful armament was prepared in the Texel, the Dutch being eager this time to secure the whole glory of the expedition, if it succeeded. The armament consisted

\* FLOWDEN'S *History*, v. ii, p. 377.

† TEELING'S *Narrative*, p. 187.

of 16 sail of the line, 10 frigates, 27 sail of transports, having on board 80 pieces of artillery, and 15,000 troops in the best condition. But the good genius of England again prevailed. Having delayed the embarkation beyond the favourable moment—namely, when England was deprived of the services of her fleet by the mutiny at the Nore, and a portion of the very squadron watching off the Texel had deserted to the mutineers,—contrary winds set in, and detained the fleet until the provisions laid in for the troops were exhausted, and it was found necessary to disembark them. In the meantime, the English fleet, whose mutiny had been quelled, assembled in great force at the mouth of the Texel, under Admiral Duncan,—when the Dutch government, in a moment of phrenzy, ordered their admiral to put to sea and bring them to an engagement. A severe battle took place off Camperdown, when the Dutch, who were inferior in the number of guns and weight of metal, were completely defeated, and the greater part of their ships were captured by the English. Thus was England again saved from the risk of destruction by the intervention of the winds, and by the infatuation and folly of those who were opposed to her.

The military force with which the Irish patriots were now prepared to support the invading armies of France and of Holland, was of the most formidable description. Making every allowance for old and inefficient members, there were not fewer than 300,000 men in connexion with the United Irishmen in 1797, who were ready to fight for the liberation of their country. The total number enrolled was 500,000.\* In the beginning of 1798, a Military Committee was appointed, for the purpose of preparing a plan of co-operation with the invaders when they landed, or, to conduct an insurrection if forced to it before they came. The head of this Committee was

\* With respect to *the entire force armed* throughout the country, as estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when a rising was eventually determined on in the month of March, 1798, the particulars are specified in a document presented by Lord Edward to that man, whose name and notoriety are never likely to be forgotten, in his own country at least—to Mr. Thomas Reynolds, the informer. The document referred to is dated 26th February, 1798.

	Armed Men.	Finances in hand.
Ulster . . . . .	110,990	£436 2 4
Munster . . . . .	100,634	147 17 2
Kildare . . . . .	10,863	110 17 7
Wicklow . . . . .	12,895	98 6 4
Dublin . . . . .	3,010	37 2 6
Dublin City . . . . .	2,177	321 17 11
Queen's County . . . . .	11,689	91 2 1
King's County . . . . .	8,600	21 11 8
Carlow . . . . .	9,414	49 2 10
Kilkenny . . . . .	624	10 2 3
Meath . . . . .	1,400	171 2 1
Total . . . . .	279,896	£1,485 4 9

By this document it would appear that the total number of armed men throughout the country, was estimated by Lord Edward at 279,896.

But from another source, and one whose authenticity is unquestionable, the writer has reason to know that Lord Edward imagined that when once he had raised the standard of revolt, 100,000 effective men might be immediately expected to rally round it.—MADDERN'S *United Irishmen*, vol. i., p. 170—1.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the members of it were the Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett,\* Bond, M'Neven, and M'Cormick. A detailed plan of insurrection was drawn up by the Directory at Dublin, and ready to be acted on at the command of the leaders; but a blow was now about to be struck at the leaders themselves, which frustrated all their designs, caused the insurrection prematurely to explode, and entailed ruin and death on tens of thousands of victims.

There is reason to believe that the government knew of every important proceeding of the United Irishmen from the commencement of their secret operations. Lord Clare acknowledged in the English House of Lords, in 1801, that "the United Irishmen who negotiated with the Irish government in 1798, had disclosed nothing which the King's ministers were not acquainted with before." Copies of the most important of the communications which passed between the United Society and the French Directory were in their possession, and spies and informers in the pay of the government, were in almost every committee, and fully acquainted with all the proceedings of the conspirators. The government also succeeded in bribing many of the confidential law agents of the United Irishmen. One of the earliest informers was Councillor Leonard M'Nally,† the professional advocate of the Dublin society, and

\* Thomas Addis Emmett was a barrister of great talent and eminence. Previous to his connection with the United Irishmen, he was occasionally engaged by them as counsel. According to the Insurrection Act, the administering or *taking* of the United Irishmen's oath was a capital offence. The following was the oath:—"I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in Parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of the chief good in Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which, every reform in Parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient to the freedom and happiness of the country." Emmett was once engaged on a case before Prime-Sergeant Fitzgerald, when a capital conviction had been obtained on a charge of administering the above oath; and he appeared for the prisoners on a motion in arrest of judgment. After slowly and emphatically reading aloud the oath, he proceeded to defend its obligations with great power of reasoning, and concluded as follows:—"My Lords, Here, in the presence of this legal court, this crowded auditory,—in the presence of that Being that sees and witnesses, and directs this judicial tribunal,—here, my Lords, I, myself, in the presence of God, declare, *I take the oath*!" He then took the book that was on the table, kissed it, and sat down. The court was struck with amazement; the prisoners received a lenient sentence; and no steps were taken against the daring barrister, who had thus publicly and solemnly taken the proscribed United Irishman's oath.—How very different from the above solemn and almost sublime oath, in its spirit and moral purity, was the celebrated Charter Toast of the Orangemen, generally drunk with the greatest applause on the night of the 1st of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. Then every man unbuttoned the knees of his breeches, and, kneeling down on his bare joints (what blasphemy!—yet this was Loyalty and Protestantism!) drank the following toast, after the dictation of the "Master":—"The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William:—not forgetting Oliver Cromwell, who assisted in redeeming us from popery, alavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes. May we never want a Williamite to kick the ..... of a Jacobite!—and a ..... for the Bishop of Cork! And he that wont drink this, whether he be priest, bishop, deacon, bellows-blower, grave-digger or any other of the fraternity of the clergy;—may a north wind blow him to the south, and a west wind blow him to the east! May he have a dark night—a lee-shore—a rank storm—and a leaky vessel, to carry him over the river Styx! May the dog Cerberus make a meal of his r—p, and Pluto a snuff-box of his skull; and may the Devil jump down his throat with a red-hot harrow, with every pin tear out a gut, and blow him with a clean carcass to h—ll! Amen!"

† M'Nally was a United Irishman, and being generally employed as the professional advocate of the class of persons of that Society who had been arrested and arraigned on the charge of

who had therefore many means of private information, which rendered him of great service to the government. Mr. M'Gucken, the solicitor of the United Irishmen in Belfast, was another regular informer, largely paid\* and afterwards pensioned by the government. Dutton, Hughes, Newell,† Armstrong, Macgwan, Bird, and many more of the same caste, belonged to that infamous horde of miscreants, arrayed in the garb of gentlemen, who raised themselves to wealth and importance by the sale of the lives and liberties of their countrymen. In addition to these, a regular staff of miscreants was kept up by the government, and domiciled within the walls of the castle. Villany and crime became the most humble instruments of the State—hired monsters living under the protection and patronage of the King's ministers, were elevated into importance in the political scale—reckless ruffians, who rioted on the hire of perjury and blood, were trained even to be the instruments of justice !‡ Who does not remember Curran's picture of the horrors of this awful period, and his denunciation—keen as lightning—of the hideous informer, in his magnificent speech in defence of

treason, his means of acquiring information were very considerable; and it was only discovered at his death, that government had availed themselves of his knowledge, and had conferred a pension of £300 a-year upon him for his private services.

\* From official documents in existence, it appears that from 1799 to 1804, M'Gucken received £1,460 at different times, from the government. He was afterwards pensioned.

† Of all the wretches of that band of informers, who rioted on the wages of iniquity in those frightful times—the worst, the most thoroughly debased, the vilest of the vile, was Edward John Newell, a native of Downpatrick, a portrait painter by profession. Treachery seemed to be the ruling passion of this man's life. To every friend or party he connected himself with he was false. He betrayed the secrets of the United Irish Society professedly to prevent the murder of an excise-man named Murdock. He ingratiated himself into the confidence of Murdock, and then robbed him of the affections of his wife. He became one of the regular corps of ruffians, called the battalion of testimony, who had apartments provided for them at the Castle, within the precincts of that place, which was the residence of the Viceroy, and the centre of the official business of the government. Having sold his former associates to the government, and by his own account having been the cause of two hundred and twenty-seven arrests, and the occasion of the flight of upwards of three hundred persons from their habitations, and many of them from their country, in consequence of the informations he laid against them,—he next betrayed the government, published their secrets, and fled from the service of Mr. Cooke to that of the Northern United Irishmen. Of the ultimate fate of the unfortunate wretch there is some doubt, but a great deal of reason to fear that he was barbarously murdered, by the persons into whose hands he had fallen after his removal from Belfast.—MADDERN'S *United Irishmen*, second series, vol. I., p. 349.

‡ From the year 1796 to 1800, a set of miscreants, steeped in crime, sunk in debauchery, prone to violence, and reckless of character, constituted what is called "The Major's People." A number of these wretches were domiciled within the gates of the Castle, where there were regular places of entertainment allotted for them, contiguous to the viceroy's palace; for another company of them, a house was allotted opposite Kilmainham gaol, familiarly known to the people by the name of the "Stag House;" and for one batch of them who could not be trusted with liberty, there was one of the yards of that prison and the surrounding cells assigned to them; which is still called the "Stag Yard." These persons were considered under the immediate protection of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, and to interfere with them in the course of their duties as spies or witnesses, was to incur the vengeance of their redoubtable patrons. When the country was broken down sufficiently in strength and spirit to effect the Union, these men were turned adrift on society. A great many of them took to desperate courses, and acting under the dominion of violent passions, they came to violent ends. The common people ascribed, and to this day continue to ascribe, their sudden and unprovided deaths to the divine retribution. The common expression is, "The judgment of God fell on them." Some of the men expiated their subsequent crimes on the gallows; others were transported; several committed suicide: many of them, however, whose guilt was of as deep a die as that of Crawley's or O'Brien's, were men who could not say like these unfortunate persons when the times of public commotion were at an end—they had not the means to live—but their superiors in rank, fortune, or education, their employers and accomplices, who superintended their performances in the witness-box and at the triangles, who witnessed and directed their infliction of the tortures of the pitch-cap and the taws, still lived without reproach, but it could not be without remorse.—MADDERN'S *United Irishmen*, vol. II., p. 380.



Finnerty? After referring to "the gaols, the tenders, the gibbets, the conflagrations, the murders, the proclamations heard every day in the streets, and seen every day in the country," he asked,—  
 "Merciful God! what is the state of Ireland, and where shall you find the wretched inhabitant of this land! You may find him perhaps in gaol, the only place of security, I had almost said of ordinary habitation; you may see him flying by the conflagration of his own dwelling; or you may find his bones bleaching on the green fields of his country; or he may be found tossing upon the surface of the ocean, and mingling his groans with those tempests, less savage than his persecutors, that drift him to a returnless distance from his family and his home." And then he came to the Informer. "I speak not," said he, "of the fate of those horrid wretches who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory; I speak of what your own eyes have seen; day after day, during the course of this commission, from the box where you are now sitting; the number of horrid miscreants, who avowed upon their oaths that they had come from the very seat of government, from the Castle, where they had been worked upon by the fear of death, and the hopes of compensation, to give evidence against their fellows; that the mild and wholesome councils of this government are holden over these catacombs of living death, where the wretch that is buried a man, lies *till his heart has had time to fester and dissolve*, and is then dug up a witness! Is this fancy, or is it fact? Have you not seen him, after his resurrection from that tomb, after having been dug out of the region of death and corruption, make his appearance upon the table, the living image of life and death, and the supreme arbiter of both? Have you not marked when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach? Have you not marked how the human heart bowed to the supremacy of his power, in the undissembled homage of deferential horror? how his glance, like the lightning of heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death; a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent: there was an antidote, a juror's oath, but even that adamant chain, that bound the integrity of man to the throne of eternal justice, is solved and melted in the breath that issues from the informer's mouth; conscience swings from her moorings, and the appalled and affrighted juror, consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim."

The arch-fiend of the informers of his time was REYNOLDS—a name for ever accursed among Irishmen. This man was a silk manufacturer in the Liberty of Dublin; he was a person of education and family, being distantly related to the nobleman whom he betrayed—Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He was married to a sister of the noble wife of Theobald Wolfe Tone. In private character Reynolds was infamous: it was proved against him, in the course of the state trials

of the United Irishmen, that he had attempted to poison his own mother, whom he had previously robbed. Several of his own relatives swore that they could not believe him upon his oath.\* Reynolds had joined the United Irishmen at an early period, and was acquainted with all the secrets of the body. He was often suspected; a distant relative of his own at one time denouncing him to the Society as a traitor. The leaders, however, refused to suspect him, and continued to make him privy to their designs. It would seem that Reynolds was about this time pressed for money, and that he now conceived the idea of selling his secret to the government. A Mr. Cope, with whom he had money dealings, sounded him as to his knowledge of the existing conspiracy, and threw out hints to the effect that the man who could inform the government of the designs of the United Irishmen, would be laden with honours and rewards. Reynolds swallowed the bait: after the necessary preliminaries had been arranged, he disclosed all that he knew to the government, though it was not for some time after the arrests took place, that the name of the informer was known. The betrayal of his countrymen proved highly lucrative to Mr. Reynolds, inasmuch as he pocketed at length £45,740 by the job!† The sums directly expended in Ireland on spies and informers

\* This difficulty was afterwards got rid of, when Reynolds's testimony came to be given, by a *clergyman*, a friend of the Crown Solicitor, who was found ready to swear that the informer's testimony was worthy of credit. If freely taking oaths, and freely breaking them, could make him so, his credit was unimpeachable. He had taken the oath of secrecy and fidelity as a United Irishman; and he had again taken the oath to his Captains, when he was appointed a Colonel in the proposed insurrectionary army. When suspected by his associates, he swore that he had not betrayed them; and at the same time he was under oath before the Privy Council, when revealing to them all the plans of the body to which he had so repeatedly and so solemnly sworn fidelity. Reynolds was *known* to have broken all these oaths, and yet a *clergyman* was to be found ready to swear that he was worthy of credit!

† This is asserted, on the authority of public documents, by Dr. Madden, in his able work on *The United Irishmen*. He says—"Documents, whose authenticity cannot be called into question, are in existence, and furnish irrefragable proof of Mr. T. Reynolds having received for his disclosures, not £500 only, but the sum of £5,000, in four payments, at the following dates, and in the following amounts:—

" 1798, Sept. 29, Mr. T. Reynolds received	£1,000
" Nov. 16, Ditto ditto	2,000
" 1799, Jan. 19, Ditto ditto	1,000
" March 4, Ditto ditto	1,000"

"—to complete £5,000."—And, moreover, on the 14th of June, 1799, Mr. Reynolds received his annuity of £1,000, "in full to the 25th of March, 1799;" from which period till his death, the 18th of August, 1836, his pension continued to be paid to him.

The amount of that pension was £1,000 Irish, or £920 British: he received it for a term of thirty-seven years.

The gross amount for the above period, at £920 per annum is	£34,040
Gratuity before the trials of Bond, M'Cann, and Byrne	500
Gratuities between Sept. 1798, and March 4, 1799	5,000
Consulship at Lisbon, four years at £1,400 per annum	5,600
Consulship at Iceland, two years at £300 per annum	600

£45,700

In 1810 he was appointed to the consulate of Lisbon, where he remained nearly four years, the salary and emoluments of which office averaged £1,400 per annum.

In 1817 he was appointed to the consulate at Iceland, where he remained about one year, on a salary of £300 per annum: he returned to England, and in 1819 went back to Copenhagen, where he continued a few months, and then, on leave of absence, repaired to France, leaving his son to act in his stead as vice-consul, in which office he continued till 1822; another son obtained a lucrative employment under the stamp office department at Hull.

This enormous sum of £45,740, the "disinterested friend of his country" received, and as the pension on the Irish civil list reverts to his widow and to his two sons, who are now in the prime of life, it is by no means improbable that one of the parties may survive the person to whom it was originally granted some five-and-twenty or thirty years; and if so, the people of Great Britain will have the further gratification

alone, between August 1797, and May 1804, amounted to no less a sum than £53,547 13s. 1d. sterling !

At length, after government had allowed the conspiracy to go on for years without attempting to arrest it—after the designs of the United Irishmen had been long known to the government—after spies and emissaries had been sent among the people to stir them up to rebellion,—it was resolved to arrest the leaders, to torture the people, and if possible to sting them into a rebellion,\* in which, without a head, without discipline, organization, arms, or a concerted plan of action, they could not fail to be trampled under foot.

On the 28th of February, Mr. Arthur O'Connor and a few others who had been dodged by a government spy as far as Margate, on their way to France, were arrested, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. In consequence of this arrest, the *Press* newspaper, of which Mr. O'Connor had for some time been the avowed editor, was seized by order of the government, and all its correspondence carried away.

It was now obvious that the crisis was fast approaching, and the United Irishmen saw that if anything was to be done at all, it must be done quickly. A Revolutionary Staff was appointed; an Adjutant-General was selected in each county to forward returns as to the state of their forces, and to furnish all particulars as to the military capabilities of their respective neighbourhoods. At length a rising was determined on—it was to take place in March. This was arranged chiefly at the instance of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; for Thomas Emmett wished to wait until the arrival of French aid.

The information, however, which Reynolds had already given, enabled the government to arrest the members of the Directory at the house of Oliver Bond, merchant, 13, Bridge-street, Dublin; and thus at once gave the death-blow to the plans of the society. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was absent when the arrest took place, and continued for some time to elude the vigilance of government. On the arrest of the Directory, Henry Sheares was appointed a member of the new one, and contrived with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others the plan of the insurrection which afterwards broke out. It was announced that the general rising would take place on the night of the 23rd of May; and it was arranged that Lord Edward Fitzgerald should place

of paying another sum of twenty or five-and-twenty thousand pounds more, for the credit of Lord Castlereagh's government in Ireland, (nominally of Lord Camden's,) and as a tribute of respect to the memory and worth of Mr. Thomas Reynolds. There are gentlemen in the British parliament, though not forgetful of the services of Mr. Reynolds, and others of his class, who may think this subject deserving of their attention, and who may imagine that the children of the starving operatives of Leeds and Manchester, are entitled to as much consideration as those of the gentlemen who made orphans of so many, and who during their lives were amply rewarded for any service they rendered to their employers."

\* Lord Castlereagh distinctly avowed, in his examination of Dr. Macneven before the Secret Committee, that "means were taken to make the United Irish System explode." "It has been said," remarked Mr. Grattan, in his speech on the subject of General Lake's proclamation "that it were better the people should proceed to violence; nay, it has been said, in so many words, 'It were to be wished they did rebel.' Good God!—wished they would rebel! Here is the system and the principle of the system. From corruption to coercion, and so on to military execution, accompanied with a declaration that it were to be wished the people would go into rebellion!"

himself at the head of the forces of the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, and then advance upon Dublin, seizing the castle, taking by surprise the camp of Lehaunstown and the artillery at Chapelizod. Before, however, this plan could be executed, all the leaders were in the hands of the government.

A reward of £1,000 was now offered for the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the pursuit of him by the government harpies became every day more active and eager. It was now the 20th of May, and a few days would have placed him at the head of nearly forty thousand armed men. But a fatal destiny interposed; his retreat was betrayed; and he was dragged to a dungeon, a manacled, wounded, and dying prisoner. He was lying sheltered at the house of Thomas Murphy, feather merchant, Thomas-street, Dublin, when Major Sirr's myrmidons sprung upon him. He was reclining on a couch, half-dressed, when a party of soldiers entered his room. He jumped up from his couch in an instant, and for some time desperately defended himself with a small dagger, which he always carried concealed about his person. Thomas Murphy, the humble owner of the house in which the noble prisoner was seized, gives the following account of his capture:—

"I went to the sleeping room, he was in bed. It was at this time about seven o'clock. I asked him to come down to tea. I was not in the room three minutes when in came Major Swan, and a person following him in a soldier's jacket, and a sword in his hand; he wore a round hat. When I saw Major Swan I was thunderstruck. I put myself before him, and asked his business. He looked over me, and saw Lord Edward in bed. He pushed by me quickly, and Lord Edward seeing him, sprung up instantly like a tiger, and drew a dagger which he carried about with him, and wounded Major Swan slightly I believe. Major Swan had a pistol in his waistcoat pocket, which he fired without effect; he immediately turned to me and gave me a severe thrust of the pistol under the eye, at the same time desiring the person that came in with him, to take me into custody. I was immediately taken away to the yard, there I saw Major Sirr and about six soldiers of the Dumbarton Defencibles.

"Major Swan thought proper to run as fast as he could to the street, and I think he never looked behind him till he got out of danger, and he was then parading up and down the flags, exhibiting his linen, which was stained with blood. Mr. Ryan supplied Major Swan's place; he came in contact with Lord Edward and was wounded seriously. Major Sirr at that time came up stairs, and keeping at a respectful distance, fired a pistol at Lord Edward in a very deliberate manner, and wounded him in the upper part of the shoulder. Reinforcements coming in, Lord Edward surrendered after a very hard struggle."

In a few days afterwards, Lord Edward Fitzgerald died of the

wounds he had received while defending himself from his captors. The Sheareses, through means of an infamous scoundrel called Armstrong, an officer of the King's county militia, who passed himself off as a person of republican principles,\* were arrested on the 21st, and not a single leader or tactician of influence was now free. Meanwhile Military Law had been proclaimed by the government, and the entire kingdom declared in a state of rebellion. An order was passed, at the same time that this proclamation was issued, authorising the troops to act without waiting for the authority of the civil magistrate. Sir Ralph Abercromby, then commander-in-chief, disgusted with the conduct of the government, wrote immediately to request that he might be recalled from his command. He was succeeded by General Lake, who, like the army under him, was troubled by no such impolitic scruples.

The country was now delivered up to a reign of horror. The army which, according to General Abercrombie, was "in a state of licentiousness that rendered it formidable to every one but the enemy," were let loose upon an already tortured and desperate population. The huts and houses of suspected persons were burned; their families were tortured and frequently murdered, and women were often subjected to the outrages of lust and brutal passion. The Orange yeomanry and militia especially distinguished themselves by their monstrous cruelties. Sir John Moore, in reporting the state of Wicklow, stated to the Lord Lieutenant that the presence of the troops was necessary, "*more to check the Yeomen and Protestants than the people in general.*"

"FREE-QUARTERS," that term of dread in Ireland, were introduced, enabling the licentious soldiery to make themselves the despotic masters of the houses, food, property, and of the families of the peasantry. Tortures were also inflicted under the pretence of forcing confessions: whipping, picketting, half-hanging, and the pitch-cap,\* were the means of torture most usually practiced. Sir

\* Captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, was the infamous instrument employed by the government to worm himself into the confidence of the brothers Sheares, with the intention of afterwards sacrificing them. Armstrong was a much worse man than any employed in the "conspiracy:" he was treacherous, cruel, profligate, and by his own account an atheist and a murderer. On the information of this vile wretch, the brothers Sheares were apprehended on the 21st of May, and continued to be visited by Armstrong, who still pretended to be their friend. The Sheareses were by profession barristers, of excellent talents and unsullied reputation. They had been appointed members of the Executive Directory on the apprehension of the original members at Bond's, and they had planned an attack on Kilmainham for the liberation of the prisoners on the night that they were apprehended. They were afterwards tried and convicted, almost exclusively on the evidence of this Captain Armstrong. Curran was their advocate, and delivered one of his most powerful speeches in their behalf. But the government prosecutors were relentless—Lord Clare was especially inveterate (in consequence, it is said, of once having been thwarted in a love affair by one of the brothers)—they were found guilty, and were shortly after hanged and beheaded in front of Newgate.

\* It is said that the North Cork regiment were the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers of pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called a Cruppy (by which the soldiery designated an United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers.—*HAY'S Insurrection of the County of Wexford*, p. 57.

John Moore states, that on the march from Fermoy, he entered the town of Clogheen, where in the street he saw a man tied up, and *under the lash*, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off. He was informed that the High Sheriff, Mr. Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and he had already "*flogged the truth out of many respectable persons.*" His rule was, "*to flog each person till he told the truth,*"—that is, until he confessed himself a rebel, "and gave the names of other rebels; and then the persons, so accused, were sent for and flogged until they also confessed, and thus swelled the list of the proscribed!"

Other methods were adopted to make the miserable victims of oppression "confess" to crimes which they had never imagined. Men were half strangled, and then taken down and tortured till they "confessed"—they knew not what. Some bodies of Orange yeomen had regularly in their train a professed hangman, completely appointed with his implements, a hanging-rope, and cat-o'-nine-tails. It may be imagined to what a dreadful state the country was now reduced. "From the humble cot to the stately mansion," says Teeling, "no property, no person was secure. Numbers perished under the lash, many were strangled in the fruitless attempt of extorting confessions, and hundreds were shot at their peaceful avocations, in the very bosom of their families, for the wanton amusement of a brutal soldiery. The torture of the pitch cap was a subject of amusement both to officers and men, and the agonies of the unfortunate victim, writhing under the blaze of the combustible material, were increased by the yells of the soldiery and the pricking of their bayonets, until his sufferings were often terminated by death. The torture practised in those days of Ireland's misery has not been equalled in the annals of the most barbarous nation, and the world has been astonished, at the close of the eighteenth century, with acts which the eye views with horror, and the heart sickens to record. Torture was resorted to, not only on the most trivial, but groundless occasions. It was inflicted without mercy on every age and every condition: the child, to betray the safety of the parent; the wife, the partner of her conjugal affection; and the friend and brother have expired under the lash, when the generous heart scorned to betray the defenceless brother or friend. The barbarous system of torture practised at Beresford's riding-house,\* Sandy's Provot, the old Custom House, and other dépôts of human misery in the capital, under the very eye of the executive, makes the blood recoil with horror, while we blush for the depravity of man under

\* During the Rebellion of 1796, Mr. John Beresford had built a riding-house for his yeomanry troop, which had been also much used as a place for whipping suspected persons in, to make them discover what in all probability they never knew;—a practice equally *just* and *humane*, and liberally resorted to (perhaps *for sport*) by military officers, pending that troublesome era. In Mr. Beresford's Riding-house this infernal system was carried to a greater extent than in any of the similar slaughter-houses then tolerated in the metropolis: to such an extent, indeed, that some Irish wags (who never fail even upon the most melancholy occasions to exercise their native humour) had one night the words "*Mangling done here by J. Beresford & Co.*" painted upon a sign board and fixed over the entrance.—SIR JONAS BARRINGTON'S *Personal Sketches*, vol. i. p. 295.

the execrable feelings of his perverted nature. In the centre of the city, the heart-rending exhibition was presented of a human being, endowed with all the faculties of a rational soul, rushing from the infernal depôt of torture and death, his person besmeared with a burning preparation of turpentine and pitch, plunging in his distraction into the Liffey, and terminating at once his sufferings and his life\*."

These measures at length took effect. The people were driven to madness; and on the twenty-third of May, an insurrection of the peasantry broke out in the counties of Carlow and Kildare. Pitt had thus far succeeded; and another step towards the Union was accomplished.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The INSURRECTION—the People and their Opponents—Military propensities of the Irish Peasantry—The Pike—The rising of Kildare—Threatened attack on Dublin—Defeated by Lord Roden's "Foxhunters"—Barbarous treatment of the Prisoners—Progress of the War—The Battle of Ballyellis—The Rising of Wexford—The Battle of Oulard—Advance of the Peasantry upon Wexford—Defeat of General Fawcett—Retreat of the British troops—Wexford occupied by the insurgents—Mr. Bagenal Harvey chosen Commander-in-Chief—The defeat of Colonel Walpole and capture of Gorey—The attack on New Ross and defeat of the insurgents—Scene of horror—Harvey deposed from the chief command—Battle of Arklow—Death of Father Murphy and defeat of the Peasantry—The insurrection in Carlow, Meath, and Kildare—Slaughter of Kilcomney—Battle of Tara—General Dundas's heavy Cavalry defeated by Pikemen—Slaughter at the Gibbet Rath of Kildare—The insurrection in Ulster—The battle of Antrim, and defeat of the insurgents—Rising in Down—Successes of the insurgents—Battle of Ballynahinch, and defeat of the United Troops—The insurgents of Wexford concentrate their forces—Battle of Vinegar Hill—Ferocious cruelties of the Royalists—Arrest and execution of Leaders—Cornelius Grogan, esq.—Desultory warfare protracted—Lord Cornwallis appointed Lord Lieutenant—Convention of United Irish Leaders with the government—Landing of a French Army under General Humbert—"Luck" of the English government—The French take Kilkenny—The British totally defeated—The "rages of Castlebar"—Lord Cornwallis collects an immense army—Capture of the French forces—Renewed cruelties of the Royalists—The last French armament—Desperate engagement—The *Hochs* captured with Wolfe Tone on board—His arrest, trial, and death—Napper Tandy's arrest and liberation—Entire suppression of the Insurrection—Number of lives lost during the struggle—The Royalist forces employed—Cost of suppressing the Rebellion of 1798.

The insurrection broke out on the 23rd, and hostilities between the peasantry and the King's troops commenced on the 24th of May.

The people were badly armed and clothed, undisciplined, without leaders, without cavalry or artillery, without commissariat, without money or provisions, without plan or system of any kind; and they

\* TEELING'S *Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion*, pp. 132-3.

were opposed to a government which had at its command a completely appointed, well disciplined army, amounting to upwards of 100,000 men, having at their disposal immense military magazines, with the coast open to them at all points, and all the strong places throughout the country in their possession. The attempt at resistance seems almost to have savoured of madness; and yet there is little doubt but had the rebels possessed arms, officers, and discipline, they would have made themselves masters of the kingdom, and instead of a disastrous rebellion, the Irish Civil War of 1798 would have taken rank in history with the struggles for National Independence, of Switzerland, Scotland, and the United States of America. As it was, the half-armed and undisciplined peasants had nearly succeeded in effecting their object, and in baffling the combined power of the British forces.

The Irish peasantry have naturally strong military propensities: they have, at almost all times, displayed a liking for desultory warfare, and when all other causes of quarrel have failed, they have made a *pastime* of battle. They contemn danger and have no fear of death. No peasantry in the world make better soldiers than the Irish, or are more easily reconciled to the toils and perils of a soldier's life. Accustomed from infancy to the severest hardship and toil, campaigning seems almost a luxury to them. Their spirit never flags, their gaiety and good humour never desert them. All history bears testimony to the impetuous bravery of the Irish soldiers. Less persevering than the English or Scotch, they are far more enthusiastic and impulsive. Their onsets are furious—'swift as thought and fatal as flame.' Disciplined or undisciplined, they are ever the same: their impetuous nature gives them a power, which, when acting in numbers, proves almost irresistible.

Greatly deficient in all kinds of arms and ammunition, the peasantry resorted to the pike,—one of the most formidable defensive weapons which has ever been invented, and as effective now as in the days of the Macedonian phalanx. In the use of this weapon the Irish were exceedingly expert, shortening it at one time to little more than a dagger's length, and then darting it out to its full extent with amazing rapidity. By means of this formidable weapon alone, they were enabled occasionally to repel the attacks of heavy cavalry, and often of the regular infantry. They always succeeded with it against the yeomanry in their pitched battles. They could only be effectually broken by artillery or a heavy fire of musketry.

On the night of the 23rd of May, all the mail coaches throughout the kingdom were stopt and destroyed. This was the signal for a general rising. The peasantry of Kildare were the first in the field. Their noble leader was now no more; but they were headed by Mr. Aylmer, a young man of good family, and of great courage and enterprize. The counties of Wexford and Wicklow were generally up about the same time; and those of Carlow, Meath, Down, Derry, and Antrim, were preparing to rise.



A general and almost simultaneous attack was first made upon the military positions throughout the country. In most cases the peasantry were repulsed with loss; but they succeeded at Dunboyne and Barretstown, where the military were unable to resist them. The city of Dublin was in a state of great alarm on the night of the 23rd, when an attack was expected, the insurgents collecting in two large bodies—one on the north, about Swords and Santry, and another on the south under the Rathfarnham mountains. The night passed without attack, and on the following day Lord Roden, at the head of his infuriate body of yeomen, the "Foxhunters," supported by a detachment of light infantry, marched rapidly upon the Santry men, surprised the body that had collected and put many of them to the sword. Several prisoners were made, which, together with some of the dead bodies of those who had fallen, were carried back to Dublin as trophies of the victory. The carcasses, all gashed and gory, were laid out in the castle yard, in full view of the Secretary's windows—one of the most frightful spectacles that ever disgraced a royal residence; the prisoners taken in the encounter were hanged from the lamp irons in the principal streets and on the bridges. The Royalists had now tasted blood and their appetite was whetted for more. Martial law was more enforced. Suspected persons were seized and hanged without so much as the form of trial. The most hideous deeds of the French Revolution were now more than rivalled by men of rank and influence, bearing the King's commission, and wielding the powers and authorities of the government.

The war advanced rapidly with varying success. Sometimes the peasantry succeeded, as at Prosperous, where they took the town and put the entire garrison to the sword, and at Balleyellis, where a body of Royalists were put completely to the rout by the Irish pikemen under Father Tuafe and Joseph Holt, one of the rebel leaders. On other occasions, the King's troops were successful, as at Naas and Kilcullen, where Lord Gosford completely routed and dispersed the insurgent force. No prisoners were taken: they were all put to death—hanged or sabred on the spot. In these engagements the Royalists lost many men, and several officers; for, on all occasions, the peasantry fought with desperate courage and intrepidity.

The affair at Balleyellis is worthy of a passing notice, resembling, as it did, engagements at other places, where the Irish fought in ambuscades, and were almost invariably successful. Had they confined themselves to this guerilla kind of warfare, and avoided pitched battles, they would soon have destroyed the local bodies of Royalists, and wearied out the regular troops. But they concentrated their forces, and, without generals, without discipline, without arms and artillery, they openly encountered the Royal armies, and were on most occasions defeated with great slaughter. The success of the peasantry at Balleyellis, was mainly due to the well-concerted plan

of ambuscade, devised by Taaffe, and carried into effect by Holt. The Royal detachment sent to oppose them consisted of a body of Ancient Britons, a regiment celebrated for their ferocious cruelty, a party of the 5th dragoons, and a strong body of yeomanry and militia. Holt sent forward an advanced party to meet them, keeping the main body of his army out of sight: this advanced party fired on the Royalists, and then retreated as if in great panic. They were pursued by the military, full of confidence. But on a sudden, Taaffe brought into action a strong body of musketeers and pikemen, who threw the soldiers into great confusion; and at this moment Holt brought round upon them a reserve body of 1,000 pikemen, and in a few moments the Royalists were utterly routed, leaving at least 100 dead upon the field. The rest escaped *pell mell*. The same ancient policy of ambuscade was practised at Gorey, Three Rocks, Carnew, and other places, and generally proved successful in the same way.

The rising of the county of Wexford was of the most formidable description; and it is not too much to say that had the other counties of Ireland followed its example, the peasantry would have been masters of the entire kingdom in little more than a week. It is computed that the insurgent force in Wexford alone amounted to upwards of 35,000 men; and yet Wexford was by no means one of the most populous counties in Ireland. The reason why the rising was so general in this county was, that the system of torture had been carried to a much greater extent in this than in any other district. Many of the houses of the peasantry had been burned, their chapels destroyed, their daughters ravished, their sons hanged and shot, and a system of cruelty persevered in which at length stung the peasantry into desperation and madness.\*

The first action between the Wexford peasantry and the King's

\* The following instructive extract is from Dr. MacNeven's examination before the Secret Committee of the Privy Council. Lord Castlereagh's admission of "the means to make the insurrection explode," will not be overlooked.—

*Speaker*.—Pray, sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection?

*Macneven*.—The insurrection was occasioned by the *house burnings*, the *whipping* to extort confessions, the *torture* of various kinds, the *free quarters*, and the *murders* committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.

*Speaker*.—This only took place since the insurrection?

*Macneven*.—It is more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since these horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with very great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

*Corry and Latouche*.—Yes, a few houses were burned.

*Macneven*.—Gentlemen, there were a great deal more than a few houses burned.

*Speaker*.—Would not the organization have gone on, and the Union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon?

*Macneven*.—The organization would have proceeded, and the Union have acquired that strength which arises from order; organization would at the same time have given a control over the people, capable of restraining their excesses; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties where it was well established.

*Lord Castlereagh*.—You acknowledge the Union would have become stronger but for the means taken to make it explode?

*Macneven*.—It would every day have become more perfect, but I do not see anything in what has happened to deter the people from persevering in the Union and its objects; on the contrary, if I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power, as I understand it is now admitted, that if the insurrection was general and well conducted it would have been successful.

*Sir J. Parnell*.—Do you know the population of Wexford county?

*Macneven*.—Not exactly; but people agree that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskillfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the Government, a general rising would have freed Ireland."

troops, took place at Oulard on the 27th of May. The insurgents were commanded by Father Murphy, of Boolavogue, whose house and chapel had been burned down by the Orange yeomen, and he was thus driven out homeless, to share the fortune of his persecuted parishioners. The Royal forces advanced to disperse the insurgents, who were advantageously posted on a rising ground near Oulard. They at first retreated before the advance of the soldiery, but at the top of the hill, they suddenly turned round and furiously assaulted them, cutting to pieces almost the entire division. The yeomanry fled, and of the regulars only Lieutenant-Colonel Foote and four privates escaped. Encouraged by this success, the insurgents at once advanced to Enniscorthy, which they stormed, and after a desperate conflict, in which most of the town was burned and the garrison killed, the place was taken possession of by the people. This victory secured to the insurgents the strong position of Vinegar Hill, which gave them the command of an extensive tract of country.

The flying Royalists reached Wexford and alarmed the town with the intelligence of the rapid approach of the rebel army. The garrison amounted to about 1,200 men, having at their command abundance for military stores. The town-wall was also in a good state for defence, and might bid defiance to any army entirely without ordnance, as the peasantry were. Notwithstanding their immense advantages, and that General Fawcett was on the march from Duncannon to reinforce them, the garrison became alarmed, and resolved to treat with the advancing insurgent peasantry. With this view they liberated the Messrs. Fitzgerald and Colclough, two gentlemen of fortune who were now confined in Wexford gaol on suspicion of being sympathisers with the people,—and sent them on a mission to the insurgents, to act as arbitrators between them and the authorities of Wexford. Meanwhile, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, another gentleman of extensive landed property, was retained in prison as a hostage for their return.

Colclough and Fitzgerald were welcomed within the lines of the insurgents with a cheer which 'made Wexford ring.' The reply to their proposals for peace was, "To Wexford! To Wexford!" Fitzgerald was detained in the camp, and Colclough was sent back to Wexford to announce their intention of attacking the town. On the following morning they had advanced within a few miles of Wexford—the sun's beams glittering on their forest of pikeheads, as they reached the summit of the Three Rock Mountains. It was here that General Fawcett's army came up with the insurgents; he was advancing from Duncannon to the relief of Wexford, and fell in with the rebels by surprise. His advanced guard was cut to pieces, his artillery was captured, and he hastily retreated with the relics of his army to Duncannon.

The Wexford garrison, calculating that it was about the time when General Fawcett's army would arrive, but ignorant of

the fate which had befallen him, now resolved to try the effect of a sally. They did so, but their leader having fallen at the first onset, they immediately retreated precipitately back to the town. The utmost terror now prevailed, and the courage of the authorities completely fled. They again resolved to try the effects of a negotiation with the insurgents, and induced Mr. Bagenal Harvey, their prisoner, to write a letter to their camp, containing proposals in reference to the surrender of the town. Before, however, the insurgents could give their reply to the proposals, the town was evacuated by the British troops, who fled in all directions, committing, as they went, indiscriminate slaughter upon defenceless men, women, and children. The town was now entered by the people, and the green banner displayed from the walls. Harvey was released from prison, and, amid the acclamations of the multitude, proclaimed Commander-in-Chief of the United Army.

BRAUCHAMP BAGENAL HARVEY was a Protestant barrister of fortune, deriving about £3000 a year from lands in the counties of Wexford and Carlow. He was a benevolent-minded, liberal man, and highly respected by all classes in the neighbourhood in which he resided. But though a man of excellent character and of great influence, he was of all men one of the least fitted to be a general, having little tact or energy, and neither intrepidity nor enterprize. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that he would have joined the insurgents, but for having at an early period been made an object of persecution by the government, and thus pointed out to the people as one of their friends. And even when he accepted the office of general, it seems to have been rather with the view of preventing farther mischief than from any ambition after military conquest. This is proved by the fact that he was afterwards deposed from his command because of his constant interference in behalf of those who fell into his hands.

While the town of Wexford remained in possession of the people, the main body of their army continued to occupy Vinegar Hill; and at the same time encampments were formed in different parts of the country,—between which and the royal forces that garrisoned the neighbouring towns, sanguinary encounters frequently took place. The most severe of these occurred near the town of Gorey, which afterwards fell into the hands of the peasantry. Gorey, from its local position, was considered a place of great importance; and was accordingly well fortified and supplied with military munitions. It was held possession of by a numerous garrison, which had just been reinforced by a body of fresh troops. Confident in their strength, and most probably underrating the force of the insurgents, the British general determined on attacking the Irish camp at Carrigrew; and accordingly the British army was led against it in two divisions—the one under General Loftus, the other under Colonel Walpole. The insurgents, on their part, had determined upon an attack on the town of

Gorey, and their troops were actually on the march for that purpose. They came up with Colonel Walpole's detachment at the Slievebuy Mountain, and a fierce encounter immediately took place. Walpole fell—his troops fled, and his artillery was left in the hands of the people. The pikemen, following up their victory, pursued the fugitives through the town of Gorey, which they evacuated with the utmost precipitation. General Loftus, made aware of the engagement only by the report of the cannon, hastened to the aid of his ally; but the body of Walpole and his slain companions stretched around him, showed that he was too late. He marched back to Gorey, but it was already in possession of the insurgents. He accordingly turned his back upon the town, and retreated to Arklow with all possible speed. This victory placed the entire county of Wexford, with the exception of New Ross, Newton Barry, and Duncannon Fort, in the hands of the peasantry.

The insurgents next proceeded, with the artillery they had captured, to attack the town of New Ross, which was the only impediment to their making themselves masters of Waterford, and thus effecting a junction with the Waterford and Tipperary men, who were considered among the most formidable in the kingdom. The importance of New Ross to the insurgents, as forming the key to the province of Munster, was well known to the Royalist leaders, who prepared to defend the place to the last extremity. The town is situated on the river Barrow, which divides it from the southern counties, the communication with the opposite bank being by means of a long wooden bridge. It is surrounded on three sides by steep hills, notwithstanding which the place is possessed of considerable means of defence.

On the morning of the 4th of May, the peasantry assembled in immense force at Corbet Hills, under the command of their generalissimo, Harvey. Their numbers have been variously computed at from 20,000 to 30,000. Harvey and his principal officers took up their quarters at the house of a gentleman, who possessed an excellent stock of wines; and instead of making their dispositions and arranging their plan of operations for the morrow, they sat up all night carousing and drinking. The men were too ready to imitate the example of their officers, and on the following morning, when the assault was ordered, a considerable proportion of the force were so intoxicated that they were not able to move.

The plan of attack which Harvey had formed, was to invest the town at three different points at once; but in the hurry of the assault, this plan was afterwards entirely neglected. Early in the morning, a flag of truce was sent from the insurgents' camp, summoning the town to surrender. The officer who bore the flag was shot at the outposts, and an attack on the place was immediately ordered. The peasantry came on in a confused and disorderly mass, but headlong as a torrent. Their assault was confined to the principal and most defensible entrance to the town. Two

regiments, one of cavalry, the other of infantry, were drawn up to receive them, and distract their attention from the other entrances to the town. Both regiments were completely overthrown; \* Lord Mountjoy, the colonel of the Dublin militia, fell at the gate; and the royalists and peasantry entered the town almost intermingled. A desperate struggle took place, hand to hand, in the main street; the military rallied, and succeeded in driving back their opponents. But fresh masses poured in, and the royalists were compelled again to give way. Their artillery was taken from them and turned against their own ranks. Only the market-house remained in their possession, the rest of the town being in possession of the insurgents. At length the royalists, driven to the bridge, prepared to cross and destroy the communication. But now the peasantry, imagining they had gained the town, dispersed to plunder; and many of them were soon observed so intoxicated as to be rendered completely incapable of action. The garrison now returned to the attack, amid the flames of the burning houses, which had been set on fire in the course of the day. The battle thus raged for hours amid thick smoke, and lurid flames, and intolerable heat. The royalists recovered the main street, and were gradually driving back their opponents, when a mere youth of about 13 years of age, named Lett, perceiving, from a distance, the disorder of the men, snatched up a standard, and crying "Follow me who dare!" rushed down the hill, followed by several thousand pikemen, uttering the most appalling cries. † The fight was renewed with redoubled vigour; the garrison were again forced back, and compelled, with great loss, to retreat towards the bridge. The battle had now raged without intermission for nearly ten hours, when darkness fell upon the combatants. The town was nearly in possession of the assailants; when again all subordination vanished, they dispersed to plunder, and many of them were overcome by drunkenness. The scene was now horrible in the extreme: the streets strewn with the dead and mangled corpses—the wounded crawling about in search of shelter—the drunken men who lay intermingled with the dead and the dying—the fierce cries of the combatants, and the booming of the 'sudden cannon'—the blaze of some hun-

\* Sir JONAH BARRINGTON, in his Memoirs, states that "At this battle the insurgents practised a *ruse de guerre* used originally by the Romans. A regiment of heavy cavalry had marched out, to charge them on their first approach; they suspected the attack, and were prepared to receive them by a very unsuspected salutation. They had cooped up in a field near two hundred bullocks. When these beasts are urged, and rush on in a body, nothing can stop them; a wall, or even a house, they have been known to dash against in their blind fury. When the heavy cavalry were in a proper position on the road, the rebels, with their pikes, goaded the bullocks: maddened by the smart, they rushed to the openings of the enclosure, which had been purposely made for them: nothing could withstand them; the cavalry were overwhelmed; man and horse were overthrown and trampled upon. Of such as could retreat through the gate, several met their death from the pikemen."

† Sir JONAH BARRINGTON relates this circumstance on the authority of Councillor Lundy-foot, who was present at the fight. He also confirms the story of the peasant who, advancing to the mouth of a cannon, thrust his hat and pike into it, exclaiming "Come on boys, she's stopped!" when at the instant, the gunner applied the match, and the man was blown to atoms.

dreds of houses, and the crash of the falling ruins,—all constituted a scene of terror too revolting for description, and justifying the remark of an Irish author, that only a *fiend* or an *atheist* could give anything like a just description of the horrors of this Irish Rebellion.

At length the fighting ceased, but not the carnage. The insurgents who had not entered the houses, gradually retired by the gate through which they had so often entered, leaving some thousands of their comrades asleep in the streets and in the different houses throughout the town. Hundreds perished in the flames, which continued to spread with rapidity. In one house, which was set fire to by the royalists, seventy-five unfortunate wretches were burnt to death. Hundreds more were slain in cold blood by the garrison, as they lay stretched senseless in the streets and in the houses; until the royalists grew tired of killing, when they lay down and slept among their slaughtered enemies.

Thus ended the battle of New Ross, one of the most protracted and desperate ever fought in Ireland. Nearly 300 houses of the town and suburbs were burned; the loss of life on the part of the town was nearly 300, and on the part of the insurgents, about 2000,—most of whom were slain after the battle was over. The combat lasted altogether about thirteen hours. It is said that after the first two hours not more than 3000 of the insurgents were at any time actually engaged in the contest—the great body of the rebel force remaining in the neighbourhood of Corbet Hill.\* As for the 'general' and his staff, they remained, during the whole day, inactive spectators of the fight from a neighbouring hill! Had the peasantry possessed a leader of the slightest ability, the result of this engagement would have been of a very different kind. As it was, the royalists held their ground, and the peasantry slowly retreated from the scene of conflict.

After the unsuccessful attack upon New Ross, Harvey was deposed from the command, and Mr. Roche was appointed in his stead. It was understood that Mr. Harvey lost his influence chiefly on account of his repeated interference on behalf of his prisoners, and his solicitude for the preservation of property. The cruelty of the royalists had greatly exasperated the peasantry, and they were too ready to imitate them in their outrages on life and property. In their retreat from Ross, stung by defeat, they set fire to a barn at Scullabogue, in which were confined about 100 prisoners, including 16 Catholics, and massacred such of them as attempted to escape. Mr. Harvey and the other leaders, deeply lamented this outrage, and endeavoured to discover its authors—denouncing all such enormities, robberies, and murders, as crimes that would be punished with death. He was, however, immediately deposed, and appointed President of the Council at Wexford, "for the preservation of life and property."

\* CLONEY'S *Personal Narrative*.

We return to the proceedings of the body of peasantry who had made themselves masters of Gorey. They now turned their attention to the town of Arklow, which lay between them and the metropolis, where 80,000 men were ready to rise against the government. Were Arklow taken, the communication with the metropolis would be open, and they might have joined themselves with the Dublin men within twenty-four hours. The government were aware of the importance of preserving Arklow, and dispatched a large reinforcement to the town, which arrived in time to anticipate the attack of the insurgent peasantry.

The royal army drew up in line of battle in a level field at the extremity of the town. They were commanded by General Needham, and were in numbers about two thousand. The Cavan regiment, under Lord Farnham, came up just as the action was about to commence. Two pieces of artillery were placed at each wing. The peasantry opposed to them were greatly superior in numbers, though not in the number of fire-arms, which were of the most heterogeneous description. They also had two pieces of cannon at each flank—their front was covered by a ditch—their lines running quite parallel to those of the royal troops. Several skirmishes took place at the early part of the day, but the action did not become general till the arrival of the Cavan regiment, when a tremendous fire was opened and kept up on the insurgents. They stood their ground, and returned the fire vigorously, the immense body of pikemen remaining inactive spectators of the fight on a range of hills overlooking the scene of action, but waiting their opportunity to rush down upon the royalists and overpower them. At length the insurgents succeeded in dismounting one of the royal cannon and killing the gunners. Had the pikemen charged at this moment, the victory would have been decided. But the opportunity passed; the royal troops, which had begun to waver, and were on the point of retreating, were again rallied and encouraged by their leaders. At length a large body of pikemen, under Father Murphy, made a determined attack on the right wing. They were received by a steady and well-directed fire, and at the same time a four-pounder opened upon them, at one of the first discharges of which Father Murphy received a ball which tore him in pieces.\* The peasantry, who believed in the invulnerability of their leader, set up a wild shout of despair, and, dismayed at his fate, were checked in their onward advance. About the same time their ammunition became entirely exhausted, and they had no means of further carrying on the contest. They, therefore, retreated from the field, but in such order that the royal troops did not think it advisable to follow them, but retired to their barracks, while the

\* Some idea of the ferocity of the Royal troops may be formed from the fact stated by Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, in his 'History of the Rebellion,'—viz., that "after Father Murphy had fallen, some soldiers of the Ancient British Regiment cut open his breast with an axe, "took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dropped from it"!



peasantry fell back, unmolested, to Gorey. By this repulse, the progress of the Wexford insurgents was checked; they were prevented uniting their forces with those of Meath, Kildare, Westmeath, and Dublin; and the Capital was saved.

The insurgents had been still less successful in Carlow, Meath, and Kildare, than in Wexford and Wicklow. A disorderly and ill-concerted rising having taken place in Carlow, the peasantry were attacked by the yeomanry and militia under Sir Charles Asgill, and routed with great slaughter. In their flight, the insurgents passed through the village of Kilcomney, where they were again attacked and many more were killed. Not satisfied with the slaughter which had already taken place, Sir Charles Asgill ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants of the village, whose only offence was, that a band of defeated peasants had fled through their district. Their homes were accordingly entered, and persons of all ages were indiscriminately butchered, without any regard to sex. "The defenceless inhabitants," says Cloney, "of an unoffending and most peaceable district—men, women, and children—were butchered this day, and neither age, sex, nor infirmity, could obtain exemption from the common fate; they were all slaughtered without mercy."\*

The rising in Meath was of a partial nature, and its proximity to the metropolis enabled the government to use prompt measures for its suppression. The hill of Tara, which is associated with all the early glory and fame of Ireland, was selected as the rallying point for the peasantry of the district. Their position was strong and well chosen, but they did not possess a single leader who knew how to take advantage of the ground. On the approach of the British, they quitted their strong position, and rushed upon the advancing foe with great impetuosity. The infantry fled, but the pikemen being suddenly charged by the cavalry, and raked on all sides by the artillery of the enemy, they were compelled to give way. Their phalanx being now broken, and having no rallying point, nor reserve, they were cut down in all directions and completely routed. Many were killed, a great number returned to their homes, and the more determined of them remained in arms and proceeded to join the ranks of the Kildare insurgents under the bold and enterprising Alymer.

In some of their earlier engagements with the royal troops, the Kildare peasantry were highly successful; at Old Kilcullen, where General Dundas, relying on the weight of his heavy cavalry, determined to ride down a body of pikemen, he was driven back with great loss. The peasantry, formed into a deep and close column, drew up under the walls of the old church, and received the dragoons, who charged them with great impetuosity, upon their pikes. The cavalry were completely repulsed, many of the men and two

\* THOMAS CLONEY'S *Personal Narrative*, &c. p. 82.

of the captains were killed, the General himself escaping only by the fleetness of his horse. When the artillery, however, was brought up, the same body was completely broken; but not till lanes had been repeatedly cut through them by round shot. Having suffered several severe losses subsequent to this period, many of the Kildare insurgents at length accepted the offers of pardon made to them by General Dundas, with the Lord Lieutenant's concurrence. A large body of the peasantry had assembled for this purpose, at the Gibbet Rath on the Curragh of Kildare, having offered terms of submission to the General, which were accepted. While thus assembled, Sir James Duffe arrived with a strong body of militia and fell upon the unresisting multitude, mowing them down in cold blood. The principal instruments of the slaughter were the body of Fencible Cavalry, generally known as Lord Roden's "Foxhunters." The people fled in all directions, and were pursued with merciless slaughter. Three hundred and fifty men who had been admitted to the king's peace and promised protection through his officers, were relentlessly butchered on the spot; and many more were cut down in the course of the flight. The scene of this horrible transaction is to this day known among the peasantry as "The place of Slaughter."

We turn now to the North, where the organization of the United Irishmen had commenced, and we find the rising equally unsuccessful as in the South. Long delay in the outbreak of the insurrection, the arrest of some leaders and the treachery and flight of others, had damped the enthusiasm of the people and greatly impaired their organization. While the population of the counties of Meath, Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford, were in the field, Ulster remained perfectly quiet; and it was not until they had heard of the success of the Wexford peasantry, that a rising was at length determined on. Russel and Dickson, the generals originally appointed by the United Societies of Down, having been arrested by the government, the command devolved on Henry Joy M'Cracken, who was at the same time appointed commander-in-chief of the United Irish army of the North.

The first rising took place on the 7th of June in the vicinity of the town of Antrim, then in the possession of the king's troops. This place was one of great importance, and its possession would enable the insurgents to keep up their communication with the counties of Down and Antrim, Tyrone, and Donegal. It was therefore resolved to attack the place and gain possession of it without delay. M'Cracken issued a hasty proclamation, on the day preceding the attack, addressed to "The Army of Ulster," ordering them to "drive the garrison of Randalstown before them, and haste to form a junction with the commander-in-chief." On the arrival of the force on the eminence above the town of Antrim, M'Cracken addressed them in spirit-stirring language, encouraging and confirming their confidence and courage. The answer of the men was "Lead us to Liberty or Death!"

The insurgent force did not amount to more than 500 men ; but many of them were effective soldiers, having been trained to the use of arms during the time of the Volunteers. On the part of the garrison, nothing was wanting for the purposes of defence. General Nugent having been previously informed of the intended attack, was fully prepared for resistance : the Foot occupied a strong position in front of the Castle gate ; the Cavalry were covered by the walls which surrounded the church ; and the cannon were placed so as to enfilade the principal streets of the town. In addition to the royal forces of the town, strong reinforcements were on their march from the British camp of Blaris Moore and the garrison of Belfast, both twelve miles distant.

The attack was led by M'Cracken, who displayed the greatest valour throughout the contest. He marched his force into the town in good order, and was first charged by the cavalry, who fired and then retreated, another party coming forward to resist them, as they continued to advance into the town. The cavalry were received with a galling fire which brought down many of the men and horses, and at length they retreated in great disorder. The assailants advanced steadily to the market-place under a galling fire from the infantry and two pieces of cannon, which raked their columns and committed great havoc. A body of pikemen gallantly charged the enemy, and endeavoured to carry their guns, but were repeatedly driven back by destructive discharges of grape-shot. The cavalry now charged the pikemen, and attempted to capture one of the two pieces of ordnance belonging to the assailants, but they were driven back with great loss, Colonel Lumley, their commander, being seriously wounded in the encounter, and many of his men falling victims to the deadly pike. Following up his success, M'Cracken now pressed upon the foe, charging them home. The contest was dreadful. The men fought hand to hand, and the defence was no less obstinate than the attack was furious and determined. Rank after rank were borne down and driven from their guns ; and, after an hour's hard fighting, the town was in possession of the United Irish.

But a fatal mistake marred this success of the insurgents. The enemy's cavalry, defeated and flying, met a body of United Irish advancing from the north to the aid of their companions, now masters of the town of Antrim. Mistaking the flight of the royal cavalry for a charge, and believing that their advanced guard had been defeated, the peasantry fled in all directions. About the same time, the Monaghan regiment made their appearance on the road from Belfast, and took up their position at a little distance from the town ; the other reinforcements also came up from Blaris Moore, and the royalists, having rallied, now became the assailing party. They now considerably outnumbered their opponents, and had every advantage over them in ammunition, cavalry, and artillery. The insurgents within the town were soon made aware of the

arrival of the royal reinforcements, as well as of the defeat of the Connor and Kells men, and were stricken with a general panic, and prepared for flight. M'Cracken did every thing that talent and courage could do to reanimate the drooping spirits of his party, but all was of no avail. He himself was borne down by them in their flight; the town was speedily evacuated, and the royal cavalry, following close upon their heels, cut them down with terrible slaughter. A small body of men, designated by M'Cracken "The Spartan Band," commanded by James Hope, maintained a determined resistance, and were only compelled to retire by the overpowering force of their assailants. The loss, on the part of the royalists, was severe: Lord O'Neill and several officers of distinction fell in the course of the battle. M'Cracken retreated to the hill of Donegore, where he collected the remains of his shattered forces, and endeavoured to form an encampment. From thence, he went to Slemish, when the number of men who adhered to him were reduced to twenty-eight. He was shortly afterwards apprehended, tried by a court-martial, and executed at Belfast.

The ill success of the men of Antrim did not deter the United Irishmen of Down from attempting a rising. The decisive battle of Antrim was fought on the 7th of June, and the rising of Down took place on the 9th, in the neighbourhood of Saintfield. Before they could collect in any considerable numbers, they were forced into action by the royalists under Colonel Stapleton, who marched against them from Newtonards, having under his command the York fencibles, a corps of cavalry, another of infantry, and two pieces of cannon. The people were informed of the advance of this force, and at a part of the road which runs between two high and thick hedges, pikemen and musketeers posted themselves in great numbers. Most probably they would have succeeded in cutting off the entire division, but for the impatience of one of the insurgents, who fired and killed an established priest, notorious in the neighbourhood for his ferocious *loyalty*. The action immediately became general, and notwithstanding that the royalists fought with great bravery, they were beaten back and forced to retreat to Comber, the insurgents remaining in possession of Saintfield. On the 18th, the men of Ard rose, and after a stout skirmish, took possession of the town of Newton Ards; at night they proceeded to join the insurgent army at Saintfield, which was now the general rendezvous of the United troops. On the morning of the 10th, they amounted to about 7,000 men, under the command of Monroe, a young man of some military skill, and of considerable spirit and enterprise. On the following day (the 12th), he march for Ballynahinch; and having learnt on the road that the British troops under the command of General Nugent, had marched from Belfast to attack him, he proceeded, on arriving near that town, to make the best arrangements for defence which the nature of the ground would admit. He drew up the main body of his army on the bold and

commanding hill of Ednavady, occupying also the principal heights in the neighbourhood, and posting several ambuscades along the roads by which his position was assailable.

The approach of the British army was heralded by smoke and flame, for they had fired the country all along their route. As they advanced, they were joined by a division of troops from Downpatrick; and thus reinforced, the British came on in line of battle. When they had advanced within range of the ambuscades, a destructive fire was poured in upon them, which held them entirely in check for more than an hour, with little or no loss to the assailants. The army of General Nugent was then formed between the hill on which the insurgents were posted, and the town—directing the fire of his efficient artillery upon both. Monroe, finding that he could not resist the force of the enemy's cannon, abandoned the idea of defending the town, and withdrawing his forces from it, he concentrated it on the hill of Ednavady, preparatory to a general attack on the British lines. Having, therefore, drawn in his outposts, and formed his line of action, he offered battle to the British; but the day was now far advanced, and night came on before they could be brought into action.

The royal army took possession of the town of Ballynahinch, and immediately gave way to pillage, drunkenness, and riot. The utmost disorder and confusion prevailed, and discipline was entirely lost in debauchery and licentiousness. In this state were affairs in the town, when a friendly messenger arrived at the United camp, and represented the disorganized state of the enemy, and the certainty of utterly defeating them if an attack were immediately made. A council of war was assembled, and all expressed themselves in favour of instant action, with the exception of the leader, Monroe. In the spirit of foolish romance, he declared that he would not take an ungenerous advantage of the enemy, but that he would meet them in the blush of day, &c. The attack was accordingly postponed, and the consequence was, that most of the leaders were discouraged, and several of them left the field followed by their men. One division of nearly 700 men, better armed than the generality, left before break of day.

Early on the morning of the 18th of June, the action commenced. Monroe began the attack by a discharge from his cannon, consisting of eight small pieces, which were drawn up against the town, and were generally well served. The fire was speedily returned by the heavier artillery of the enemy. The insurgent army then moved down the hill in two divisions, to the attack of the town. One of these endeavoured to penetrate the town on the right; the other, under Monroe, directed its march on the left. The first division overthrew the body of troops sent to oppose them, and marched onward into the town; the second division, under Monroe, encountered a desperate resistance, but, undaunted and fearless, the men bore down all opposition. They forced their way into the

town, notwithstanding a most destructive fire of musketry and cannon, the pikemen charging up to the very muzzle of the guns. At length Monroe, having gained the centre of the town, charged the enemy furiously with bayonet and pike, and the British general, conceiving the day to be lost, ordered the retreat to be sounded. And here occurred one of those extraordinary accidents which, as at Ross and elsewhere, almost unaccountably turned the tide of battle against the Irish at the very moment of victory, and left the advantage finally in the hands of their enemies. It seems that the peasantry, unacquainted with the trumpets' sound, and enveloped in smoke, mistook the note of retreat for the signal of charge, and believing that fresh reinforcements had arrived to the enemy, they became suddenly panic-stricken, turned and fled from the town by the southern road, while at the same moment the defeated British were as rapidly evacuating it on the north !

The retrograde movement of the insurgents was marked by a part of the British force which had not yet been engaged—namely by the 22nd regiment of light dragoons, who immediately charged the flying troops of Monroe, while the infantry, recovering from their panic, and rallying, joined in the pursuit. The now defeated Irish endeavoured to gain their former position on the hill of Ednavady ; but their force was now scattered and flying in all directions, only about one hundred and fifty men remaining with Monroe. Accordingly, flight was the only resource, and numbers were cut down by the ferocious yeomanry, who gave no quarter and took no prisoners. Monroe was taken two days after the battle of Ballynahinch, and shortly afterwards suffered death with the fortitude of a martyr. The United Irishmen were now completely dispersed in Ulster ; and no further attempt was made to raise the standard of insurrection in that province.

We return to the South, where we find almost the entire brunt of the resistance to the government maintained by the determined peasantry of Wexford. The authorities, however, were now able to bring down upon them their concentrated force, so that the struggle seemed fast drawing to a close. After their defeat at Ross and Arklow, the peasantry, reduced to maintaining a defensive warfare, collected the remains of their forces on Vinegar Hill, an eminence of considerable extent and height, immediately overlooking the town of Enniscorthy. The position was one of considerable natural strength, which the insurgents endeavoured to improve. They dug a ditch round the base of the hill, and planted the few half-disabled cannon and swivels which they possessed, to the best advantage. The number of peasantry occupying this position amounted to nearly 30,000 ; they were badly clothed and fed, and entirely without discipline ; they had among them not more than 2,000 fire-arms of all descriptions, of which many were unfit for use ; and they had little or no ammunition. The great body were armed with the pike, which several recent contests had proved to be a very formi-

dable weapon. With the peasantry were a great number of women, who shared in all the dangers of the campaign, and fought with fury by the side of their brothers, sons, and husbands.

The royal army under General Lake, which advanced to the attack of this position, amounted to about 20,000 men, including an effective force of cavalry and artillery.\* Driving in the insurgent outposts, after a fierce resistance, General Lake advanced to the attack of the main body, posted on Vinegar Hill, early on the morning of the 21st of June. He made the attack in four columns, his troops advancing to the assault under cover of a tremendous and destructive discharge of artillery. The peasantry resisted with great bravery. Almost defenceless, they stood the fiery stream of grape-shot and shells, which poured in upon them for an hour and a half without interruption. The bursting of every shell was followed by loud shouts of defiance. The soldiers advanced steadily up the hill, and the peasantry, whose ammunition had entirely failed and whose guns were now useless, received them on the edge of the pike. The women encouraged them by their cries, the leaders by fiery exhortations, the men cheering each other to desperate efforts of valour. The soldiers were more than once driven back by the pikemen; many officers and men were killed and wounded, and General Lake's horse was killed under him. But no resistance that the peasantry could offer, could prevent the final advance of the army, supported as they were by the murderous fire of a well-served artillery. At length, in the midst of a torrent of fire, the pikemen gave way; they broke and retreated in the direction of Wexford, through a pass that had been left unoccupied by the royal troops, either through accident or design. The cavalry attempted a charge, but the nature of the ground prevented them from acting, and the great body of the peasantry reached Wexford the same evening with comparatively little loss. On the following day, they finally evacuated the town, after having held undisputed possession of it for twenty-three days.

The army of the insurgents now disbanded, and the greater part of them returned to their homes; which was the signal for the renewal of the most inhuman atrocities by the royal troops. A considerable proportion of the army under General Lake consisted of foreign mercenaries, drawn from the shambles of petty German despots, who were let loose upon the people to wreak every kind of cruelty and vengeance on them, which lust, rapine, and bloodthirstiness could invent. On the town of Enniscorthy being taken possession of by the royal troops on the 21st of June, the Hessians particularly distinguished themselves. They entered the building which had

\* The different columns of the Royal troops employed towards the close of the insurrection, at Vinegar Hill and Wexford, were under the command of General Lake, General Dundas, General Needham, General Johnson, General Sir James Duff, General Moore, and Major-General Sir Charles Ansell,—an array of able general officers, which, together with the immense mass of regular troops employed, may give the reader some idea of the formidable nature of the Wexford insurrection. If half of the provinces of Ireland had acted as Wexford did, it would have been next to impossible for the English army to have kept their footing in Ireland for a week.

been used as an hospital by the insurgent peasantry, and shot the unresisting patients in their beds. In doing so, they set fire, with the wadding of their guns, to the beds, when the house was burned down and thirty of the unfortunate inmates perished in the flames. In the same town the brutal soldiery wreaked their vengeance on women, many of whom they mercilessly shot : others were treated with indignities even worse than death. The entire province of Wexford was delivered up to the horrors of military law,—horrors of which it would be impossible to give anything like an adequate description. The lash, the prison, and the rope, were too slow in their devastation. Fire was applied to the dwellings of the unfortunate peasantry, who, with their wives and children, were butchered in the flames. Young men were hanged before the eyes of their relations, who were forced, by soldiers with fixed bayonets, to keep their eyes on the dreadful spectacle. Ghastly corpses were exposed to public sight in every town, human heads were kicked about the streets, and the remains of the dead were treated with all manner of revolting indignities.

One of General Lake's first acts, on approaching Wexford with his army, was to issue a proclamation for the apprehension of all the rebel leaders. Most of these had trusted to a convention made with Lord Kingsborough, and agreed to by him,—by which they surrendered the town of Wexford, and procured the submission of the armed peasantry in the neighbourhood, on condition that security of person and property was granted to all but murderers. Lake, however, had predetermined to give his soldiers an opportunity of taking revenge on the town for their former disgraceful abandonment of it. Fortunately, Sir John Moore's army being nearer the town than Lake's, after throwing a few yeomanry into it, he encamped in the vicinity, to preserve it, if possible, from the horrors of military execution. This measure saved the town ; and Lake's sanguinary bands were let loose on the rural population. The leaders were all seized according to Lake's orders, and after being subjected to many cruel indignities, were tried and shot. The most cruel case was that of Cornelius Grogan, Esq., a gentleman of large landed property—from £8,000 to £10,000 a year,—who was hanged with Messrs. Harvey and Colclough, also gentlemen of independent property.\* Mr. Grogan was about seventy-five years of age, and in the last stage of feebleness—the

\* The executioner of these unfortunate gentlemen was a serjeant of the King's county militia, of the name of Dunn—a monster in the human form, whose brutality and ferocious cruelty have never been exceeded in any country—not even in France, in the worst times of the French Revolution. The clothes of each sufferer, he was accustomed to strip off the moment the body was cut down, in the presence of the victim next in turn for execution, then tied up the effects in a handkerchief with the greatest composure; and proceeded with another victim, and with a similar disposition of his perquisites. As the generality of those executed on the Bridge of Wexford were persons of respectability in life, watches and other valuable effects were not unfrequently found on their persons, and these Serjeant Dunn was in the habit of selling to the yeomanry rabble and supplementaries, as rebel trophies, at the close of each day's business. The heads of the persons executed, he used to carry to his own house after the execution, rolled up in the linen of each, and in the course of the evening he proceeded to the town-house, mounted the roof, and fixed the heads on pikes. For a length of time the Bridge of Wexford was a fashionable lounge, for "the-butts and blades" of the Wexfordian "ascendancy," and Serjeant Dunn was wont to gather his evening group around him, and regale his hearers with ludicrous anecdotes of his official labours.—MADDER.



most unlikely person possible for a 'rebel.' He was living upon his estate in the neighbourhood of Wexford, when the insurrection broke out, and his infirmities prevented him from flying before the advance of the successful peasantry. Believing that his presence among them would induce his tenantry to rise, the insurgents seized him, put him on horseback and placed him in their front as they entered Wexford, threatening him with death if he did not obey their orders. For being thus coerced, this innocent old man was hanged and beheaded by the military executioners of the government, and his house was given up to plunder by the soldiery.\* A bill of Attainder was passed, by which his estates were confiscated to the crown.† Not improbably, General Lake and his military coadjutors were influenced, in their cruel and savage proceedings, by the consideration of the confiscations of property by which they were to be followed—a consideration of no small importance in all the previous wars of extermination in Ireland.

These cruel and infamous acts had the effect of protracting the insurrection and greatly adding to its mischievous results. The peasantry, terrified by the furious vengeance of the soldiery, and many of them burned out of house and home, had no other alternative but to keep to the field with arms in their hands. They were driven to maintain a desultory warfare, which proved more destructive than even open rebellion. The insurgents hurried from county to county, baffling the royal troops by the quickness of their movements. They cut off supplies, stormed outposts, destroyed detachments, surprised encampments, and hovered on the skirts of the royal forces, who were thus kept in a state of constant harrassment, and were not slow to retaliate in acts of revolting cruelty.

At length the government removed Lord Camden, under whose administration of blood the insurrection had been fostered and caused prematurely to explode,—and Lord Cornwallis was sent over in his place. A more conciliatory policy was now pursued. A proclamation was issued, authorizing the royal Generals to grant protection to all who would return to their allegiance, except those who had been guilty of murder; and thus many obtained pardon, and a partial tranquillity was restored.

About this period, several of the United Irish leaders, confined in the state prisons of Dublin, believing all further resistance to be useless, and anxious to save the effusion of blood, entered into a negotiation with the government, and finally concluded an agree-

\* The Rev. Mr. Gordon says—"The devastation and plundering sustained by the loyalists, was not the work of the rebels alone. Great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery, who commonly completed the ruin of deserted houses in which they had their quarters, and often plundered without distinction of Loyalist and Croppy. [He adds]—I mean not to throw blame on any, who unprovokedly, and without neglect of their duty, shared the plunder of houses of reputed rebels, consigned to military depredation. Thus, doubtless, Lord Kingsborough thought his conduct blameless, when he went, the day after his liberation from Wexford, to Mr. Cornelius Grogan's house, and took out of the stable two coach horses to sell. But if we should find the attention of any general officers so absorbed in a system of plunder, as to leave him no leisure for fighting, perhaps we might not think him so entirely blameless."

† This was, however, afterwards reversed in favour of his brother, who was a Royalist.

ment, by which the lives of the leaders were spared (unless guilty of murder), on condition of their giving the government every information connected with the conspiracy. Thomas Addis Emmett, Arthur O'Connor, William James Macneven, and others, were examined before the Privy Council, and a garbled report of their evidence was published by the government. A fuller and more correct account was afterwards drawn up by Emmett, Sweetman, and Macneven, after they reached France, on their liberation from Fort George,—three years after their examination before the Privy Council, and when the Union between the two countries had been carried into effect. To that document we have already referred in the course of this history.\*

The insurrection was now supposed to be entirely at an end, when the government was suddenly alarmed by the intelligence of the landing of a French army of invasion on the northern shores of Ireland. The French Directory, though repeatedly solicited, had declined making any effort to assist their Irish allies, while their aid could have been of any service to them; and it was only after all the disturbances had been suppressed, and the insurrection was entirely at an end, that they dispatched an armed force to the Irish coast. Had they arrived a few months earlier, the consequences would have been most formidable; but, as it was, the entire British army in Ireland was now at liberty to concentrate their force to crush the miniature invasion.

A kind of "luck" seems constantly to have attended the English government in Ireland. However formidable the difficulties and dangers by which they have been surrounded, they have invariably got over them. Thus, in the course of this insurrection, all the armaments prepared by France,—any one of which, had it reached the shores of Ireland in safety, and at the right time, would have enabled the Irish people to shake off the British power,—were baffled by a combination of circumstances over which human management could have little or no control. Thus, the first armament which sailed from Brest, with 15,000 men and 50,000 stand of arms on board, under one of the most skilful French generals—though a large portion of it reached Ireland, and lay for five days within reach of the Irish shore—was blown off to sea again by one of the most tremendous winds ever known upon the coast. The second expedition, of equal strength, was delayed by foul weather, until the British fleet had time to block up the Texel, when the Dutch under the instigation of infatuated directors, went out to their destruction at Camperdown. The success of the third expedition, delayed beyond the time when it could have been of use—was frustrated by the folly and absurdity of its commander, General Humbert. At it was, he defeated a British army greatly his superior in strength, striking general terror throughout the country; and he was only put

\* A full account of this, as of most of the other important documents connected with the history of this period, will be found in *MADDEN'S United Irishmen*.

down after Lord Cornwallis with an army of 27,000 men had gone out to meet him.

It was on a beautiful day, towards the end of August, 1798, that three frigates, under English colours, appeared in the bay of Killala, one of the northern ports of the county Mayo. They neared the shore, and turned out to be French vessels, with about 1000 troops on board, 1000 stand of spare arms, and a few pieces of artillery. They landed without opposition, and took possession of the town of Killala, capturing the bishop and a lot of parsons who happened to be on their visitation. Fond of good quarters, they took possession of the bishop's palace, behaving themselves, however, according to the published testimony of the bishop himself, with the greatest politeness and decorum. The French were soon joined by a number of the peasantry, whom they clothed, armed, and endeavoured to discipline. After resting at Killala for a few days, they determined to march into the country, and at once directed their steps southwards, towards Castlebar.

The town of Castlebar was occupied by a numerous garrison under Generals Lake and Hutchinson, fully provided with artillery and all the munitions of war. The intention of the English generals was, to march to Killala and at once take captive the whole French detachment. They had not the slightest idea that the French would dare to attack *them*, and were therefore not a little astonished when they learnt that they were in full march upon Castlebar. The English generals drew up their army in a strong position about a mile from the town. They were about four thousand strong, and were supported by fourteen pieces of artillery. The insurgent army consisted of 800 Frenchmen and about 1000 undisciplined peasants; and their artillery consisted of one curricule gun! The British army had scarcely taken up its position before the French came in sight; they descended the opposite hill in columns, directly in front of the English. The artillery played on them with some effect, and it was expected that they would at once be forced to retire. What was the surprise of the English—whose attention had been completely taken up by the firing of the French musketry in front—to find that they were making an attempt by means of small bodies of men, to carry their left, which was protected by stone walls. The alarm immediately spread throughout the British army; orders were given which tended to throw them into confusion; the line wavered; panic became general; the heavy cavalry turned and rode in among the infantry whom they trampled down in their hurry to escape; the infantry fled from the field like a disorderly mob, throwing from them their arms by the way; and thus in a few minutes, the fine army of British soldiers, yeomen, and militia, were in full flight before their handful of enemies, leaving behind them the whole of their artillery.

Away they went, helter skelter, pursued by such of the French-

men as could find horses to follow them. They rushed through Castlebar, and stopt not a moment to hold the town against the invaders. There was a general effort among the gallant men to be first; the inhabitants thinking, as in the case of the famous John Gilpin, that it was "a race"—and hence the rout is called "*The Races of Castlebar*" to this day. They drew not bridle until they reached the city of Tuam; and even there, thinking themselves not safe, they subsequently fled to Athlone, a distance of sixty-four miles—where, behind the walls of the frowning castle, and under the protection of its big guns, they rested in security from the desperation of 'the rebels' and the French. After the battle, nearly three hundred of the royal army were found missing: they were chiefly of the South and Kilkenny regiments, and it afterwards turned out that they had deserted to the enemy,\* a sufficient proof of the precarious state of the militia force at the time.

Had the French advanced at once upon Dublin, the consequences might have been most serious; as some 40,000 of the peasantry of Westmeath were preparing to assemble at the Crooked Wood, about 40 miles from the metropolis, and many of the militia were ready to join them as they advanced. But the "luck" of the government did not now forsake it. The French stopt too long at Castlebar, giving balls and public entertainments; and in the meantime Lord Cornwallis was preparing to overpower them with an army of twenty times their number.

At length, after collecting an army of about 80,000 men, well appointed with cavalry and artillery, Lord Cornwallis considered himself a match for the nine hundred Frenchmen, and accordingly he boldly advanced to meet them. His object was to prevent their crossing the Shannon, and he directed his march upon that river. But General Humbert, immediately on learning the advance of the British, wheeled to the north towards the sources of the Shannon; and it was ten days before Lord Cornwallis, advancing by slow marches, purposely to increase the public terror, could manage to overtake him. Colonel Vereker (Lord Gort) was the first who came up with the French on their march northward, and brought them to an engagement, when he was driven back with considerable loss. At last the army of Lord Cornwallis appeared on the skirts of the retreating French; when Lord Roden's "Foxhunters," eager to revenge themselves for the defeat they sustained at Castlebar, boldly charged them,—but the French, opening their columns and then closing them, beat them off with great loss, and took their leader, Lord Roden, a prisoner. These actions, however, detained the French until Lord Cornwallis came up with his immense army, on the 8th of September,

\* About a hundred of these men were afterwards taken prisoners by Lord Cornwallis's army, tried by Court-Martial, and hanged. One of them defended himself by saying, "that it was the army and not he who were deserters; for whilst he was fighting hard, they all ran away and left him to be murdered."

when, surrounded on all sides, and seeing further resistance hopeless, they surrendered, and were sent forward to Dublin, from whence they were afterwards exported to their own country.

No sooner were the royalists freed from their dangers, than the reign of horror again commenced. No soldiers could be braver than the royal troops when their enemies were defenceless men. Defeated at Castlebar, they were victorious at Killala, which was occupied by a few half-armed peasantry and a number of women and children. The bravery of the troops here became very conspicuous: they murdered loyalists and insurgents indiscriminately; and they robbed all ranks, whether friends or foes, indiscriminately. One of the greatest boasts of these heroes was, who could shoot the most "croppies." \* Peasantry were shot in the fields when at work; and women and children were also used as targets for these brave defenders of the crown and constitution. Military tribunals were established, composed in many cases of officers who scarcely exceeded the age of boyhood, and immense numbers of barbarous executions were the consequence. How different was the conduct of the "savage peasantry" when the power was in their hands! Not a life was taken, except in the field of battle. Property was everywhere respected; decorum was scrupulously preserved; the insurgents paid for everything they got; and it was admitted, even by their bitterest enemies, that while they were uncontrolled masters of the district, their conduct was generous and merciful in the highest degree. At length, Lord Cornwallis checked the indiscriminate destruction of life and property by the proclamation of an armistice, permitting the insurgents to disperse, giving them thirty days either to surrender their arms or be prepared for slaughter. These thirty days were days of renewed terror; but the object of the government was accomplished by them, for they served to increase the sense of public insecurity, and to cause the loyalists to think that England alone could protect them from the hostility of the Irish people.

Scarcely had the little French army been surrounded and taken prisoners, and the disturbed districts in Connaught been reduced to a state of quiet, than another French squadron, consisting of the *Hoché* line of battle ship, two frigates, and a schooner, was discovered off the coast of Ulster, by Admiral Warren, who had under him six ships of the line and three frigates. The little armament was immediately signalled on shore, but before Bompard, the French admiral, could land the small body of troops on board, the British squadron bore down upon him in order of battle. The inequality of the force rendered a prolonged resistance impossible. Signal was made to the frigates and schooner to retreat through shallow water; while the French admiral himself prepared for an obstinate resistance.

\* *Croppy* was the name given to all who were supposed to be disaffected to the government. It originated in the custom introduced by the French, of wearing short hair—the adoption of this fashion was considered *prima facie* evidence of republicanism.

There was one valiant Irish spirit on board the *Hoche*, who was offered—nay entreated, to take the last chance of escape by means of the fast-sailing French schooner. This was Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the bravest, noblest spirits of whom Ireland can boast—a man of the purest and loftiest motives, and who, in any other country but his own, would have risen to the highest eminence. On being entreated by the French officers to make his escape, he refused them all, expressing his determination to stand or fall with the ship. “Shall it be said,” replied he, “that *I* fled, whilst the French were fighting the battles of my country?”

The engagement which took place was a most severe one—four British ships of the line and one frigate surrounded the *Hoche*, and for six hours she sustained their united fire, until her masts and rigging were shot away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cockpit, her rudder was blown off, her sails and cordage hung in shreds, her sides were shattered by the destructive shot, and she floated a dismantled wreck on the surface of the waters. Theobald Wolfe Tone commanded at one of the batteries, and fought with the utmost desperation. At last, when she could not fire another shot, the gallant ship struck, and her crew were taken prisoners.

It was at first supposed that Tone had fallen in the action—a delusion which was encouraged by those around him. It was not till after they had landed at Letterkenny, that the illustrious captive was identified; and the infamous task of discovering him was reserved for an Irish Orangemen, a schoolfellow of his own, Sir George Hill, one of the chief magistrates of the neighbourhood. The French officers were invited to breakfast with the Earl of Cavan, who commanded in the district, and while they were seated at table, Hill entered the room followed by several police officers. After looking round the company, he fixed his eyes upon Tone, and stepping up to him, said “Mr. Tone, I am *very happy* to see you.” Seeing that all further attempts at concealment were useless, Tone acknowledged the salutation, when he was instantly seized, heavily laden with irons, and hurried to Dublin.

The forms of a trial and court-martial were gone through, and Tone was sentenced to death. Curran, always ready to interpose himself between the government and its victims, endeavoured to save him by form of legal process; but it was too late. To escape the ignominious touch of the hangman (for the English government, merciless to a fallen enemy, had refused him a soldier's death), Tone, during the night of the 11th of November, while the soldiers were erecting the gallows underneath his very windows, inflicted a deep wound across his neck with a pen-knife, and in the morning he was found weltering in his blood. The following is the account of his last moments as related by his son:—

“Stretched on his bloody pallet in a dungeon, the first apostle .

of Irish Union, and most illustrious martyr of Irish independence, counted each lingering hour during the last seven days and nights of his slow and silent agony. No one was allowed to approach him. Far from his adored family, and from all those friends whom he loved so dearly, the only forms which flitted before his eyes were those of the grim jailor and rough attendants of the prison : the only sounds which fell on his dying ear, the heavy tread of the sentry. He retained, however, the calmness of his soul, and the possession of his faculties to the last. And the consciousness of dying for his country, and in the cause of justice and liberty, illumined, like a bright halo, his latest moments, and kept up his fortitude to the end. There is no situation under which those feelings will not support a patriot. On the morning of the 8th of November, he was seized with the spasms of approaching death. It is said that the surgeon who attended, whispered that if he attempted to move or speak he must expire instantly ; that he overheard him, and making a slight movement, replied, " I can yet find words to thank you, sir ; it is the most welcome news you could give me. What should I wish to live for ? " Falling back, with these expressions on his lips, he expired without further effort."

The only other attempt at insurrection made at this period, was the futile one of Napper Tandy, formerly a leader among the United Irishmen. He was now a general in the French service, and headed a small expedition of expatriated Irishmen, who desired to aid in the liberation of their country. They landed at the Isle of Ruglin on the north-west coast ; but, on hearing of Humbert's disaster, they immediately embarked and escaped to Norway. Napper Tandy, in utter violation of the laws of neutrality, was afterwards seized at Hamburgh, and brought over to Ireland ; when he was tried at Lifford, and condemned to death. But Napoleon, who had now returned from Egypt, claimed him as a French general, and threatened to hang an English prisoner of high rank if his life were taken : he also laid a severe fine on the city of Hamburgh, for its allowed violation of the laws of neutrality. These measures had their due effect : Tandy was acquitted, and shortly after was allowed to quit the country in exchange for a prisoner of equal rank.

The country was now reduced to a wretched state. A cloud of awe hung over the public mind. All expression of opinion in behalf of the insurgents or rebels, was entirely suppressed. Men dared no longer trust each other. They durst not betray either by word or look, their feelings of sympathy with their kind. The apparatus of terror and violence were everywhere displayed. The entire country presented the appearance of one vast encampment. Little was to be seen abroad but English and foreign soldiers, yeomen, and police. Commerce, manufacture, and husbandry were suspended, and the only activity apparent in society, was

that of Death and his horrible instruments. In this state of national stupor was the Irish people, when the measure of a Union was proposed, by which the English ascendancy, fortified by an immense army, was subsequently enabled to effect the extinction of Irish nationality.

Such is a short and succinct history of the Irish Rebellion of 1798,—a struggle between the people and the aristocratic ascendancy—between the conquered Irish race and their foreign conquerors,—a part of the identical struggle, not yet determined, which commenced with the landing of the Norman archers and men-at-arms, seven hundred years before, on the shores of Wexford.

The lives lost in the course of the insurrection,—and it lasted little more than a month—were upwards of *seventy thousand*. Twenty thousand fell on the side of government, and fifty thousand on that of the insurgents\*—the greater part of whom were massacred in cold blood.

The force employed by the government in the suppression of the people, has been variously estimated; but probably it did not amount to less than 100,000 men. The yeomanry force alone exceeded 50,000. The regular cavalry were above 7,000 strong, and the infantry 45,000.—The numbers of the Irish peasantry actually engaged in the insurrection, cannot be stated with accuracy. The rising in Wexford was by far the most general; and there, it is computed, at least 35,000 men were in the field. Probably the number of insurgents actually in arms, in different parts of the country, was not less than 100,000. The arms of all descriptions, taken from the insurgents, amounted to 120,000. The number of United Irishmen actually enrolled (according to Emmett, O'Connor, and others) amounted to 500,000, and the number they counted on as effective, was about 300,000. It is pretty certain that, had the insurrection been general, as it was local, this estimate would have proved to be nearly correct. The population of Ireland amounting, in 1798, to only four millions and a half, showed that the large mass of the Irish people were ranged in organized hostility to the government.

The cost of suppressing the rebellion, local though it was, must have been immense. The maintenance of the standing army alone in Ireland, in 1798, was upwards of £4,000,000 sterling. The property destroyed on the side of the royalists alone, was upwards of £1,023,000; one half of which was in the county of Wexford. The loss of the insurgents, whose property was on all occasions mercilessly destroyed by the royalists, could not have been less than a million sterling, and most probably amounted to a great deal more. The increase of legal expenses connected with the prosecutions of the United Irishmen and rebels, amounted to about half a million; and the money expended upon spies, informers,

\* Flawden, Moore, Curran, Barrington, and other writers, are agreed as to the general correctness of the above numbers.



and hired ruffians of all kinds, must have been very great. The total expense of the Rebellion and its result, the Union, has been computed by some writers at £30,000,000; and by others at upwards of £50,000,000. Dr. Madden gives his data \* for assuming that the expense amounted to at least £21,000,000; and there is every reason to believe that he is quite within the mark.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

IRELAND prepared for the Union—The proposal received with general indignation—The question insidiously introduced in Parliament—Defeat of the Government—The Arguments for and against the Union—Public excitement during the Discussion of the question—Lords Castlereagh and Clare—Parliament prorogued—System of Bribery and Corruption pursued—The Fighting Club of Unionists—Petitions for and against the Union—Public Meetings dispersed by the Military—Public Meetings in the Provinces—The government policy with the Catholics—Are promised Emancipation if they will consent to the Union—The Catholic Bishops deceived—A large portion of the Catholic body protest against the Union—Daniel O'Connell's first public appearance as an Anti-Unionist—The Session of 1800—Bribery effectual—Lord Castlereagh's atrocious propositions to bribe the entire Parliament—Majority for the Government on the first division—Affecting scene on the re-appearance of Mr. Grattan—Resolutions in favour of a Union carried—The Catastrophe—The Act of Union.

IRELAND was now chained down to the earth by an immense standing army. The country was in a state of siege. The Habeas Corpus Act was still suspended, and Martial Law was everywhere in operation. Military executions were of constant occurrence; every breath of public opinion was hushed; the shrieks of the rebellion still rung in the nation's ear; and the 'wholesome terror' inspired by the government, still held the nation in a state of torpor and stupefaction. Such was the state of Ireland when the measure was proposed, which was to extinguish her nationality, and merge her existence into that of a kingdom which had ever been her scourge and her oppressor.

\* As to the expenses the government had to encounter and defray on account of this rebellion, the following calculation may give some idea of the amount:—

From 1797 to 1802, the cost of the large military force that was kept up in Ireland estimated at £4,000,000 per annum .....	£16,000,000
Purchase of the Irish Parliament .....	1,500,000
Payment of claims of suffering loyalists .....	1,500,000
Secret Service money, from 1797 to 1804 .....	53,547
Probable amount of pensions paid for services in suppression of the rebellion and the carrying of the Union, from 1797 to 1842 .....	1,000,000
Increased expense of legal proceedings and judicial tribunals .....	500,000
Additional expenditure in public offices consequent on increased duties in 1798, and alterations in establishments attendant on the Union, the removal of parliamentary archives, and compensation of officers, servants, &c. ....	500,000
	<hr/> £21,053,547

I am aware that the amount has been estimated as £30,000,000 by some writers, and at nearly double that amount by others. "In three counties," it has been said, "its suppression cost £52,000,000; what would it have been, if it had extended to the other twenty-nine counties?"—MADDEN'S *United Irishmen*, vol. I, p. 377.

The Union had already been projected by William PITT, and supported by his Cabinet ; but the hostile attitude of the Irish people had hitherto prevented its being carried into execution. On several occasions the measure had been hinted at in the Irish legislature, but was received with such indignation that the ministry perceived the time for its enactment had not yet arrived. The English government saw that they must first deal with the people, when they would have the support of the Irish ascendancy ; and after the nation had been effectually silenced, they could then deal with the Protestant proprietors of the Irish Parliament single-handed. The Rebellion was accordingly fomented, and caused to explode ; and when it had been suppressed by military force, and the terror of the propertied classes had reached its greatest height, —when the country was filled with British and Foreign troops, and the constitutional law was entirely suspended, — then the Union was proposed, and the Irish Parliament, which was already full of crime and corruption, was persuaded and bribed into laying violent hands upon itself, —and thus, after a short but most expensive struggle, the English government at length succeeded in the utter extinction of the Irish legislature.

The proposal of a Union was at first received with general indignation throughout Ireland. Although the Rebellion had just been suppressed, and the government was backed by 137,000 armed men, —yet, even the ascendancy scarcely supposed it possible that such a measure would have been attempted. They were, however, deceived. The government knew that the nation could now no longer resist ; and that, without their aid, the Protestant opposition to them in Parliament could do nothing. The Irish legislature had refused justice to the Irish people, and supported the English government in all its attempts to put them down ; and now that the Irish Parliament had forfeited the support of the nation, and convicted itself of intolerable tyranny, the English government turned round upon it too, and compelled it to assent to its own annihilation. At the same time, any effective opposition which the people might yet be able to offer to the Union, was neutralized by cunningly setting Catholic against Protestant, and Protestant against Catholic, while the chains of both were rivetted in one common tyranny.

The Union was first insidiously proposed in the Viceroy's speech, on the opening of the Irish Parliament on the 22nd of January, 1799. After alluding to the attempts made to completely separate the two kingdoms, he said—"His Majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the

empire." Lord Powerscourt moved an amendment to the address, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech—the amendment was directed against the contemplated Union, but it was rejected by a large majority: the Lords at once subserviently consenting to record the sentence of extinction of their judicial existence. An amendment to the same effect was also moved in the House of Commons; and, after a debate of twenty-two hours the government address was carried by a majority of only *one*.\* On the following day, the question was again debated at great length, and after great exertions on the part of the opposition, the government was unexpectedly defeated.

In the course of the debates on the Union which took place in the Irish Parliament, all the great lawyers of the time were found faithful to the cause of national independence. Saurin (afterwards Attorney-General), Plunket (afterwards Lord Chancellor), Bushe (afterwards Chief-Justice), Fitzgerald (then Prime-Sergeant), Parnell (Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer), and most of the other distinguished Irish lawyers, spoke with great force of eloquence and argument, against the proposal for the extinction of the Irish legislature. At the risk of anticipating some of the arguments adduced on the opposite sides, in the various discussions on the subject, we may here shortly state them: they were somewhat as follows:—

1. The proposers and favourers of a Union maintained that it would "consolidate the strength and the resources of the Empire." By a union with wealthy England, which was represented to be in a state of peace, order, and prosperity, it was represented that Ireland must be greatly benefitted. Capital would flow into the country; all the cities and towns in the south and west would become great and wealthy; new harbours and dockyards would be built, and commerce and manufactures would rapidly increase. The rapid prosperity of Ireland since the period of 1782, was even adduced as an argument in favour of the Union! It was argued by Mr. Pitt, in the British Parliament, that "as Ireland

\* The manner in which this majority of one was obtained, was a remarkable instance of the open prodigality and corruption of the period. It was suspected that Mr. French (afterwards created Lord Ashdown) had long been in negotiation with Lord Castlereagh; but that his proposals had been refused by the minister on account of their extravagance. In the course of this debate, Mr. French declared in the course of a short speech, that he would vote against the minister. This declaration was observed to have a stunning effect on Mr. Cooke, the Under-Secretary, and Lord Castlereagh, his superior. They were soon observed in earnest conversation, and Mr. Cooke then retired to a back seat, when he was observed carefully counting the House, to see whether Mr. French's vote could be done without, or not. The result was unfavourable, and he accordingly sidled his way up to Lord Castlereagh, when a short conversation took place between them, the result of which was, that Mr. Cooke proceeded to Mr. French's side, and, after a short, but seemingly most satisfactory communication, they parted with a smile, and the Secretary returned to his place by the side of Lord Castlereagh, who, looking towards Mr. French, nodded his assent and satisfaction. The House saw the whole transaction, and its purport was plain to every body present. In a word, Lord Castlereagh had accepted Mr. French's terms, and agreed to give the bribe that he had proposed. This was proved on the approach of the division, when Mr. French rose and apologized for having indiscreetly said that he would support the amendment. (In more mature reflection he was convinced that he was wrong, and he would now support the minister. This instance of a man of large wealth and property bartering his vote for a filthy bribe, was a common enough sight during the last years of the Irish Parliament. The sin of taking bribes is by no means one that is confined to poor men.

had been so prosperous under her own parliament,\* the amount of that prosperity would be *trebled* under a British legislature." Representations to the same effect were made by Lord Clare in the Irish House of Lords. "There is not," said he, "a nation on the face of the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufactures, with the same rapidity, in the same period, as Ireland"! Singularly enough, this very advancement was adduced as a reason for the Union, which, it was alleged by Pitt, would "treble" a prosperity unprecedented.

2. The example of Scotland was strongly pleaded as a reason why Ireland should be united with England. The prosperity of that country, subsequent to the Union—the wealth that had flowed into it—the capital that had been invested both in commerce and agriculture, were cited as proofs of the great advantages which Ireland must derive from a similar incorporation of itself with the stronger and more wealthy kingdom of Great Britain.

3. It was also contended that Ireland was unfit to govern herself—that the Irish legislature was unable to heal the religious dissensions of the country, and preserve its constitution—that Ireland could not protect herself from the peril of total separation, unless strengthened by a Union with the more powerful kingdom of Great Britain. A beautiful picture of prosperity, peacefulness, and entire religious unity was drawn, and Ireland was temptingly assured that such was to be her condition immediately subsequent to a Union with her wealthy, prosperous, and peaceful neighbour. "The proposal," said Lord Castlereagh, in concluding one of his daring and reckless speeches in favour of the Union, "is one that will *entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies which are the perpetual source of jealousy and discontent*; it is one which *increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil*; it is one that *puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of a separation*; it is one that *establishes such a representation for*

\* The increase in the trade of Ireland subsequent to 1785 was amazingly rapid. This not being a book of statistics, we can scarcely do more than allude to the increase. We have already stated that the spirit of commerce is closely identified with that of liberty, and the assertion receives abundant confirmation from the History of Ireland in all times. Although the Irish Revolution of 1792 was exceedingly incomplete, it is unquestionable that it gave a renewed existence to Irish liberty and Irish commerce. The parliament remained unreformed, but it acted under popular influence—the volunteers were at its back. Scarcely, however, had this body been suppressed, and the spirit of liberty been checked by the progress of government corruption, than commerce as rapidly declined as it had previously advanced. As instances of the rapid increase in the consumption of articles which, in the present state of civilization, rank as necessaries of life, we may mention that, from about the year 1785 to the Union, the increase in the consumption in Ireland, as compared with England (we take the authority of Mr. O'Connell), was as follows:—

TEA.—The increase in Ireland was .....	84 per cent.
Ditto in England.....	45 "
TOBACCO.—The increase in Ireland was.....	100 per cent.
Ditto in England .....	64 "
SUGAR.—The increase in Ireland was.....	57 per cent.
Ditto in England .....	53 "
COFFEE.—The increase in Ireland was .....	600 per cent.
Ditto in England .....	75 "

It is to be remarked, however, that towards the year 1800, the consumption of most of these articles rapidly diminished, consequent upon the paralización of trade and commerce by the Rebellion of 1798

*the country as must lay asleep for ever, the question of parliamentary reform, which, combined with our religious divisions, has produced all our distractions and calamities."*

These assertions and arguments of the Unionists were ably and eloquently met by their opponents, who contended

1. That, as regarded trade and commerce, the country was already prosperous in an eminent degree—that capital was already steadily flowing into Ireland—and that her resources were now being developed with greater rapidity than in any country of similar extent in the world. In the words of Mr. Plunkett—"Ireland had already a population of 4 or 5,000,000 of people, hardy, gallant, and enthusiastic—she was possessed of all the means of civilization, agriculture, and commerce, well pursued and understood; a constitution fully recognised and established; HER REVENUES, HER TRADE, HER MANUFACTURES THRIVING BEYOND THE HOPE OR THE EXAMPLE OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY OF HER EXTENT—WITHIN THESE FEW YEARS ADVANCING WITH A RAPIDITY ASTONISHING EVEN TO HERSELF; not complaining of deficiency even in these respects, but enjoying and acknowledging her prosperity. She is called on to surrender them all to the control of—whom? Is it to a great and powerful continent, to whom nature intended her as an appendage—to a mighty people, totally exceeding her in all calculation of territory or population? No! but to another happy little island, placed beside her in the bosom of the Atlantic, of little more than double her territory and population, and possessing resources not nearly so superior to her wants." It was also argued, that such would be the discontent engendered throughout the country by the extinction of the Irish legislature, that property would become less secure, capital would be frightened away, and trade and commerce would thus be greatly injured. It was evident also, that many of the large landed proprietors would emigrate and spend their time and money out of the country after the passing of the Union; and thus far more wealth could be annually abstracted from Ireland than could possibly be gained by any accession of British capital.

2. It was contended that the case of the Scottish Union was strikingly unfavourable to the scheme of a Union between Ireland and Great Britain; inasmuch as Ireland, under a parliament of her own, had increased far more rapidly than Scotland had done since the Union. Forty years had passed before Scotland exhibited any proof of increased prosperity, and then it was to be accounted

and its disastrous consequences to the community at large. The exports of provisions also rapidly diminished, as well as of manufactured articles. The exportation of linen manufacture fell off, between 1796 and 1800, from 46,000,000 to 35,000,000 of yards, and in the year 1801 to 25,000,000 only! At the same time that this diminution in the means of revenue was going on, the government EXPENDITURE was rapidly increasing, as the following table will shew:—

1791 . . . . .	£1,490,624	1796 . . . . .	£3,445,071
1792 . . . . .	1,448,754	1797 . . . . .	3,660,484
1793 . . . . .	1,592,707	1798 . . . . .	4,476,637
1794 . . . . .	2,028,655	1799 . . . . .	7,006,635
1795 . . . . .	2,635,302	1800 . . . . .	7,023,166

for on other grounds than that of a Union of the two legislatures.\* But Ireland had already increased in industry and wealth in an extraordinary degree; she needed no Union, to do that which she had already done for herself. In fact, Mr. Saurin did not hesitate to declare that it was an "intolerance of Irish prosperity" which instigated the Union, and that England was taking the advantage of reclaiming in a moment of weakness, the dominion which the Irish legislature had extorted in a moment of virtue—a dominion from the cessation of which, he alleged, Ireland dated all her prosperity.—It was further contended, that the cases of Ireland and Scotland were essentially different. Scotland had no regular parliament such as Ireland had—the Scottish Lords and Commons, with the hereditary counsellors of the crown, forming but one chamber, and voting promiscuously on all subjects. That parliament had also passed an act called the *Act of Security*, which enacted that the crown of Scotland should never be worn by the same monarch as that of England—an act which tended to the total separation of the two countries; so that the Union with that country was rendered an imperative measure. Scotland was also joined by nature to England, and possessed few resources of its own to enable it to exist as an independent nation, or to require to be governed by a separate legislature of its own. In all these respects, Ireland was, it was contended, very differently situated: its parliament was a counterpart of that of Britain; it had enacted that Ireland should ever be governed by the same monarch as England; it was disjoined from England by the sea, was possessed of great natural resources, had distinct and peculiar interests, and required a legislature of its own to regulate its commerce and watch over its general interests.

3. The argument that Ireland was unable to protect herself from the peril of a total separation, was met by the fact that the friends of the government in Ireland had themselves put down the 'rebellion,' with comparatively little aid from England. The Irish Parliament claimed for the Orange militia and yeomanry the merit of having restored peace to the country. They also urged that they had throughout aided the government in its measures for the suppression and coercion of the disaffected. Some of the opposition members, who had not identified themselves, as the majority had done, with the corruption, coercion, and torture, of the government, boldly charged the English minister with having worked up

\* In a speech delivered in the British House of Commons, in the year 1790, by Mr. Charles Grey (afterwards Earl Grey), we find the following passage:—"For a period of more than forty years after the (Scotch) Union, Scotland exhibited no proofs of increased industry and rising wealth. Till after 1748 there was no sensible advance of the commerce of Scotland. Several of her manufactures were not established till sixty years after the Union, and her principal branch of manufacture was not set up, I believe, till 1781. The abolition of the heritable jurisdictions was the first great measure that gave an impulse to the spirit of improvement in Scotland. Since that time the prosperity of Scotland has been considerable, but certainly not so great as that of Ireland has been within the same period." "Has Scotland," asked Mr. Foster, in the course of the debate in the Irish parliament, in 1799—"Has Scotland advanced in prosperity since the Union as much as Ireland? Mr. Dundas, her great advocate, states the progress of her linen manufacture, to shew her increase of prosperity: it was one million of

the country into a state of rebellion in order to terrify the gentry into a submission to the shackles which were now forged and in readiness for Ireland. And instead of healing the distractions of Ireland, it was maintained that those would only be aggravated and greatly increased by the measure of a Union. Mr. Foster declared that Ireland would henceforward be only "a *discontented province*" of England, instead of a *free nation*; and Mr. Saurin, with prophetic vision, foretold that the contemplated measure would only "add to and augment her divisions and distractions, by a *new sort of division and distraction, which would last, in all human probability, for another century, with rancour and fury.*" With reference also, to the removal of religious rancour, and the Emancipation of the Catholics, which was promised, it was argued that the probability of such a result would be rendered more remote than ever by the Union of the two countries. While their numbers were so great in proportion to the rest of the population in Ireland, there was some probability of the pressure which the Catholics exercised upon a resident and domestic legislature, effecting their Emancipation; but, once merged in the empire, their numbers would cease to be formidable, and emancipation would be refused, as the event proved. Grattan pointed out the fallacy of the Catholic expectations from the English ministry, who were attempting to win them over with such deceitful promises. He thus sarcastically but truthfully stated the argument of the minister that 'once merged in the Empire, the numbers of the Catholics would cease to be formidable, and they might with safety be admitted into the constitution.' "For this hope," said Mr. Grattan, "he exhibits no other ground than the physical inanity of the Catholic body, accomplished by a Union, which, as it destroys the relative importance of Ireland, so it destroys the relative proportion of its Catholic inhabitants, and thus they become admissible, because they cease to be anything. Hence their brilliant expectation! 'You were,' says the minister, 'before the Union as four to one—you will be by Union as one to four.'"

But the grand and fundamental argument of the opponents of a Union, was, that the Irish Parliament *could not extinguish itself*—that it was incompetent to the destruction of the Irish constitution,

yards in 1706, and in 1796 twenty-three millions. How does the linen manufacture of Ireland stand the comparison?

	Yards.	Value.
" Its export was in 1706 .....	536,538	£22,750
1783 .....	16,039,705	1,080,213
1796 .....	46,705,319	3,115,687

" that is, 83 times greater as to quantity, and 137 times greater as to value, in 1796 than in 1706; and thus, that manufacture which is the staple of both kingdoms, and which Mr. Dundas very properly brought forward to rest his arguments on, rose from 1 to 83 in Ireland—in separate and ununited Ireland—under the nurture and protection of Ireland's parliament; while, in the same period, it rose in united Scotland, without a resident parliament, from 1 to 23 only. Has Mr. Dundas any more arguments to produce? Why don't he refer to their agriculture, which is peculiarly applicable to the question, because the rise began in Ireland with the constitution of 1782, which the minister wants to annihilate? It has risen since that period to the full value of a million yearly, including the decrease, by *rather stoppage*, of import, the immense accession of home demand, and the increasing export, even so much as to supply largely, every year, this affluent kingdom, whose prosperity we are desirous to imitate, and who cannot maintain itself."

inasmuch as the power which it exercised was in consequence of a trust *delegated* to it, which it had no authority to transfer to another parliament—that the people alone could determine that question, appoint the form of the Commonwealth, and the hands into whose management it was to be entrusted. It was contended that the duty of the legislature was, to preserve its trust inviolate—to guard and protect the constitution—and, when the term of their trust had expired, to restore it back to the people;—not to betray it into the hands of its enemies, or to convert it to their own corrupt purposes of traffic or of profit. This view of the question was powerfully and eloquently maintained by Saurin, Plunket, and the other great Irish lawyers of the time. Saurin boldly declared that the passing of an Act of Union would be a direct violation of the compact made at the revolution between the government and the people, and that the resistance of the people to it would become merely a question of prudence. “If a legislative Union,” said he, “should be so forced upon the country against the will of its inhabitants, it would be a nullity, and resistance to it would be a struggle against usurpation, and not a resistance against law;” and again,—“You may make the Union binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience. It will be obeyed so long as England is strong, but resistance to it will in the abstract be a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance will be *a mere question of prudence.*” The argument of Mr. Plunket to the same effect is so strongly put, and is couched in such eloquent language, that we quote it at length:—

“Sir,” said he, “I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not lay your hands on the constitution. I tell you, that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately. I repeat it. I call on any man who hears me to take down my words. You have not been elected for this purpose. You are appointed to make laws, and not legislatures—you are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, and not to transfer them—you are appointed to act under the constitution, and not to alter it; and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the government—you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state doctrines that are not merely founded on the immutable laws of truth and reason; I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have written on the science of government; but I state the practice of our constitution as settled at the era of the revolution; and I state the doctrine under which the House of Hanover derives its title to the throne. Has the king a right to transfer his crown? Is he competent to annex it to the crown of Spain, or any other country? No; but he may abdicate it, and every man who knows the constitution, knows the consequence—the right reverts to the next in



succession. If they all abdicate, it reverts to the people, The man who questions this doctrine, in the same breath must arraign the sovereign of the throne as a usurper. Are you competent to transfer your legislative rights to the French Council of Five Hundred? Are you competent to transfer them to the British parliament? I answer—No! If you transfer, you abdicate; and the great original trust reverts to people from whom it issued. *Yourselves you may extinguish, but parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitution—it is as immortal as the island which it protects.* As well might the frantic suicide hope that the act which destroys his miserable body should extinguish his eternal soul! Again I therefore warn you. Do not dare to lay your hands on the constitution—it is above your powers.”

Such is a brief epitome of the arguments advanced for and against the Union, in the course of the debates in the Irish parliament on the subject. The excitement on all occasions when the question was discussed, was very great, both within and without the walls of parliament. On the second day of the first great discussion of the subject, the people collected, in great numbers, round the House of Commons, and gave free expression to their opinions of the various members as they entered. The House itself was crowded, and many ladies of distinction were present in the galleries—the female portion of the Irish community, of all ranks, generally taking an intense interest in the great political movements of the day. The government used every exertion to secure a large attendance of their friends; threats, bribes, and promises being extensively employed. Nor were the Opposition idle; they secured a large muster; and, as their numbers increased, the eye of Lord Castlereagh quailed before the array which they presented. After an exciting and lengthened debate, the government were defeated by a majority of six. A murmur of satisfaction ran through the house; which was taken up out of doors, when the crowds that had waited the issue during the entire night, set up a long and enthusiastic shout of exultation. On the rising of the house, the populace seemed disposed to handle roughly the members who had supported the Union. The Speaker was very popular, and on coming out of the house, the horses were taken from his carriage and he was drawn through the streets by the rejoicing crowd. Full of fun, a large body of them pursued Lord Clare, with the intention of tackling him to the Speaker's carriage, and compelling him to draw with the rest. The chancellor fled, presenting a pocket pistol at the advancing crowd, who set up a loud laugh, and left him to pursue their original occupation.

Lords Castlereagh and Clare were the principal agents of the government in effecting the subjugation of Ireland at this period; the former was Irish Secretary of State, the latter Lord Chancellor, and both laboured hard in their vocations, to achieve the annihila-

tion of the Irish legislature. They were both apostates from their early principles. Lord Castlereagh (as the Hon. Robert Stewart) had been one of the most active members of the Ulster Volunteer Association, and foremost in all its schemes for the reform of the Irish Parliament. He had also been an active member of the Northern Whig Club, the nucleus of the Irish secret political societies. On his entrance into parliament, his *first* essay was, a motion to reform its constitution : how different from his *last*, which was for its utter annihilation ! Castlereagh soon turned his back upon the people, and was afterwards found on all occasions the servile agent of the government. The first arrests of the United Irish leaders in the North, were made under his immediate orders ; his local knowledge of the members of the secret societies, from his personal intercourse with them, enabling him successfully to act the part of government sheriff's officer. Throughout all the period of terror and rebellion in 1798, Castlereagh was found the unhesitating abettor of the government ; and when the period for extinguishing the legislature of Ireland arrived, he was found the ready and unscrupulous instrument to effect its annihilation. The untimely end of the 'noble' lord himself is now a matter of history.

Lord Clare was the leader of the government in the Irish House of Lords, as Lord Castlereagh was in the Commons. A large majority of the titled aristocracy of Ireland were found favourable to a Union, and Lord Clare had little difficulty in persuading them to pass the measure. Like the aristocracies of all countries, a large proportion of the Irish House of Lords were ready to sell their country provided they could make a profitable bargain for themselves. The imbeciles also, by no means a small proportion of that assembly, had been so tempted by the events of the late rebellion, that they imagined their only security lay in a union with the country on which their ascendancy depended, namely England. They accordingly yielded unresistingly to the arrogant and venal Lord Clare, and signed their own death-warrants as legislators, without a shudder. The bench of bishops also, as might be anticipated, were found ready to sell their country. The "thirty pieces of silver" offered them were the promises of translation to richer benefices. Only two peers, the Bishops of Down and Waterford, opposed themselves to the dictation of the government.

Parliament was prorogued shortly after the first defeat of the ministerial proposition for a Union, and Lord Cornwallis, the viceroy, assisted by Castlereagh and Clare, employed the recess in the unscrupulous employment of fraud, terror, and corruption, to obtain a majority. Direct bribes were freely offered and accepted, by the venal and the profligate. Places of all kinds were invented, and disposed of. Lord Clare zealously devoted himself to the corruption of the bar, and in a great measure succeeded. He doubled the number of bankrupt commissioners, and, under pretence of furnishing each county with a local judge, in two months he established

thirty-two new offices, of about six or seven hundred pounds per annum each. These new offices he "judiciously" distributed among the members of the House of Commons, belonging to the bar, who could be induced to support the project of a Union. Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "*Historic Memoirs of Ireland*," gives a list of the barristers who supported the measure, with their respective rewards, showing that the country was then burdened to the amount of £50,800 sterling *per annum*, for the purpose of bribing these honest expositors of constitutional law and precedent!

The Viceroy and Lord Castlereagh also exerted themselves to the utmost to corrupt the remaining members of the House of Commons. Titles were profusely offered and accepted—as many as twenty-seven members being added to the peerage. The episcopal bench was also brought into the market, and ten bishopricks were given to an equal number of 'successors of the Apostles,' for the purpose of securing their influence in favour of a Union. The number of colonelcies, admiralships, captaincies, and military and naval promotions of all kinds, is beyond computation. With the public treasury in their hands, the ministers of the crown allowed no obstacle to stand in their way, that *money* could remove. Lord Cornwallis set out upon a tour through the country, lived amongst the nobility, dined with corporations, flattered the country gentlemen, as well as indulged such of them as had power with the prospect of 'something substantial,'—and, in a word, canvassed Ireland throughout in favour of a Union. "His caittiffs of corruption," said Grattan, "were everywhere—in the lobby, in the streets, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, offering titles to some, office to others, corruption to all."

The Castle, as at former periods when corruption was extensively practised by the government, again became the scene of drunkenness and debauchery. Lord Castlereagh's house in Merrion-square also became the resort of the abandoned and desperate in political villany, who were equally willing to prostitute themselves and others in the service of the government. Among this class, at the very table of Lord Castlereagh himself, was formed the famous fighting club, a gang of desperadoes and noted duellists, who determined to terrify the Opposition into acquiescence with the designs of the government, under the fear of personal hostilities.\*

\* Sir Jonah Barrington gives a circumstantial account of the formation of this club at Lord Castlereagh's house in Merrion-square, as communicated to him on the morning after the development of the plan, by one who was present and himself engaged in the enterprise. He says, "Lord Castlereagh had the command of money, but not the creation of courage, and his cause was not calculated to generate that feeling; he therefore devised a plan, unprecedented, and which never could have been thought of in any other country than Ireland: it has not been the subject of any publication. He invited to dinner, at his house in Merrion Square, about twenty of his staunch supporters, consisting of "tried men," and men of "fighting families," who might feel an individual pride in resenting every personality of the opposition, and in identifying their own honour with the cause of Government. This dinner was sumptuous; the Champagne and Madeira had their true effect: no man could be more condescending than the noble host. After due preparation, the point was skillfully introduced by Sir John Blaquiere (since created Lord de Blaquiere,) who, of all men, was best calculated to promote a gentlemanly, convivial, fighting conspiracy; he was of the old school, an able diplomatist; and with the most polished manners and imposing address, he combined a friendly heart and decided spirit; in polite conviviality he was unrivalled. Having sent round many loyal, mingled with joyous and exhilarating toasts, he stated, that he understood the opposition were disposed to personal unkindness, or even incivilities towards His

Even the gaols and the receptacles of the vilest criminals, were not neglected at this period; instances were frequent, of felons, under sentence of transportation and imprisonment, effecting their liberation, or the commutation of their sentence, by signing their names to memorials and petitions in favour of the Union. Petitions were got up in all places by the hirelings of the government, and terror was in many instances employed to procure signatures and marks. "Beggars, cottagers, tradesmen, every individual who could be influenced, were tempted to put their names or marks to addresses, not one word of which they understood the intent, still less the ruinous results of. English generals, who, at a moment when martial law existed, ~~on~~ a recollection of its execution was still fresh in every memory, could not fail to have their own influence over proscribed districts and bleeding peasantry; of course, their success in procuring addresses to Parliament, was not limited either by their power, their disposition, or their instructions.\* Yet, with all their exertions, the government officials could not procure more than 3,000 names throughout all Ireland in favour of the project of a Union, and these were of the lowest and least influential classes.

The popular feeling was decidedly against the Union. Even though the Irish parliament had throughout been hostile to the rights of the Irish people, they could not see it destroyed without murmurs or expostulations. At the defeat of the government on the Address in answer to the Viceroy's speech, the rejoicings in Dublin were enthusiastic. The citizens felt that they were deeply interested in the defeat of a measure which must, if carried, drain away a large amount of their annual revenue, and reduce Dublin from the rank of a capital to that of a mere provincial town. Meetings were held, under the surveillance of the military, at which resolutions were unanimously passed, and petitions adopted, against a Union. A public dinner of all the patriotic members of parliament was held to celebrate their successful resistance to the ministerial

Majesty's best friends, the Unionists of Ireland. He was determined that no man should advance upon him by degrading the party he had adopted, and the measures he was pledged to support. A full bumper proved his sincerity, the subject was discussed with great glee, and some of the company began to feel a zeal for "*actual service*." The novel idea of such a detachment of legislators was considered whimsical and humorous, and, of course, was not rejected. Wit and puns began to accompany the bottle; Mr. Cooke, the Secretary, then, with significant nods and smirking innuendos, began to circulate his official rewards to the company. The hints and the claret united to raise visions of the most gratifying nature, every man became in a prosperous state of official pregnancy: embryo judges, counsel to boards, envoys to foreign courts, compensation pensioners, placemen at chance, and commissioners in assortments, all revelled in the anticipation of something *substantial* to be given to every member who would do the Secretary the honour of accepting it. The scheme was unanimously adopted, Sir John Blaquiere pleasantly observed that, at all events, they would be sure of a good cook at their dinners. After much wit, and many flashes of convivial bravery, the meeting separated after midnight, fully resolved to eat, drink, speak, and *fight* for Lord Castlereagh. They so far kept their words, that the supporters of the Union indisputably showed more personal spirit than their opponents during the session."

The above desperate project of Lord Castlereagh's supporters was communicated to most members of the opposition, and some members resolved to meet the desperadoes on their own ground, though by far the majority were in favour of peaceful measures. "To Mr. Grattan alone," says Sir Jonah Barrington, "was it reserved to support the spirit of his party, and to exemplify the gallantry he so strongly recommended to others. Roused by Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gave him no time for repentance; and, considering the temper of the times, the propensity of the people, and the intense agitation upon the subject, it is marvellous, that this was the only instance of bloodshed during the contest. Mr. Grattan had shot him at day break, and the intelligence arrived whilst the house was sitting; its effect was singular. The project at Lord Castlereagh's well warranted reprisals."

\* BARRINGTON'S *Historic Memoirs*.

project.\* The populace could scarcely be controlled in their expressions of joy at the temporary defeat of the government. Lord Castlereagh's effigy was hanged and burnt before his door,—though no disturbance occurred that could justify the interference of the military. A body of soldiers, however, under the command merely of a sergeant, sallied out of the old Custom House, near Essex bridge, and, without the order of a civil magistrate, without the reading of the riot act, or any precaution whatever, made a wanton attack upon the people. Before being in any way assailed by the people, they fired a volley of balls upon them, by which a man, a woman, and a boy, were killed, and many wounded. Though a complaint was made to government of this unjustifiable outrage of the military, no investigation was made, and the actors were screened from the punishment they deserved.

Numerous meetings were held in the provinces to petition against the government measure. Most of the towns in the kingdom protested against it, and twenty-seven of the counties followed the example. A large number of the petitions came from the Protestant North, for the Orangemen saw in the absorption of their country's parliament the extinction of their own monopoly of legislation. The names attached to these petitions amounted to 707,000; and there is no doubt that they would have amounted to many more, had not the meetings of the people on many occasions been suppressed by the military. At Maryborough, when the freeholders and gentry of the county had met in the Court-house to petition against a Union, horse, foot, and artillery were called out to disperse them, and two six-pounders were pointed over against the doors of the place of meeting. The same policy was pursued at Clonmel and other places, and the expression of public opinion was thus in a great measure suppressed by the government.

The favourite policy of ministers was again adopted with the Catholics, who had already been so deceived and duped by the government, that it is surprising how they again allowed themselves to be cajoled by the fine words and dazzling promises of men in power. The Catholics were promised total and immediate Emancipation, and proposals of an independent provision for their clergy were actually held out to them. A meeting of the Irish Catholic prelates was held in Dublin to take the proposals into consideration, when it was agreed that "under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles, a provision through government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted."†

\* At the dinner, one of the most enthusiastic declaimers against the Union, was Mr. Handcock, member for Athlone. He pledged himself before God and man to resist it to the last, and even sung an Anti-Union song of his own composition, which was frequently encored. From the date of this dinner, Lords Cornwallis and Castlereagh marked Mr. Handcock for their own. They at once beset him with offers of money, of place, of title. "Human nature is weak," is the excuse of the moralist. The sturdy patriot and song-writer yielded, and, after voting for the Union, was raised to infamy under the title of Lord Castlemaine. Such was the wily manner in which the ministry carried their object. They made the Irish parliament contemptible in the eyes of the people, and contemptible even to themselves; and then doomed them to destruction almost without an effort being made to save them.

† *Worsley's History of the Catholic Association*, page xvii. Appendix.

Division was then excited among the Catholic body, and their opposition to the Union neutralized; at the same time the bigotted hate of the Protestants to the Catholic community was again stirred up, at the very time that the government was preparing in the midst of their dissensions, to subjugate them both. The consequence of the deliberation of the Catholic prelates was, that Dr. Troy was directed to send pastoral letters to his colleagues to promote the Union; and, in accordance with their recommendations, the Catholics of Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Tipperary, and many other towns, met and passed resolutions in favour of the measure. Indeed, we do not wonder that the Catholics should have wished for the utter extinction of their legislature, as it had on almost all occasions acted towards them in the spirit of bigotry and tyranny.

There was, however, a large portion of the Catholic body who strenuously protested against the Union, and refused to barter their country's independence for the hollow promises of the English minister. A meeting of the Catholics of Dublin was held on the 18th of January, 1800, according to public advertisement, in the Royal Exchange, for the purpose of petitioning parliament against the Union. The chair had scarcely been taken when the tread of approaching military was heard, and Major Sirr entered at the head of a large force of soldiers, who arranged themselves along three sides of the room. The Major called upon the secretary for the resolutions that were to be proposed, and, after perusing them twice, he 'graciously' permitted the proceedings to go on.\* It was at this meeting that the greatest popular leader that Ireland, we might also say the world, has ever seen, made his first appearance before a public assemblage of his countrymen; and it was to protest against the Union of the two countries. We refer, of course, to DANIEL O'CONNELL, who at once saw through the deep and cunning policy of the English ministry, and thus early took up his stand against the monopolizing spirit of their government. Referring to the currency of the report that the Catholics were favourable to the extinction of Ireland, he said that it became them to disavow and contradict the calumny. "They would declare," said he, "that if their emancipation was offered for their consent to the measure,—even were emancipation after the union a benefit, they would reject it with prompt indignation. Let us (said he), show to Ireland that we have nothing in view but her good—nothing in our hearts but the desire of mutual forgiveness, mutual toleration, and mutual affection; in fine, let every man who feels with me proclaim, that if the alternative were offered him of union, or the re-enactment of the penal code in all its pristine horrors, that he would prefer, without hesitation, the latter, as the lesser and more sufferable evil. That he would rather confide in the justice of his brethren the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated

\* MR. O'CONNELL'S Speech on the Repeal of the Union (as reported by John Lev), before the Corporation of Dublin, on February 28th, 1843. Page xviii.

him, than lay his country at the feet of foreigners." He added, "if there was any man present who could be so far mentally degraded as to consent to the extinction of the liberty, the constitution, and even the name of Ireland, he would call on him not to leave the direction and management of his commerce and property to strangers, over whom he could have no control."

At length the Session of 1800 arrived—doomed to be the last of the Irish Parliament. Lord Castlereagh's first object was to pack the House with the creatures of the government, by means of the Place Bill.\* The dangerous character of this measure was now but too clear. By rendering it imperative on members accepting offices of nominal value, to vacate their seats, the minister was enabled to introduce a great number of his dependents,—many of whom were of comparatively low station, mere understrappers of the government,†—and thus to destroy the independence (such as it was) of the Parliament, and to carry the Union. Bribery was tried with other members, and succeeded to a considerable extent. The ordinary price of a vote was well-known to be £8000 in money, and a civil or military appointment worth £2000 per annum. Well might Bushe say that "the basest corruption and artifice were exerted to promote the Union; that all the worst passions of the human heart were entered into the service, and all the most depraved ingenuity of the human intellect was tortured to devise new contrivances of fraud."

Lord Castlereagh, even after thus packing and corrupting the Parliament, was not so certain of success as at once to propose his measure to Parliament. Another preliminary step was judged necessary—a step of so atrociously corrupt and infamous a character, that it would be almost incredible were the instruments by means of which it was accomplished any other than an English Ministry and an Irish Parliament. Lord Castlereagh boldly declared his intention of bribing the entire Parliament, under the name of *compensation* for their loss of patronage and interest. The terms which he announced were as follows: every nobleman or gentleman who returned members to Parliament, were to be paid in hard cash, for each member returned, the sum of £15,000!—every member who had *purchased* a seat in Parliament, should have his purchase-money returned to him!—that all members of Parliament or others, who were losers by a Union, should be fully recompensed for their losses,—and that £1,500,000 of the public money should be especially devoted to this service! Probably a

\* See page 399.

† A story is told of one of these representatives making his appearance at the English House of Commons, in London, for the purpose of hearing a debate. On presenting himself to the doorkeeper, he asked to be shown the part of the House appropriated to Irish members. The doorkeeper asked what place in Ireland he represented—"We are obliged," said the officer, "to be particular, for Barrington, the pickpocket, gained admission the other night as an Irish member." The gentleman was taken aback—"Really," said he "I forgot the name of my borough, but if you'll bring me the Irish Directory, I will show it you immediately"!

more open avowal of corruption and shame was never made in any age or country.—Lord Castlereagh, too, performed his promise. He, shortly after, introduced a Bill to raise a million and a half of money upon the Irish people, which the Irish Parliament carried for the purpose of bribing itself and buying up its own existence. And, when the Compensation Statute, as it was called, received the Royal assent, four commissioners were appointed at salaries of £1200 a year each, to carry its provisions into execution; of these, three were members of Parliament, and the fourth was Dr. Duigenan,\* the notorious Anti-Catholic advocate. The sum of *fifteen thousand pounds* was paid to the proprietor of each borough—Lord Shannon and the Marquis of Ely receiving as their share £45,000 each!

Although Lord Castlereagh avoided a contest on the question of the Union on the first night of the Session (the 15th of January), the members of the Opposition were too impatient to permit the opportunity to pass without ascertaining the sense of the House. Accordingly, though no allusion was made to the subject in the Viceroy's speech, Sir Laurence Parsons moved an amendment on the customary formal address, declaratory of the resolution of Parliament to preserve the Constitution as established in 1782, and to support the freedom and independence of the nation. A severe and protracted debate ensued; the Opposition supporting the motion in speeches of the most stirring and often sublime eloquence. The debate was continued with great warmth throughout the entire night, until seven o'clock on the following morning, when an incident occurred, alike affecting and unexpected.

Mr. Grattan, who, on the open renewal of government corruption and coercion, had withdrawn from the House of Commons, and refused to allow himself again to be put in nomination as a parliamentary candidate, was now living in retirement, defamed and calumniated, a prey to anguish both of mind and body. At this crisis of Ireland's fate, his friends urged him to come forward, to save, if possible, his country from ruin. Thus urged, Grattan consented again to make his appearance in the political arena; and a vacancy having occurred in the close borough of Wicklow, the proprietor of which was Mr. Tighe, he was returned without opposition. But the circumstance is best told in the words of Sir Jonah Barrington, who was a witness of the scene:—

“The Lord Lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh, justly appreciating the effect his presence might have on the first debate, had withheld the writ of election till the last moment the law allowed,

\* Dr. Duigenan was one of the most inveterate enemies of the Irish Catholics, and perpetually at war with them. He held the offices of Judge of the Prerogative Court, King's Advocate to the Admiralty Court, together with others of considerable importance, from which he derived a very large revenue. He was also Vicar-General to most of the Bishops, and was their indiscriminate champion on all occasions. He was generally allowed to be the most virulent and intolerant sectarian of the day. He resisted with the utmost fierceness, all attempts at relaxation of the Catholic penal disabilities—no matter how obnoxious in their operation they might be.



and till they conceived it might be too late to return Mr. Grattan in time for the discussion. It was not until the day of the meeting of Parliament that the writ was delivered to the returning officer. By extraordinary exertions, and perhaps by following the example of government in overstraining the law, the election was held immediately on the arrival of the writ, and a sufficient number of voters were collected to return Mr. Grattan before midnight. By one o'clock the return was on its road to Dublin; it arrived by five; a party of Mr. Grattan's friends repaired to the private house of the proper officer, and making him get out of bed, compelled him to present the writ to Parliament before seven in the morning, when the House was in warm debate on the Union. A whisper ran through every party that Mr. Grattan was elected, and would immediately take his seat. The Ministerialists smiled with incredulous derision, and the opposition thought the news too good to be true. Mr. Egan was speaking strongly against the measure, when Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore (now Judge of the Common Pleas) walked out, and immediately returned, leading, or rather helping, Mr. Grattan, in a state of total feebleness and debility. The effect was electric. Mr. Grattan's illness and deep chagrin had reduced a form, never symmetrical, and a visage at all times thin, nearly to the appearance of a spectre. As he feebly tottered into the House, every member simultaneously rose from his seat. He moved slowly to the table; his languid countenance seemed to revive as he took those oaths that restored him to his pre-eminent station; the smile of inward satisfaction obviously illuminated his features, and reanimation and energy seemed to kindle by the labour of his mind. The House was silent, Mr. Egan did not resume his speech, Mr. Grattan, almost breathless, as if by instinct, attempted to rise, but was unable to stand, he paused, and with difficulty requested permission of the House to deliver his sentiments without moving from his seat. This was acceded to by acclamation, and he who had left his bed of sickness to record, as he thought, his last words in the Parliament of his country, kindled gradually till his language glowed with an energy and feeling which he had seldom surpassed. After nearly two hours of the most powerful eloquence, he concluded with an undiminished vigour, miraculous to those who were unacquainted with his intellect. Never did a speech make a more affecting impression, but it came too late. Fate had decreed the fall of Ireland, and her patriot came only to witness her overthrow.<sup>7</sup>

At length the debate ended, and a division took place, the result of which was announced amidst breathless suspense. The numbers were—For an adjournment (which Lord Castlereagh had moved) 138; for Sir Laurence Parson's amendment 96;—majority for the government 42. This division was instantly decisive of the fate of Ireland. The House was adjourned to the 5th of February, and in the interval Lord Castlereagh did not in the least

relax in his efforts to bribe, to terrify, and to seduce members to support his measure. When Parliament again met, Lord Castlereagh laid before it the Union propositions, as passed by the British Parliament, and moved that they should be printed and circulated, with a view to their ultimate adoption. The division was—

For Lord Castlereagh's motion 158

Against it ..... 115—Majority 43.

Absent ..... 27

Total number of members ..... 300

This was the decisive division on the subject, and the Irish legislature, it was now obvious, was doomed to extinction. The contest however, proceeded with unrelenting ardour, and numerous debates and divisions took place before the measure was finally consummated. Although the popular spirit was now completely crushed, government was nevertheless afraid of popular resistance, and while the discussion went on, the House of Commons was surrounded by strong bodies of military. The ministry were unsparingly denounced for their tyranny and corruption. But they were shameless, and denunciation, no matter how eloquent, took no effect on them.

At length, as the catastrophe arrived, the Anti-Unionists almost ceased to resist. On the day of the third reading of the Act of Union, before it was reported, most of the members of the opposition left the House, and never entered it again. An armed soldiery guarded the Houses of Parliament, large bodies occupied the very precincts of the hall where the members were sitting. The sight was a most melancholy one—it was sad as a funeral. After a short period of dead silence, the order of the day for the third reading of the Bill for a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland was moved by Lord Castlereagh. The question was put from the chair, by the Speaker, in a voice which betokened deep sorrow and anguish; and after declaring that “the AYES have it,” he sunk back into his chair with an exhausted spirit. Ireland was no longer a nation!

One of the last acts of the Irish House of Commons appropriately was, to pension the officers whose emoluments would cease after the Union, and to vote the compensation—in plainer terms, the *bribes*—to the proprietors of the Irish burghs. No difficulty was experienced with the Irish House of Lords, which was throughout the most humble instrument of the English minister.

By the Act of Union, Great Britain and Ireland were to be united for ever, from the 1st of January, 1801; one parliament only was to serve for the two kingdoms, four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal lords, and one hundred commoners, representing Ireland in the Imperial Legislature; the Churches of England and Ireland were to be united; and all subjects of Great Britain and

Ireland were to be placed on the same footing in trade and navigation. These and various other regulations, financial and legal, were detailed at length in the Act; which received the Royal assent on Friday, the 1st of August, 1800.

The Union was now law; the "strength and resources of the empire" were now "consolidated," and Ireland, according to the predictions of the English minister, had now achieved peace, happiness, and religious tranquillity, and was about to enter upon a brilliant career of manufacturing and agricultural prosperity!

## CONCLUSION.

THE Union ought to have been a benefit—Causes of its failure—The Standing Army—Coercion Acts—Insurrection of 1803—Robert Emmett—Military coercion increased—Popular discontent—The Catholics deceived—Renewal of the Catholic agitation—The *Veto* controversy—Rejection of the Catholic petition—Formation of the General Committee of 1809—The leading members prosecuted—Remarkable instance of Mr. O'Connell's judgment—Dissensions of the Catholics and dissolution of the Board—Visit of George IVth to Ireland—General torpor of the Irish people—Characteristics of Daniel O'Connell—Rouses the people—Origin of the Catholic Association—Its first Meeting—Its rapid growth—Its great influence—Is suppressed by the Government—The "Algerine Act"—The Association revived in another form—The Waterford Election—Defeat of the Beresfords—Perfect organization of the people—The Clare Election—Return of Mr. O'Connell—Catholic Emancipation granted—Conclusion.

THE History of Ireland and the Irish People subsequent to the Act of Union, is worthy of a much more detailed consideration than we can now afford to give it. We have already so far overstepped the bounds which we had originally fixed for the consideration of the subject, that we can now lay before the reader only a brief outline of the course of events since 1801, leaving it to be filled up at some future and more convenient opportunity.

The Union of the two countries might, and ought to have been, a great step in the history of civilization. Union is one of the great ideas of modern times. As provincialism has merged towards nationality, so do nations tend to unite, to amalgamate, to confederate with each other, to the effacement of local laws, manners, and customs. The tendency of humanity is towards cosmopolitanism, brotherhood, universal kinsmanship. The Union of England and Ireland, therefore, on just and equitable principles, ought to have proved of immense advantage to the Irish people, and given a great impulse to improvement and civilization in that country.

But the measure was conceived in a narrow, bigotted, and tyrannical spirit; and it was carried into effect by means of a system of corruption of the most villainous kind. The Union was so contrived and forced upon the Irish people, as to remind them constantly of their galling subjection to English domination. It was the consum-

mation of the Conquest,—not a measure of equal law and equal justice. Hence, instead of love and confidence, the Union was productive only of increased fear and distrust of British power and authority. It was born amid hate, and strife, and bloodshed; and, at the time and in the manner in which it was carried, it proved an act of Separation rather than an act of Union. It left the corrupt interests—chief among which were the church and the aristocracy,—untouched; and did nothing to relieve the injuries of the nation. All that was accomplished, was an alteration of the seat of the legislature. The government of the ascendancy was transferred from College Green to St. Stephen's, and Ireland was coerced by a corrupt parliament sitting in London instead of Dublin. As Grattan had predicted—"the talents of the country, like its property, were dragged from the kingdom of Ireland to be sold in London." The one hundred gentlemen, who were now entrusted with the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, indeed proved "adventurers of the most expensive kind—adventurers with pretensions—dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds and grave-clothes of the Irish Parliament, and playing, for hire, their tricks on her tomb—the only repository the minister would allow to an Irish constitution—the images of degradation, and the representatives of nothing."\*

The large standing army kept up by the government for many years after the passing of the Union, affords a sufficient proof of the hatred and distrust for a long time subsisting between the government and the people. One hundred and thirty thousand bayonets were not thought too many to keep Ireland in a state of "peace." The annual expense of maintaining these government fighting men, for several years after the Union, averaged about three millions and a half sterling. All constitutional protection was likewise taken away from the subject. For four years, from 1801 to 1805, the whole country was under Martial Law. For two years immediately after the Union, the Insurrection Act was in full force; an act by which persons who were found out of their houses during any period between sunset and sunrise, were subject to *transportation*! During the latter period the Habeas Corpus Act was also suspended. In fact, from 1801 down to the present day, Insurrection Acts, Coercion Bills, and Arms Bills, have been in almost constant force.

The year 1803 was distinguished by the brief and frantic insurrection conducted by Robert Emmett,—younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmett, already mentioned in the course of this history. According to the testimony of all who knew him, he was a young man of the purest and most patriotic motives, of earnest and ardent enthusiasm in the cause of his country, which he saw groaning under all the agonies of a military despotism. About the end of 1802, Emmett arrived in Dublin from Paris, whither he had fled

\* GRATTAN'S *Speech on the Union*.

during the disturbances of '98, and commenced the organization of another revolution against the British dominion in Ireland. He devoted the whole of his family portion, which consisted of about £2,500, to the purchase of arms and ammunition of various kinds. These he stored up in different depôts in Dublin, ready for use. One of these, in Patrick-street, containing a large quantity of gunpowder, accidentally blew up, and hastened the outbreak—the conspirators fearing that the explosion would lead to their discovery by the government. It would appear that Emmett had considerable promises of support, from the immense quantity of pikes, &c., that he had prepared. In this, however, he was completely disappointed, for on the evening of the outbreak, he could only muster a few hundred men, very illfitted for an undertaking of the kind that he meditated. On the evening of the 23rd of July, 1803, he sallied forth from his head-quarters in Marshal-lane, at the head of a small body of armed men. He had previously directed the distribution of pikes among a large crowd waiting in Thomas-street in anticipation of the rising. The body proceeded onward as far as the Corn-market, their numbers, however, diminishing as they advanced. The design was to seize the several depôts and arsenals in the vicinity of Dublin, and above all to gain possession of the Castle. As the body of insurgents were advancing in a confused mass, an equipage drove up, and, after a moment's enquiry, it was found to be that of Lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. A halt was ordered; and the cry of "vengeance" was raised,—when the venerable lord exclaimed from his carriage, "It is I, Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench!" "Then you are the man we want," cried one of the insurgents, plunging a pike into his body, which killed him on the spot. A strong detachment of soldiers now came up, and commenced firing on the remaining insurgents, compelling them to disperse and take to flight. About eighty lives were lost in the course of the affray; and many were wounded, who, of course, took care not to show themselves. Emmett fled to the Wicklow mountains, where he exerted himself to prevent another intended rising of the peasantry; after which, though urged by his friends immediately to fly the kingdom, he returned to Dublin to obtain a last interview with a woman to whom he was devotedly attached—the daughter of the celebrated Curran.\*

\* The history of this young lady is a romance. It has already been made the subject of a beautiful and touching paper by Washington Irving, in his *Sketch Book*. She entertained a devoted and undying affection for poor Emmett, whom she visited in his cell the night before his execution. She continued to love him to her last breath. Her father was exceedingly enraged on learning his daughter's attachment, and banished her from his roof. But she found numerous friends, some of the highest rank, who offered her an asylum in their homes. They led her into society, and tried all methods to wean her from her grief. But she remained disconsolate. A brave and estimable military officer, won by her beauty and tenderness, as well as her constancy of affection, offered his hand; but was declined on the ground that her heart was another's, who was in his grave. The gentleman persisted in his suit, soliciting merely her esteem; and at length, convinced of his worth, and perhaps sensible of her dependance on the kindness of friends, she yielded to his solicitations, and they were married. He took her to Sicily, and endeavoured to draw her from her sorrows by change of scene. But a deep and settled melancholy had become rooted in her soul; and she slowly wasted away, at last sinking into the grave, the victim of a broken heart. This melancholy event furnished Moore with a subject for one of his most exquisite songs—beginning

"She is far from the Land where her young Hero sleeps."

While waiting in his lodgings for an answer to his letter, the house in which he lived was suddenly surrounded by armed men, headed by Major Sirr, who, rushing into the apartment, took Emmett prisoner, and dragged him off to a dungeon. He left it for the scaffold, where he suffered with seventeen others who had been engaged in the same insurrection.

This unhappy and ill-judged affair only served to increase the system of military coercion throughout the country. The government, egged on by the ascendancy, revived many of the terrors and tortures that had preceded '98; they knew that all the causes of burning discontent which had provoked that outbreak were still in existence, and that the great body of the people still entertained towards them the same feelings of hatred and resistance. The government could not trust the people; they feared them as men invariably do the victims of their injustice. From this time forward, however, all attempts at general insurrection were suspended; though there is every reason to believe that the secret organization of the United Irishmen survived under other forms, till at length it became almost habitual to the people. In some cases it seems to have been applied to the purposes of resistance to agrarian oppression, of which such dreadful instances yet exist to fright the isle from its propriety. It is not probable that an organization so extensive and widespread as that of the United Irishmen was so suddenly broken by the Union—which the people of Ireland so much hated—as to entirely disappear and leave no permanent traces behind it.

We need scarcely say that the government broke faith with the Catholics, and refused to grant the Emancipation they had promised on condition that they would support the measure of a Union. This was a disastrous error; for it at once ranged the entire Catholic population in opposition to the government, and, after an organized agitation of thirty years, during which enmity to England and to the Union had time to become habitual, the Irish Catholics at length wrung from the fears of Britain what they could not obtain by appeals to either reason or justice. When the concession was at length made, there was no grace in the act: it caused a sense of scorn rather than of gratitude; and it rooted still more deeply in

Robert Emmett himself, according to Moore (who knew him at College), seems to have inspired almost all with whom he came in contact, with the most devoted attachment. "Were I to number," says Moore, "the men, among all whom I have ever known, who appeared to combine, in the greatest degree, pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should, among the highest of the few, place Robert Emmett. Wholly free from the follies and frailties of youth,—though how capable he was of the most devoted passion events afterwards proved,—the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed the only object that divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom, which, in him, was an hereditary as well as national feeling,—himself being the second martyr his father had given to the cause." After a very high eulogium on his powers of eloquence, Moore concludes—"Such, in heart and mind was another of those devoted men, who, with gifts that would have made them the ornaments and supports of a well-regulated community, were yet driven to live the lives of conspirators and die the death of traitors, by a system of government which it would be difficult even to think of with patience, did we not gather a hope from the present aspect of the whole civilized world, that such a system of bigotry and misrule can never exist again."\* It was in reference to the last speech of Emmett, in which he asked of the world "the charity of its silence," that Moore wrote the beautiful Irish Melody beginning

"Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade."

\* *MOORE'S Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, vol. i. p. 303-4-6.

the minds of the Irish people the idea that the English government could not be reasoned into justice, but that it might be coerced.

It is probable that Pitt intended to carry a measure of Catholic Emancipation, as well as to make a State provision for the Catholic priesthood. At least such seems to have been the understanding of the Catholic hierarchy. The king, however, influenced by the pleadings of some "conscientious" individuals near his person, withdrew his consent immediately after the Act of Union had been passed; and instead of Catholic Emancipation, the first measures of the Imperial Parliament were for the continuation of martial law in Ireland, and for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. The Catholic question was, however, brought forward in the House of Commons in 1805, and rejected by a large majority—Pitt himself being a party to the rejection of the petition. Pitt died, and the Whigs came into power; they proposed no measure of Emancipation; but the spirit which they displayed towards the Catholics was liberal in comparison with their predecessors—for instance, they proposed a bill to the effect that the crown should have the power of raising to high rank in the army and navy those individuals who were the proper objects of royal appointment. The object simply was, to open promotion in the army and navy to Catholics. But this paltry boon was even too large for the Imperial Parliament to grant. The "No-Popery" cry was raised; the Whigs were shortly after driven from office, and Mr. Percival came into power, proclaiming perpetual hostility to the Catholics. Instead of Emancipation, the Tory government immediately gave Ireland an Arms Bill and an Insurrection Act. The Arms Bill of 1807 prohibited the use of Arms to all who had not obtained a license from the magistrates, it authorized domiciliary visits, and made the possession of unregistered arms a transportable offence. The same Act was renewed in 1848, with the addition of several still more obnoxious and insulting provisions.

At length the Irish people saw that there was no chance of success for their cause except in their own exertions. Several meetings of the Catholics took place in Dublin in 1805, but they were unconnected and led to no result. They had not yet discovered the secret of combination and organization: they were still novices in the art of successful agitation. There was no *point d'appui*; and the efforts of the body were disjointed and fruitless. Their leaders were very inefficient, and wanted both energy and tact; they accommodated themselves too much to parliamentary parties, instead of boldly proclaiming the full extent of the popular grievances, and demanding their redress. Probably, this defect arose from their still trusting the management of their cause to influential members of the Catholic aristocracy—men of high rank, and unquestionable integrity and purity of motives, but quite unfitted to fill the office of leaders of an unemancipated people. The chief of these were the Lords Fingall, Gormanstown, Trimleston, and

French, with two or three of the Catholic Baronetage. It was not, however, until, the Catholic Barristers came forward on the side of the people, that the public interest and feeling was fairly roused, and the question of Emancipation became a great national movement. The most distinguished of these men, were Mr. Scully, Mr. Hussey, and Mr. Clinch. But a far greater than all these shortly after appeared on the stage, destined to wield a power far surpassing the utmost capacity or exertions of his predecessors.

In 1808, Lord Fingall and Dr. Milner were sent to London as a deputation from the Catholic body, to take charge of their petition to the legislature for relief. By some misunderstanding or other, Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan, on bringing the subject before Parliament, conceived themselves empowered to offer that the government should have a *veto* on the appointment of the Catholic bishops, in return for their admission within the pale of the constitution. Parliament rejected the motion to take the Catholic petition into consideration, by a large majority. Dr. Milner protested against the use which had been made of his name in parliament; and so soon as intelligence of the affair reached Ireland, public meetings were everywhere held, and the proposition was scouted by almost the entire Catholic clergy and laity. This was certainly the last time that the Catholics came before Parliament in the humble attitude of suppliants. But the *veto* controversy continued for many years afterwards, and proved a source of bitter feuds and dissensions among the Catholic body. An early opportunity, however, was taken to undeceive the Imperial Parliament as to the views of the Catholic clergy. The bishops met in synod in 1810, and passed a series of resolutions strongly condemnatory of the late proposition; the General Committee of the Catholics supported these resolutions; and in the same year they forwarded petitions to both Houses of Parliament. On presenting the petition to the House of Commons, Mr. Grattan expressly stated that the Catholics had refused all concurrence and assent to the securities which he had stated in 1808. His motion to take the petition into consideration was rejected by a majority of 213 to 109.

The attention of the government was now attracted to the discussions of the Catholics, and they carefully looked out for an opportunity of crushing their organization. The General Committee of 1809 had been constituted with great care, and, as was supposed, without in the slightest degree infringing on the Irish law against conventions. The occasion on which it was formed was at a meeting in the Exhibition room, Dublin, at which Mr. O'Connell was present; and the part which he took in the formation of the committee is cited as a remarkable instance of his foresight and sagacity. Aware of the state of the law which prevented delegates or representatives meeting to petition parliament, on forty-two gentlemen being appointed to prepare a petition to the legislature, it was proposed by Mr. O'Connell and resolved unanimously, "that the noblemen and



gentlemen aforesaid are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof." This resolution was, however, unhappily broken at a meeting afterwards held, at which a committee was appointed, consisting of thirty-six members from Dublin, and ten from each county in Ireland, for the purpose of preparing an address to the king, a remonstrance to the British nation, and a petition to parliament. The government, on learning this proceeding, immediately brought the Convention Act to bear upon the Catholic leaders—an act that had been originally framed by Lord Clare to break up the organization of the United Irishmen. Lord Fingall and other leaders were arrested at a public meeting by virtue of a warrant from Chief Justice Downes. They were brought to trial, before a Dublin packed jury of Protestants. Mr. O'Connell was counsel on this occasion, and managed the case so well, that the accused were actually acquitted. But the victors marred their triumph by the attempt which they made to prosecute Chief Justice Downes for having caused the arrests. In this they were defeated, and the committee sustained such a shock that it almost immediately disappeared. Shortly afterwards, the Catholic Board was formed, in which the qualification of representatives was carefully avoided. But this body did little good; it made no great effort to sustain the popular cause, and soon dropped out of public notice.

The unity of the Catholics was destroyed by the Veto and Anti-Veto Discussions, which were stimulated by the English Catholics, and fomented, for the purpose of disunion, by the English government. On this question the Irish Catholic clergy and laity were almost unanimous in opposition to the interference of the State in their religious concerns; the Catholic aristocracy, however, were favourable to a state provision for their clergy, and unfortunately they continued to force the question upon public notice, through their friends in the British parliament and otherwise, until the strength of the Catholic body was completely frittered away. Ultimately the Pope was appealed to in 1814; but his holiness was at the time detained in France, and completely in the power of Napoleon. A letter was, however, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Poynter, V. A., by the Cardinal Quarantotti, which, instead of calming, only added more fuel to the flame. The English Parliament, which had promised an enquiry into the claims of the Catholics, left them to their own dissensions. Napoleon's power was overthrown in the course of the same year, and he was sent to Elba. The government ceased to entertain any fear of the Irish Catholics, and instead of an enquiry into their grievances, they again renewed the Insurrection Act, which continued in force to the year 1818.

A state of almost hopeless apathy succeeded the dissolution of the Catholic Board in 1814. Every effort to rouse the public mind failed in its object. The country was completely discouraged; public opinion seemed dead; and the national mind lay

folded up in utter lethargy and torpidity. From this state, the Catholics were for a moment roused by the visit of George the IVth to Ireland, in 1821. The circumstance was hailed by all classes with unbounded joy: it was regarded as the harbinger of better days for the persecuted Catholics. All classes united in doing honour to the pleasure-loving monarch; whose beneficent designs towards Ireland they did not stop for a moment to doubt. The whole country was filled with glee; the discords of Orangemen and Catholics for a time became healed, and even Mr. O'Connell himself shook hands with the Dublin Corporation. The discussion of all exciting topics was suppressed; not a word was heard about public grievances: the Catholic hierarchy, headed by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. O'Gorman, were the first to proffer their loyal devotion to his majesty; but all mention of their sufferings, or suggestions for redress of their grievances, were carefully suppressed, out of regard for the feelings of his majesty. George IVth professed to be delighted with his reception, and assured his Irish subjects of his unalterable protection. On his departure, he directed Lord Sidmouth to address to them a letter expressing his "entire approbation" of their conduct, and advising peace and union among them. The Irish people anxiously awaited the results of the king's visit. They clung for a long time to the illusion that something would now be done to raise them from their state of depression. But at last they awoke, and found that again they had been miserably deluded. Instead of Relief, they had Coercion. The Insurrection Act was renewed in 1822, and the Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended.\*

A wretched state of apathy succeeded; the people ceased even to complain; every one seemed to despair; and for two years, neither petition, nor speech, nor remonstrance, was anywhere heard of. In the year 1823, however, an accidental meeting of two men took place at a mutual friend's house, in the county of

\* Since the Union down to the present day, Ireland has been almost constantly under insurrectionary law. Certainly during by far the greater part of the time, the constitution has been suspended by direct acts of the British legislature. Take the following instances:—

The Insurrection Act was in force from 1800 to 1802; again, from 1807 to 1810; again, from 1814 to 1818; and again, from 1822 to 1824.

The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended from 1800 to 1802; again, from 1808 to 1806; and again in 1822.

Martial Law was in force from 1803 to 1805.

The Arms Act, allowing domiciliary visits, and prohibiting the use of arms, has been in force from 1807 to the present time; and was revived only in 1845 with several exceedingly obnoxious clauses.

The Peace Preservation Act, establishing a regular gendarmerie, has been in full force from 1814.

A Suppression of Political Associations Act was passed in 1825; and a still more stringent Act was passed in 1829, authorizing the Lord-Lieutenant to prohibit any meeting by Proclamation. It was under this Act that the late projected meeting at Clontarf was suppressed.

The last Act of the same character passed by the English government (excepting the Arms Bill, which was merely a renewal), was the Coercion Bill of the Whigs, which enabled the Lord-Lieutenant to place any part of Ireland under Martial Law, and to create Courts-Martial for the trial of offences.

Such have been the kind of laws by which England has governed Ireland during the last half century of "Union"!

Wicklow, out of which sprung a new association of almost unparalleled power, and which afterwards proved of the utmost consequence to the Irish people. We refer to the meeting of Messrs. O'Connell and Sheil, and the origin of the famous Catholic Association.

From the first appearance of Mr. O'CONNELL on the stage of public events, he commanded the approval and admiration of his countrymen. An Irishman and a Catholic, of pure Milesian blood and name—the representative of a race and creed oppressed and persecuted for centuries—possessed of immense moral energy—zealous, courageous, and persevering—massive in intellect, inexhaustible in tact, and endowed with great powers of eloquence—powerful in frame, and of massive stature,—such were the broad features which pointed out O'Connell from the first, as one of the Heroes of his nation.

Mr. O'Connell's great powers were schooled and nurtured at the Irish Bar—then the great nursery of Irish liberalism. He was admitted in 1798—a time of terror and danger. The Rebellion had just been crushed, the project of Union was on foot, and, shortly after, Ireland was extinguished as a nation, and reduced to the condition of a degraded dependency of England. We have already stated that O'Connell was one of those Catholics who stood out against the Union, and protested against its being carried into effect. And on all public occasions, O'Connell was found among the foremost in the assertion of the rights of the Irish nation. In the meantime, he sedulously devoted himself to the duties of his profession. His powers as an orator, united to his profound knowledge of the technicalities of the law, soon attracted crowds of clients around him. But notwithstanding his great success as a barrister, he found that all the honours of his profession were kept beyond his reach,—because he was a Catholic. He had to undergo the frequent mortification of seeing men far his inferiors in every respect, promoted over his head, and advanced to situations which his conscientious convictions prevented him from ever reaching, according to the state of the law at that period. Previous to his time, the Catholic barristers had generally been found willing to succumb to the influence of the government, and were often used, like the strings of a puppet, to influence their party and forward the objects of the State. But O'Connell was not a man to be used for any such sinister purposes. He at once struck into the path of independence and freedom. He keenly felt the degradation to which he, as well as his countrymen, were subjected by the law, and he set himself manfully to work to shake it off. He fearlessly stated the wrongs of the Irish nation, and used every exertion to rouse them to achieve their own emancipation. It is long, however, before one man can rouse a people sunk in the hopeless apathy which follows upon centuries of almost unresisted oppression. But men of ardent patriotism, of a nature akin to his

own, by degrees gathered round him and cheered him on; the country at length awoke from its lethargy, the heart of society became stirred, the passion of the whole nation was kindled, and the Catholic population went onwards in its course with a sweep of power unprecedented in Irish history.

O'Connell was the first to rouse *the people* themselves to undertake the work of their own emancipation. Formerly, the struggle of parties was almost entirely aristocratic; the Catholic gentry, aided by the Catholic clergy, undertook the management of the popular cause, through means of "Committees" and "Boards," which were never at any time backed by the support of the nation. The People, in the modern sense of the word, scarcely existed; they were excluded from all arrangements; their aid was rarely taken into account; no one thought of bringing their vast force of numbers to bear upon the legislature. The people, also, on their part, took little or no interest in public affairs. Crushed under the constant load of their oppressions, drained of all that they earned, without property, without education, often without food, the great body of the Irish people remained in a state of wretched apathy and hopeless indifference. Occasionally, in times of greater distress than usual, they attempted by local resistance to stem the tide of suffering which rolled in upon them; but, ignorant of its real causes, about which no one cared to inform them, they remained dead to all concern about the national welfare, and had no idea of bringing their united strength to bear against the common oppressions of their country.

It was not until O'Connell appeared, that this indifference of the people to national questions was removed. He saw at once that nothing could be done without them; that they must be instructed in the nature and causes of their wrongs, and be themselves induced to take up the cause of their own emancipation. He adopted the motto which he has held by ever since,

"Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not,

Who would be free, *themselves* must strike the blow!"

O'Connell also discovered to the Irish people the might and power of constitutional and peaceful agitation—one of the greatest of all political discoveries. He thus brought the opinions of the masses to bear upon the legislature, and accumulated an amount of moral power which at length enabled them to bear down all opposition.

The great engine by means of which O'Connell accomplished the Emancipation of his Catholic fellow-countrymen was the famous Catholic Association. Its origin was exceedingly simple. Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil met by accident, as we have said, at a friend's house, among the mountains of Wicklow, and after mutually lamenting the degraded state of their Catholic countrymen, resolved to make a brave attempt to rouse them from their apathy. They accordingly drew up a circular address, and sent it without delay, to most of the influential gentlemen of their body.

The address was feebly responded to, and the utmost difficulty was for some time experienced in obtaining a meeting sufficiently numerous to give the projected movement a start. The place of meeting agreed upon, was the house of a bookseller in Capel Street, Dublin. For the first two or three Saturdays, however, the meetings were dissolved for want of a sufficient number of persons present; at least TEN persons being requisite, according to the pre-arranged rules, to form what is, in Parliamentary language, termed "a house." At length, on Saturday the 23rd of May, after waiting for a considerable time, the hour of counting out arrived, and only *eight* persons were present. By one of the rules, clergymen of all persuasions were admitted members of the association; Mr. O'Connell ran down into the bookseller's shop, when he found two or three students from Maynooth, and asked them to come up and form the meeting. They hesitated—refused; O'Connell took them by the shoulders and pushed them up stairs. There were now thirteen persons present,—and behold the first meeting of the afterwards widely celebrated Catholic Association!

Lord Kileen occupied the chair, but O'Connell was the soul of the small meeting. He drew up, and read, a report of the Rent; he set forth its advantages, proved it to be the lever of justice and relief, and subscribed for all those of his family then in Ireland. He was determined that the Association should go forward. The time was critical. Orange processions had run riot in the North, and several Catholics had been killed; a servile war raged in the South, and distress prevailed over the entire kingdom. A series of resolutions were moved and passed, O'Connell expressing himself strongly in favour of embracing as large a number as possible within the bounds of the association. The meetings of the association were now held from week to week. On the following Saturday, several persons attended; a few subscriptions were handed in; and the Association was launched. One of the most important resolutions was, to raise a national revenue for the national defence. A subscription was resolved upon, which was fixed at one pound—that to the Catholic board had been five pounds. But the grand stroke of policy was the subscription of one penny per month—this was the famous Catholic Rent, which carried the Emancipation.

Such was the humble origin of the Catholic Association—an Association, probably the most magnificent and gigantic that the world has ever seen, for the vindication, the self-assertion, the liberation of an entire people. Its power rapidly grew and extended itself: the Association embraced Ireland,—Ireland identified itself with the Association. Protection was now thrown around the people, who gathered spirit and rallied round their leaders. When the Government struck, the Association was ready to ward off the blow. Tyranny of all kinds was held in check. Oligarchical rapacity was assailed in its various forms of

oppression—whether in the shape of tithes, church cesses, or grand juries. The monstrous system of government was unsparingly dissected and exposed to public gaze. All Ireland was eventually sucked into the vortex of the Association, and its leaders spoke with the voice of organized millions. The eloquence of Parliament grew pale by the side of its new rival. The civilized world looked on in admiration. The efforts of O'Connell and his compatriots found sympathizers everywhere. America, Canada, India, France, Italy, Spain, and the nations of the Continent generally, poured in their contributions to swell the Catholic fund.

One of the most important results of this agitation was, the establishment of a free press in Ireland, and the creation of a public opinion. Full reports of the meetings of the Association were given in the Catholic organs; the speeches of the leaders were everywhere read with avidity; and gave a quickening influence to opinion, not only throughout Ireland, but also throughout the entire United Kingdom. Meetings soon extended from the metropolis to the provinces. The whole people became stirred and roused up to exertion, the Dublin Association forming the grand centre of their united energies. O'Connell and Sheil were the sustaining pillars of the movement. Their eloquence was always ready—to rouse, to amuse, to denounce, to excite, to applaud. O'Connell towered above all. He chalked out the course of the movement from first to last, watching over the association as a nurse watches over its child. The fertility of his invention was extraordinary. He was ready and prepared for every emergency. Opposition only quickened him to renewed exertion.

At length the Association attracted the notice of the government, who determined to put it down. The Catholic clergy and gentry had by this time lent it their entire influence; and its organization was perfect. In 1825, a bill was brought into parliament for the suppression of the Association. O'Connell and Sheil were sent as a deputation to London to petition for a hearing at the bar of the House; the most extensive concessions on the part of the Catholics were offered to the government; but they were all contemptuously refused, and the "Algerine Act" was immediately passed for the suppression of the Association.

The Irish nation received the intelligence of their treatment by the English Parliament with a burst of indignation. But they strictly preserved the peace—remembering O'Connell's precept that "the real enemy to Ireland is the man who violates the law." On O'Connell's return to Ireland, his first object was to re-constitute the Suppressed Association in strict compliance with the Act that had been passed to put it down. The Association merely changed its form. Instead of one grand aggregate Association, having Dublin for its centre,—every city, town, and district now formed an independent association of its own, entirely unconnected with any other body. By this means the law was strictly obeyed,

and the power of the Association fully preserved. The keenest emulation was excited throughout the country, and the new system was soon found to work even better than the old.

The Association now resolved to bestir themselves in the Parliamentary elections. The forty-shilling Catholic freeholders had never yet dared to oppose the will of their landlords. They supported them at elections without any regard to political opinion. They *belonged* to their landed proprietors, and voted as they bid them. The resistance to this despotic kind of power, commenced at Waterford. The Marquis of Waterford, head of the grasping and ambitious family of Beresford, had made himself unpopular in the county by resisting the public expression of opinion in reference to the assault of the Marquis of Wellesley in Dublin Theatre; and it was resolved to oppose the family candidate at the next election. The Beresfords could not believe such a thing possible, and at first made no exertions to maintain their ground. But the opposition candidate, Mr. Stewart, a Protestant gentleman friendly to Catholic emancipation, appeared in the field at the call of the Catholic freeholders, and soon carried every thing before him. The nomination day arrived and Mr. O'Connell went to the hustings, and allowed himself to be put in nomination as a candidate—the first instance on record, since the commencement of the penal code, of a Catholic being put in nomination at an election. The Beresfords stared as if an ogre had risen up before them. O'Connell, however, proceeded to deliver one of the most brilliant speeches he ever made. He afterwards withdrew in favour of Mr. Stewart, who was returned by an overwhelming majority of votes, consisting chiefly of those of the Beresfords own tenantry. The victory of the people was perfect, and not a single act of disorder or outrage sullied their success. This secret of power once discovered, it was shortly after applied in various parts of Ireland. Similar battles were fought in Louth, Monaghan, and Westmeath, and similar triumphs were obtained. A Rent was expressly established for the protection of such of the Catholic freeholders, as were visited with the vengeance of their landlords; and they were thus more closely identified than ever with the interests of the Association.

The organization of the people were now in such a state, that within four-and-twenty hours, the whole country could be simultaneously put in motion: all that was needed was the order of the Association. Thus on Sunday, the 21st of January, 1828, simultaneous meetings were held at the same hour in every parish of Ireland, which were attended by not fewer than 1,500,000 persons. On this occasion they petitioned parliament for the total and immediate emancipation of the Catholics. "The people," says Mr. Wyse, "met *without* arms, and for the peaceable purpose of *petitioning*; but they met at once,—they met on the same day,—above all, they met by the *order* of the Association. What if the Association at some later period had ordered them to meet *with* arms,

for the purpose, not of *petitioning* against, but *resisting* tithes, &c., &c. ;—would they have disobeyed? The fulcrum and the power were found—the lever could be applied to any thing.”

But the great and final blow was struck at the Clare election. There the freeholders determined to return a Catholic to the British parliament. On Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald accepting a place in the cabinet of Wellington and Peel, he vacated his seat for that county, and a new election was appointed to take place immediately. At first, a candidate could not be found to take the field against the powerful family of the Fitzgeralds. But at last, Mr. O'Connell was urged to declare himself a candidate, which he did in an energetic address from Dublin. In it he declared that he would be “*tern limb from limb*” rather than take the oath which, according to the law, was necessary to be taken before he could be admitted into the British parliament. “*But,*” said he, “the discussion which the attempt to exclude your representative from the House of Commons must excite, will create a sensation all over Europe, and produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation against British bigotry in every enlightened country in the world, that the voice of all the great and good, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, being joined to the universal shout of the nations of the earth, will overpower every opposition, and render it impossible for Peel and Wellington any longer to close the doors of the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland.” Mr. O'Connell was received with immense enthusiasm by the population of Clare, and after a contest of six days, Mr. Fitzgerald withdrew, and Mr. O'Connell was declared by the sheriff duly elected representative of the county.

The result of this election came upon the British ministry like a thunder-clap. It proclaimed the immense power of the Association, and its universal influence over the people. Not only the English ministry, but the entire English nation was roused, and were loud in their expression of sympathy for the Irish Catholics. It was the first time that Ireland had stirred the heart of England, from the period of the rebellion. The government were still more alarmed when they saw the Association preparing to elect Catholics for every borough and county in Ireland; and particularly when it was found that they had it in their power to return seventy members. The country must therefore be disfranchised, or these members must be allowed to sit. Peel and Wellington, coerced by opinion, found themselves compelled to give way—they had to choose between Concession and Separation, and, it might be, sanguinary Revolution. Under such circumstances, the Tory ministry had no alternative but to introduce a Bill for the Emancipation of the Catholics, which received the Royal assent on the 13th of April, 1829.

With the achievement of this great measure, our history of Ireland and her people under the English government terminates. The events of the period which has since elapsed, are scarcely yet



matters of history. The Reform Bill, important though it was to England, proved of little service to the mass of the Irish people. It perpetuated a greatly restricted and an unprotected franchise; and, if it conferred its benefits, it also imposed its evils. It brought no return to national government; but left the ascendancy in possession of all its former power. The government still trusted to brute force and not justice for the maintenance of the Union. The utter and hopeless misery of the mass of the Irish people must be proof sufficient to all, of the wretched character of their government. It is true, the Emancipation of the Catholics was a great measure of progress. But how many other questions of equal, if not greater moment, still remain to be disposed of:—The monopoly of the landed property in the hands of the conquering class, and their atrocious abuse of it; the dominancy and tyranny of a State Church which is hated by the mass of the population; the grossly unequal share of political power vested in the Irish people;—these and other questions of engrossing interest yet remain to be discussed and set at rest. Assuredly, however, the nation that has shown itself able, after so prolonged a contest and so determined an opposition, to accomplish the measure of Catholic Emancipation, need not despair of accomplishing any measure of justice upon which it has set its heart. The people themselves—did they but know it—hold in their own hands all the powers of the State; and the history of the last half century affords proof enough that it only requires their united will and energy to accomplish their own complete emancipation—social, political, and religious. It may be disagreeable to the monopolist classes to relinquish long exercised supremacy; but the past is the best guarantee for the future; and the hopelessness of a continued struggle against what cannot be prevented, must yet be forced on the conviction of all with whom history is anything better than an old almanack.

THE END.

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